

WORKING PAPER / 2014.03

Belgian Development Cooperation through a Gender Lens (2002-2012)



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WORKING PAPER / 2014.03

ISSN 2294-8643

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April 2014

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	5
INTRODUCTION	6
1. GENDER EQUALITY IN BELGIAN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION	8
1.1. GENDER POLICY	8
1.2. EXPENDITURES	11
2. GENDER EQUALITY IN THE DIFFERENT PHASES	13
2.1. IDENTIFICATION/ FORMULATION PHASE	13
2.2. IMPLEMENTATION/ MONITORING PHASE	21
2.3. EVALUATION PHASE	24
3. CAPACITY, TOOLS AND INCENTIVES	26
3.1. CAPACITY	27
3.2. TOOLS	30
3.3. INCENTIVES	31
4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	34
4.1. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES	34
4.2. OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS	35
REFERENCES	37

ABSTRACT

Since the nineties more attention has been paid to the gender dimension in development. Through the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and various policy documents of the OECD/DAC the shift from a Women in Development (WID) approach to a Gender and Development (GAD) approach has been internationally spread. Within the GAD approach the need to integrate a gender dimension in all different phases (diagnosis, planning, implementation, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation) (= vertical gender mainstreaming) of interventions in different sectors (=horizontal mainstreaming) is emphasised. In line with the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and similar to the majority of bilateral and multilateral donors, Belgium has adopted a gender mainstreaming strategy. In order to take stock of and analyse the effective implementation of the gender mainstreaming strategy and its effects on the ground, the Belgian's Special Evaluation Office of International Cooperation has recently (July 2013) commissioned an evaluation. The focus of the evaluation is both on headquarters and a selection of five case study countries. This working paper presents a selection of the first findings of the head quarters evaluative exercise and identifies several strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and challenges.

INTRODUCTION

Since the nineties more attention has been paid to the gender dimension in development. The Gender and Development (GAD) approach emphasises the importance of the social-cultural construction of gender, which determines the needs, rights, obligations and opportunities of men and women. Approaches which had already been in use before, such as the Welfare Approach and the Women in Development (WID) approach, neglect the importance of underlying gender relations to explain visible inequalities between men and women and focus exclusively on women. The GAD approach on the other hand departs from the idea that interventions in all thematic areas and on all levels (global, macro, meso and micro) are influenced by existing structural features (like gender) in societies. Interventions are not implemented in a social vacuum and their effectiveness and efficiency are determined by the underlying structures and institutes that influence human behaviour. Reverse, all interventions potentially influence gender (and other) relations. In case this mutual interaction is not taken into account policies might fail and existing male dominance in terms of allocation of means and decision power might increase (see e.g. Elson, 1991). Therefore, within the GAD approach the need to integrate a gender dimension in all different phases (diagnosis, planning, implementation, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation) (= vertical gender mainstreaming) of interventions in different sectors (=horizontal mainstreaming) is emphasised.

The shift from a WID to a GAD approach is internationally spread through especially the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) and various policy documents of the OECD/DAC. Through the 1995 Beijing Declaration and the 1995 OECD/DAC Declaration on 'Gender Equality: Moving Toward Sustainable, People-Centred Development' governments committed themselves to mainstream gender in policies and programmes. The 1999 OECD/DAC guidelines, which are formulated to implement the above two declarations and which are still valid today, emphasise that a gender mainstreaming strategy exists of two aspects:

- The integration of gender issues in the analyses and formulation of all policies, programmes and projects (integrationist approach);
- Initiatives to enable both women and men to formulate and express their insights and to participate in decision-making on all development issues (agenda-setting approach) (OECD/DAC, 1998, 1999).

In addition to gender mainstreaming (integrationist approach and agenda-setting approach), interventions that focus specifically on changing the underlying gender structures are crucial, especially in areas that are strongly regulated by gender norms. These initiatives could be focussed on women, men or institutions (OECD/DAC, 1999). The combination of gender mainstreaming and these specific actions has become to be known as the two-track approach towards gender equality¹.

Since the signing of the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action the majority of bilateral and multilateral donors have adopted a gender mainstreaming strategy. Various evaluations, however, have demonstrated that the implementation of these strategies is rather weak (African Development Bank Group, 2012). An evaluation synthesis of 26 evaluations of gender equality, mainstreaming and/or women in development highlights several underlying factors of weak implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies, including a lack of support

[1] The difference between the agenda-setting approach (gender mainstreaming) and the specific actions is in practice not always clear.

of leadership, the absence of accountability and incentive systems and insufficient financial and human resources (African Development Bank Group, 2012).

The shift from a WID to a GAD approach, including the two-track approach, has also influenced Belgian policy. The 1999 Law on Belgian international cooperation e.g. includes equality between men and women as one of three transversal themes² (Belgisch Staatsblad, 1999) and the 2002 Strategy Paper on Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men adopts the two-track approach of gender mainstreaming and specific actions (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2002a). The Directorate General Development Cooperation of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, presumes that, like other bilateral donors, the implementation of gender mainstreaming has been limited. Therefore and because the 2002 gender strategy paper has not been evaluated so far, Belgian's Special Evaluation Office of International Cooperation decided to evaluate 'gender and development' in Belgian development cooperation. The aim of this evaluation is to report on the results of gender mainstreaming (accountability) and to draw lessons from the past to improve the strategy and its implementation in the future (learning) (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2013a).

This working paper presents a selection of the preliminary findings of the evaluation. These findings are based on a desk study, semi-structured interviews, an inventory of the 17.575 interventions that received Belgian ODA financing between 2002 and 2012 and an electronic survey. Interviewees (30) included both gender actors as well as non-gender actors and were selected on the basis of their involvement in and responsibility for gender mainstreaming in policy and activities of the Belgian development cooperation. The electronic survey was sent to 242 people involved in Belgian development cooperation³ and was completed by 100 persons, corresponding to a respondent rate of 41%. Our sample is composed of 34 staff members of the Directorate General of Development Cooperation, 32 staff members of the Belgian Technical Cooperation, 21 staff members of NGOs or academic development cooperation actors and 13 respondents from a diversity of other actors, including, amongst others, the Women Council and the Federal Council for Sustainable Development.

[2] The other two transversal themes are environment and social economy, in the recent 2013 Law on Belgian Development Cooperation, only gender and environment are retained as transversal themes (Belgisch Staatsblad, 2013).

[3] DGDC, BTC, Task Force Gender of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Commission Women and Development, VLIR-UOS, CUD, NGO-federation, Acodev, Federal Council for Sustainable Development and Dutch speaking Women Council of Belgium. Where relevant both staff from headquarters and field offices were included.

1. GENDER EQUALITY IN BELGIAN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

The evaluation of gender and development in Belgian development cooperation covers the period 2002-2012. This chapter provides an overview of the policies on gender and development elaborated in this period (1.1) and Belgian ODA expenditures on gender equality and women's empowerment (1.2).

1.1. Gender policy

In 2002 DGDC elaborated a strategy paper on 'equal rights and opportunities for women and men'. The formulation of this strategy paper was stipulated by the 1999 Law on International Cooperation which includes the equality between men and women as a transversal theme. The aim of the strategy paper is to support Belgian partners in their work on equal rights for women and men by integrating a gender dimension in all policies, programmes and projects (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2002a). In line with international insights and good practices, the strategy paper applies a two-track approach of gender mainstreaming and positive actions and supports the shift from a WID to a GAD approach. In addition, aid effectiveness principles (ownership, alignment, harmonisation, management for results, mutual accountability), which were later on agreed upon in the 2005 Paris Declaration, are taken into account and the link between gender equality and aid effectiveness and efficiency is recognised. This link is also emphasised in the Accra Agenda of Action (2009) and Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (2011).

The strategy consists of three pillars:

- Supporting partner countries in their efforts to integrate gender;
- Supporting international organisations and non-governmental actors in their efforts to integrate gender;
- Strengthening the institutional capacity of DGDC.

While the strategy paper makes complex concepts as gender operational in terms of concrete strategies and activities, the quality and usefulness has been undermined by a lack of prioritisation, clear and time-bound targets, assignment of responsibility for progress and identification of mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation. In addition, the yearly detailed action plans with time schedule and results indicators which are announced in the strategy paper, have never been elaborated. This is recognised in the OECD/DAC peer review of Belgium, which refers to the lack of operational guidance, as a result of which the strategy paper has not been systematically used (OECD/DAC, 2010). The results of the survey indeed demonstrate that the familiarity with the strategy paper is quite low. While the gender strategy paper is still the current policy on gender and development, less than half of the respondents of DGCD (47.1%) and BTC (43.8%) are (adequately or well) familiar with the strategy. According to various interviewees, the factors that explain this low familiarity include the fact that the strategy paper was mainly elaborated by one staff member without much involvement of other staff members. Once the strategy paper was finalised it was not discussed in depth but only shortly presented during a workshop where also the other sector and transversal strategies were presented. While the strategy paper has always been available on the website of Belgian DC, it has never been

translated to Spanish and not distributed on a large scale to the different actors involved in Belgian development cooperation.

With regard to the familiarity (adequately and well) with the two-track approach propagated in the strategy paper, the results of the survey show an interesting difference between DGCD and BTC. While among the DGDC respondents the familiarity with the two-track approach is considerably higher (61.8%) as compared to the strategy paper itself, among the BTC respondents the familiarity with the two-track approach is even lower (37.5%) than with the strategy paper⁴. The familiarity is especially low among the programme managers/ sector specialists, which is 25% compared to 50% among the executive staff (among the DGDC respondents 57,1% of the executive staff is familiar with the two-track approach and 64% of the programme managers/ sector specialists).

Even though the strategy on 'equal rights and opportunities for women and men' has not been implemented as such, the 1999 Law on International Cooperation also stipulates the mainstreaming of gender by identifying the equality between men and women as a transversal theme. The law specifies that the five priority sectors of Belgian development cooperation (basic health care, including reproductive health care; education and training; agriculture and food security; basic infrastructure; conflict prevention society building) should take the equality between men and women as a transversal theme into account (Belgisch Staatsblad, 1999). In 2002 for each of these sectors a strategy paper has been elaborated (and presented at the same time as the gender strategy). The healthcare strategy paper was renewed in 2008 (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2008), the agriculture and good security strategy paper in 2010 (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2010) and the education strategy paper in 2013 (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2013b). These three more recent strategies were elaborated after the publication of the 2007 Federal Law on Gender Mainstreaming, which stipulates e.g. that each ministry has to integrate a gender dimension in all its policies, actions and activities (Belgisch Staatsblad, 2007). An interdepartmental working group, under the leadership of the Institute for the Equality between Women and Men, was created to guide the implementation of this law. As a first federal plan on gender mainstreaming was not approved until 2012 and a Task Force Gender Mainstreaming within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (has only been) was not installed until 2013, the influence of the 2007 Federal Law on Gender Mainstreaming on the more recent strategies has probably still been minimal. Nevertheless, in our analysis of the degree of gender mainstreaming in the eight strategies, we distinguish between the five 2002 strategies and the three more recent strategies. If a gender mainstreaming approach is in place an equal share of references to men and women is expected, as "an imbalance would indicate that one sex implicitly and consistently is taken as the norm, whereas the other sex is consistently problematised" (Debusscher, 2011: 41). Moreover, gender mainstreaming implies an inclusion of gender issues in different parts (analysis, priority setting, activities, budget, M&E) of the documents.

[4] The familiarity with the two-track approach among the NGO and academic development respondents and other actors is with 42.9% and respectively 53.9% also higher than among the BTC respondents. Their familiarity with the gender strategy is considerably lower (28.6% respectively 30.6%).

While all the sector strategies make references to gender and equality between men and women, table 1.1. shows that in total far more references to women⁵ than to men⁶ are made (see annex 1 for the number of references in each document). The specific focus on women is stronger in the five 2002 strategies than in the three more recent strategies.

Table 1.1. Number of references to gender, women and men in the 2002 and recent sector strategies

	2002 sector strategies (5)		Recent sector strategies (3)		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
References to gender	39	10.7	22	25.9	61	13.6
References to women	259	71.2	53	62.4	312	69.5
References to men	66	18.1	10	11.8	76	16.9
Total	364	100.0	85	100.0	449	100.0

Source: Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2002b, 2002c, 2002d, 2002e, 2002f, 2008, 2010, 2013b.

The sector strategy paper with the highest percentage of references to women (89.0%) is the 2002 strategy paper on basic healthcare. Interestingly, the strategy paper with the lowest percentage of references to women (50.0%) is the renewal of this strategy paper, the 2008 strategy paper on the right on health and health care which hints at the fact that within this sector policy some change has taken place from a WID approach towards a GAD approach.

With regard to the mainstreaming of gender through the different parts of the sector strategies, we were only able to review the mainstreaming of gender in the analyses, priority setting and activities (or areas for operationalisation), as the strategies do not include budgets and indicators for M&E. In most of the sector strategies the attention to gender and women is stronger in the analyses and priority setting than in the activities/areas for operationalisation. Compared to the other sector strategies, the 2008 health sector strategy paper and the 2010 strategy paper for the agriculture and food security sector are the sector strategies with relatively much attention to gender and/or women in the activities/areas for operationalisation. In the strategy paper for the health sector e.g. the use of gender budgeting and strengthening the gender capacity of local civil society is included (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2008). In the strategy paper for the agriculture sector one of the four priorities concerns the individual and collective empowerment of rural women, which includes e.g. strategies to strengthen the economic position and capacity of rural women (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2010). This strategy paper is put as an example for stronger efforts to include a gender dimension in policy, strategies and the different cooperation channels in the gender paragraph in the 2012 budget (Directie Generaal Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2012). The Federal Council for Sustainable Development, however, in its advice on the strategy paper⁷, remarks correctly that the attention for eliminating gender inequalities should not be restricted to only this priority, but should be central through the entire strategy (Federale Raad voor Duurzame Ontwikkeling, 2011).

[5] Including woman, women, female, girl, mother.

[6] Including man, men, male, boy, father.

[7] The 1999 Law on International Cooperation imposes the advice of the Federal Council for Sustainable Development for all DGCD strategies. This obligation has been cancelled in the 2013 Law on Development Cooperation.

1.2. Expenditures

DGDC does not have a specific budget line for supporting gender equality. Recently, however, gender budgeting has been introduced within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the circular letter on gender budgeting (29 April 2010) three categories are specified:

- Category 1: credits concerning lines/(groups of) activities that do not include a gender dimension
- Category 2: credits concerning lines/(groups of) activities to attain equality between men and women
- Category 3: all other credits concerning lines/(groups of) activities that include a gender dimension.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs classifies the majority of its basis allocations as category 3 expenditures (and thus assumes automatically that a gender dimension is integrated in the large majority of its portfolio); only one basis allocation is classified as a category 2 expenditure. While it has been mandatory to draft a gender note for category 2 credits, as no expenditures within this basis allocation had been foreseen for 2013, no gender note has been drafted until now (interviewees).

So far, progress on gender equality has been assessed on the basis of the OESO/DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker (G-marker). The OESO/DAC introduced the G-marker in 1997 with the aim to facilitate monitoring and to coordinate DAC members' activities on gender equality. The G-marker has three values:

- G-2: gender equality is the main objective
- G-1: gender equality is an important, but not the main objective
- G-0: gender equality is not an objective.

Interventions that have gender equality as main or as important objective (G-2 and G-1) have the intention to stimulate gender equality and empowerment of women or to decrease discrimination or inequalities on the basis of sex. The OECD/DAC has formulated criteria for the G-2 and G-1 interventions, which stipulate that the intervention documents promote gender equality explicitly through specific actions that:

- Decrease the social, economic and political power differences between men and women, boys and girls, ensure that women and men profit equally of the activities, or compensate for earlier discrimination;
- Develop or strengthen gender equality or anti-discrimination policy, laws or institutions.

The use of the G-marker has several limitations, including the fact that it concerns an ex-ante screening, the use of different assessors, the presence of a certain degree of subjectivity and the fact that the screening is not applied on all channels of development cooperation (Holvoet and Inberg, 2009). Notwithstanding the shortcomings, the G-marker allows to conduct a (superficial) gender (budget) analysis. For this analysis we received a file with 17,575 interventions that were financed with Belgian ODA between 2002 and 2012. Of these interventions 63.9% were screened on the G-marker. As the ODA database contains all Belgian ODA expenditures,

including e.g. administrative costs, this coverage rate is lower than the coverage rates reported by the OECD/DAC, which only reports on sector allocable aid. Belgium's coverage rate for sector allocable activities for the period 2010-2011 was for instance 92% (OECD/DAC, 2013)⁸. Reasons for not screening sector allocable aid include the difficulty to screen interventions that by nature are likely to fall under 'not targeted' (e.g. imputed student costs, see OECD/DAC, 2013), or whose contribution to gender equality is difficult to assess, such as for instance general budget support (see OECD/DAC, 2007).

Table 1.2. provides an overview of the number and expenditures (absolute and relative) for interventions with a G-2, G-1, G-0 value and interventions that are not screened.

Table 1.2. Total number of interventions and total expenditures per G-2, G-1, G-0 en NYF in the period 2002-2012 (absolute en relative)

G-marker	Number			Expenditures		
	Absolute	Relative total (%)	Relative screened (%)	Absolute ('000)	Relative total (%)	Relative screened (%)
G-2	1.067	6,1	9,5	639.906	3,6	5,3
G-1	4.189	23,8	37,3	5.773.924	32,1	47,7
G-0	5.967	34,0	53,2	5.689.216	31,6	47,0
Not screened	6.352	36,1	-	5.905.639	32,8	-
Total	17.575	100,0	100,0	18.008.685	100,0	100,0

Source: ODA database DGDC

The table shows that in the period 2002-2012 46.8% of the screened number of interventions and 53.0% of the screened expenditures had gender as main or important objective (G-2 and G-1), of which only a small percentage (9.5% of the number, 5.3% of expenditures) had gender equality as main objective (G-2). The budgets of G-2 interventions are smaller than the average budgets of interventions (% of number of interventions is higher than % of expenditures), while the budgets of G-1 interventions are on average larger (% of number of interventions is lower than % of expenditures).

As the value of G-marker is determined in the identification/ formulation phase, more information on the number of G-2, G-1 and G-0 interventions and expenditures per sector, country, cooperation channel and year of first expenditure is provided in 3.1. In addition, Holvoet and Inberg (2013) provide a detailed overview of the analysis.

[8] 9 out of 24 DAC members had a coverage rate of 100% for the period 2010-2011 (OECD/DAC, 2013).

2. GENDER EQUALITY IN THE DIFFERENT PHASES

The 1999 Law on Belgian International Cooperation indicates that a strategy paper specifying the development policy should be elaborated for each partner country, a so called Indicative Cooperation Programme (ICP). An ICP supports the PRSP of the partner country and respects the policy priorities. The integration of gender into the ICPs is critical, as it facilitates the integration of gender in the different phases of the intervention cycle. The integration of gender in the 2009 instructions for the preparation of the ISPs and the Joint Committee (which have been adapted in 2011) is clearly an important stimulus to trigger the effective integration of gender issues in the ICP (see also 3.2.).

BTC activities related to the gender integration into the ICPs include reviewing draft policy, preparation of review papers and / or the organization of workshops and consultations. In Rwanda for example, in preparation for the Joint Commission, a workshop was organised (2011) with all interested parties with the intention to integrate gender in the priority sectors. The ICP Rwanda (2011-2014) refers several times to recommendations made during this workshop, including on bridging the gap between gender policy and gender implementation in the priority sectors.

In 2012, BTC reviewed the integration of gender into all ICPs signed since 2009. All these ICPs have a section on transversal themes, which includes attention to gender issues. 12 out of 13 ICPs refer to the 50% quota for scholarships for women, 11 out of 13 ICPs includes gender in discussion of the priority sectors, 8/13 ICPs refer to international obligations of Belgium and the partner country with respect to gender, but only 3 out of 13 ICPs pay attention to gender issues at the strategic level (Directie Generaal Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2013).

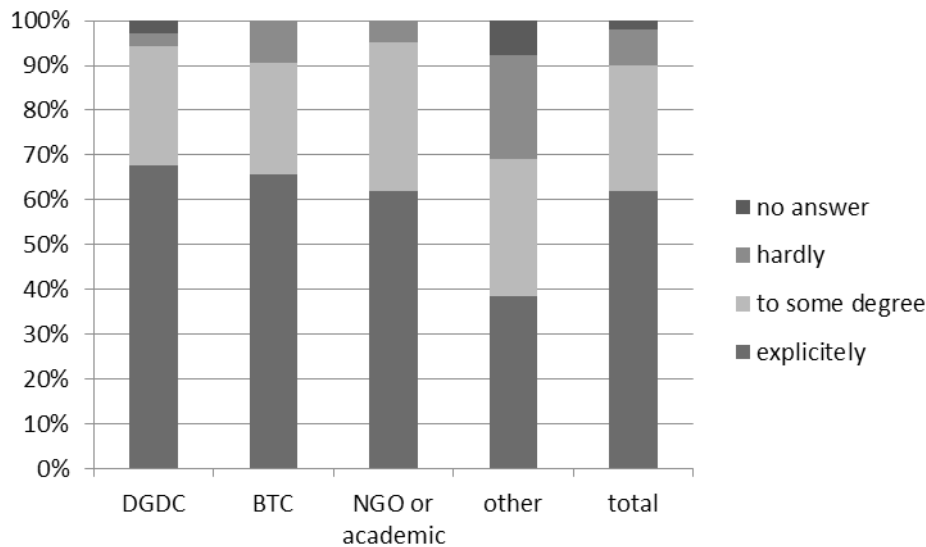
The remaining of this chapter focuses on the integration of gender in the identification/ formulation phase (2.1.), the implementation/ monitoring phase (3.2.) and the evaluation phase (2.3.). Capacity, tools and incentives that are used to address gender in these phases are discussed in chapter 3.

2.1. Identification/ formulation phase

The gender strategy paper refers to the identification phase as the decisive stage in the programme/ project cycle for the integration of gender in the interventions. In this phase, it is important to verify if the terms of references (TOR) of the identification assignment integrate a gender dimension, whether the consultancy team possesses enough competences, whether local know-how on gender is available, whether the G-marker has been applied and whether the risks for a negative impact have been evaluated (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2002a).

Also the majority of the respondents of the survey assess that gender should be addressed in the identification/ formulation phase, as figure 3.1. demonstrates.

Figure 2.1. Answers to the question: Do you think that gender should be addressed within your organisation when identifying and formulating projects/programmes?



Source: Authors' Survey

A significantly lower percentage of the respondents (50%) think that in practice gender issues are sufficiently or more than sufficiently addressed in the identification/ formulation phase. The DGDC respondents are with 41.2% of the respondents the most critical on the actual integration of gender issues in this phase, the NGO and academic respondents are with 57.2% the most positive. The respondents highlight that the most common way to address gender issues in the identification/ formulation phase is through experiences of prior projects (mentioned 26 times), through existing sex-disaggregated data (mentioned 25 times) and through the involvement of a gender expert (mentioned 20 times).

The integration of a gender dimension in the identification/ formulation phase of interventions financed through the bilateral cooperation channel demands cooperation and coordination between the DGDC, the BTC and the attachés in the field. The integration of gender in the formulation files depends in the first place on the BTC. Within the BTC all the technical and financial files are screened on gender before they are sent to the Quality Control Committee. Screening takes place through participation in the identification mission or through written input by the BTC gender expert or a national or international gender expert (BTC, 2012). Within the Quality Control Committee DGDC file managers have the possibility to give their advice on technical and financial files. The involvement of the DGDC gender desk is rather ad hoc and dependent on the goodwill of the file manager (interviewees). The advice of the DGDC, including the advice of the gender desk, comes however too late to be able to make profound changes in a project or programme if gender is insufficiently addressed (Van Hove, 2010; interviewees). An insufficient integration of a gender perspective in projects in sectors or themes where this is not straightforward (such as productive sectors), or in cases in which there are other priorities, is for some DGDC file managers not a reason to reject a project or programme. In addition, some DGDC managers do not think it is their role to encourage the BTC to integrate a gender dimension (Van Hove, 2010). Some observations related to the integration of gender in the identification/ formulation phase include:

- Gender integration in the identification and formulation is highly dependent on

the individual (own sensibility and received gender training) and context of the country.

- Gender is insufficiently integrated in the terms of reference for formulation missions
- Gender integration is insufficiently operationalised: concrete activities, budget and indicators are absent.
- BTC experts have insufficient knowledge to operationalise the gender dimension (Van Hove, 2010)

In the identification/ formulation phase the G-marker (see 1.2.) is identified for each intervention. The use and interpretation of the G-marker is, however, not straightforward as is highlighted by an internal DGDC analysis of the use of the G-marker and by several interviewees. Problems include:

- The various values of the G-marker are not sufficiently defined;
- The information in the technical and financial records is sometimes insufficient to determine the correct G-marker;
- Beneficiaries are often described as a uniform group, which makes it difficult to determine the impact on men and women;
- When women and / or girls belong to the beneficiaries, or if it is an intervention in the health and education sectors, a G-1 value is easily assigned;
- When the logical target group are women, e.g. in the context of maternal health, a G-2 value is easily assigned;
- For some aid modalities, such as budget support, it is difficult to determine the correct value;
- An institutional pressure exists to avoid giving a G-0, as this would damage Belgium's reputation (Van Hove, interviewees).

Despite these problems it is interesting to use the G-marker to find out if differences exist between the different cooperation channels, sectors and countries and if the application of the G-marker and the expenditures for interventions with gender equality as a principal (G-2) or important (G-1) objective increased in the period 2002-2012. Table 2.1. provides an overview of the number of interventions, total expenditures and percentages of screened interventions and expenditures for the different cooperation channels.

Table 2.1. Number of interventions, total expenditures 2002-2012 (in mil.), percentages screened expenditures and percentages G-2, G-1 and G-o expenditures of screened expenditures in the different cooperation channels

Cooperation channel	Nr.	% screened	Total exp. '02-'12 ('000)	% screened
Multilateral ¹	2,019	72.4	7,541,985	75.9
Bilateral	2,533	57.6	6,013,378	52.1
Indirect ²	11,937	63.2	3,755,653	76.5
Budget holder ³	283	72.4	450,514	39.9
International and local NGO	676	71.4	218,297	78.4
Micro-projects (MIP/FAP)	127	58.3	28,858	95.9
Total	17,575	63.9	18,008,685	67.2

¹ Includes multilateral core (mandatory and voluntary) and earmarked

² Includes indirect "to" NGO programs/ functioning strategic framework, indirect "through" NGO projects or emergency aid and indirect other than NGO.

³ Includes own administration (overhead costs) and own monitoring and evaluation (higher than project level).

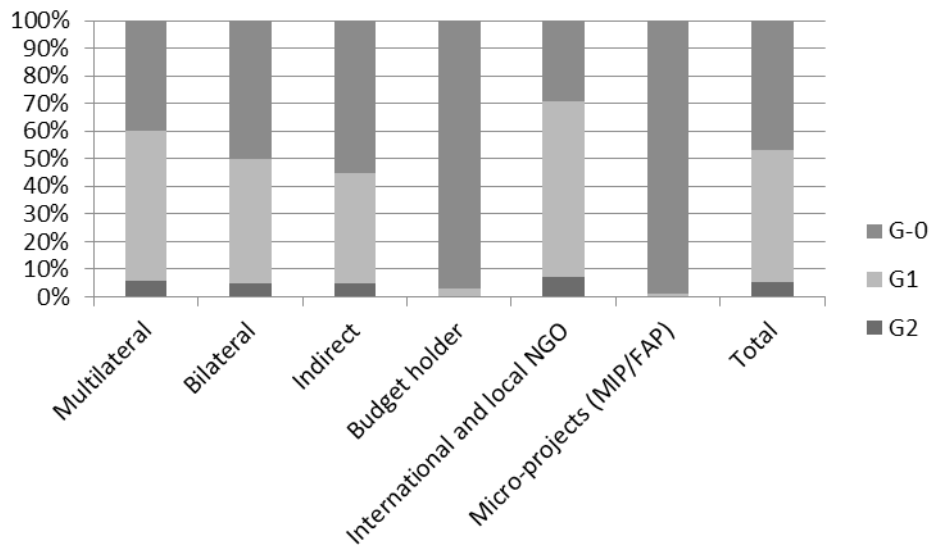
Source: ODA database DGDC

The table shows that 63.9% of all interventions are screened for the G-marker, which corresponds to 67.2% of all expenditures in the period 2002-2012. While the difference between these two percentages is not so large, some of the cooperation channels show larger differences. For example, the percentage of screened interventions of the indirect, and to a larger extent, of the micro projects is much lower than the percentage of screened expenditures, which indicates that generally the larger interventions have been screened, while the smaller interventions have not been screened. When comparing the three cooperation channels with the highest total expenditures, it is remarkable that the expenditures of interventions financed through the bilateral channel are far less screened against the G-marker than the expenditures of interventions financed through the multilateral and indirect cooperation channels.

When focussing on the screened expenditures, the distribution of expenditures for G-2, G-1 and G-o interventions through the bilateral cooperation channel corresponds to the average distribution, as figure 2.2. shows. An interesting difference is visible between the indirect cooperation channel and international and local NGOs: 70.8% of the expenditures for interventions through international and local NGOs have gender equality as principal or important objective, compared to only 45.0% of the expenditures for interventions through the indirect cooperation channel⁹.

[9] The indirect cooperation channel refers to the development cooperation to and through Belgian NGOs and other actors, e.g. academic cooperation.

Figure 2.2. Expenditure on G-0, G-1 and G-2 interventions per cooperation channel (%)



Source: ODA database DGDC

Table 2.2. shows an overview of the ten sectors with the highest total expenditure for the period 2002-2012. Population and reproductive health sector was added to this list because this is a priority sector with relatively high expenditures for gender equality. Total expenditures for these 11 sectors are 80.1% of total expenditures.

Table 2.2. Number of interventions, total expenditures 2002-2012 (in mil.), percentages screened expenditures and percentages G-2, G-1 and G-0 expenditures of screened expenditures in the 10 sectors with the highest total expenditures and the sector population & reproductive health

Sector	Nr.	% screened	Total exp. 2002-2012 ('000)	% screened
Sector not defined ¹	1,086	55.4	3,058,446	75.2
Debt relief	119	26.1	2,932,934	32.0
<u>Education</u>	1,952	65.3	1,485,800	78.1
<u>Government & civil society</u>	1,709	62.3	1,292,552	84.5
Humanitarian aid	1,280	64.8	1,255,698	54.7
<u>Health</u>	1,355	66.6	1,078,361	90.4
<u>Agriculture and cattle breeding</u>	1,913	65.9	833,268	88.6
Multisector	1,176	61.1	814,388	80.7
Administrative costs of budget holders	290	70.7	671,281	58.8
Refugees in donor countries	8	50.0	662,122	2.5
<u>Population & reproductive health</u>	371	76.5	349,112	92.0
Other sectors	6,316	64.1	3,574,722	78.9
Total	17,575	63.9	18,008,685	67.2

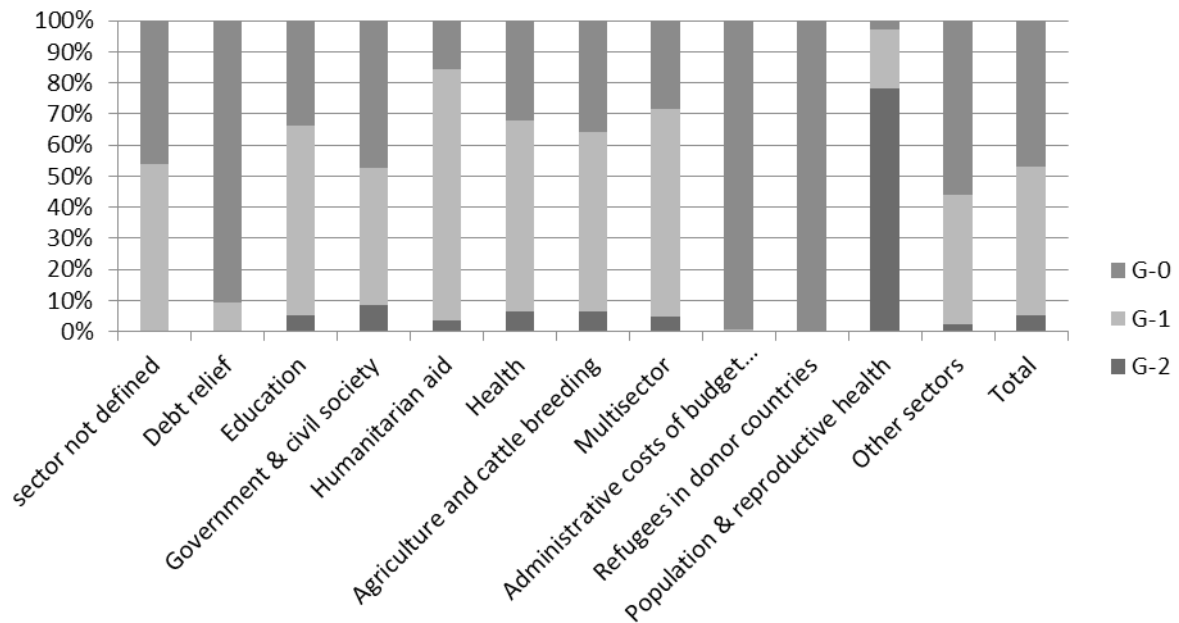
¹ Interventions in the 'sector not defined' are often financed through the indirect cooperation.

Source: ODA database DGDC

The table demonstrates that the priority sectors (underlined) are generally more often screened on the G-marker than the non-priority sectors. In addition, priority sectors have relatively higher expenditures for interventions that have gender as principal objective (G-2), as figure 2.3. demonstrates. Especially the population and reproductive health sector has relatively

high expenditures for G-2 interventions, which is not surprising, given the problems related to interpretation of the G-marker mentioned above. For interventions with gender as an important goal (G-1), most priority sectors have relatively higher expenditures as well as compared to non-priority sectors. Sectors with high total expenditure and virtually no expenses for gender equality (G-2 and G-1) are debt relief, refugees in donor countries and administrative costs of budget holders. The first two sectors mentioned are also the sectors with the lowest percentage of expenditures screened (see table 2.2).

Figure 2.3. Expenditure on G-0, G-1 and G-2 interventions per sector (%)



Source: ODA database DGDC

While the figure shows that 66.1% of the expenditures for interventions in the education sector has gender equality as a principal or an important objective, a thematic evaluation of the Belgian development cooperation in the education sector in 2007 indicates that most of the technical and financial records and files do not include gender-specific indicators and are rather gender neutral (Education for Change and South Research, 2007)

Table 2.3. provides an overview of the (screened) interventions (number and expenditures) in the 18 partner countries, compared to those in other countries/regions. While one could expect the screened interventions and expenditures to be higher for the partner countries, the table demonstrates that the percentage of screened interventions in the 18 partner countries is only slightly higher, while the percentage of screened expenditures is exactly the same¹⁰.

[10] When taking two numbers behind the point, one could see that the percentage for the partner countries is with 76.16% slightly lower than for the non-partner countries/ regions (67.22%).

Table 2.3. Number of interventions, % screened interventions, total expenditures 2002-2012 (in '000) and % screened expenditures in the 10 countries/ regions with the highest total expenditures

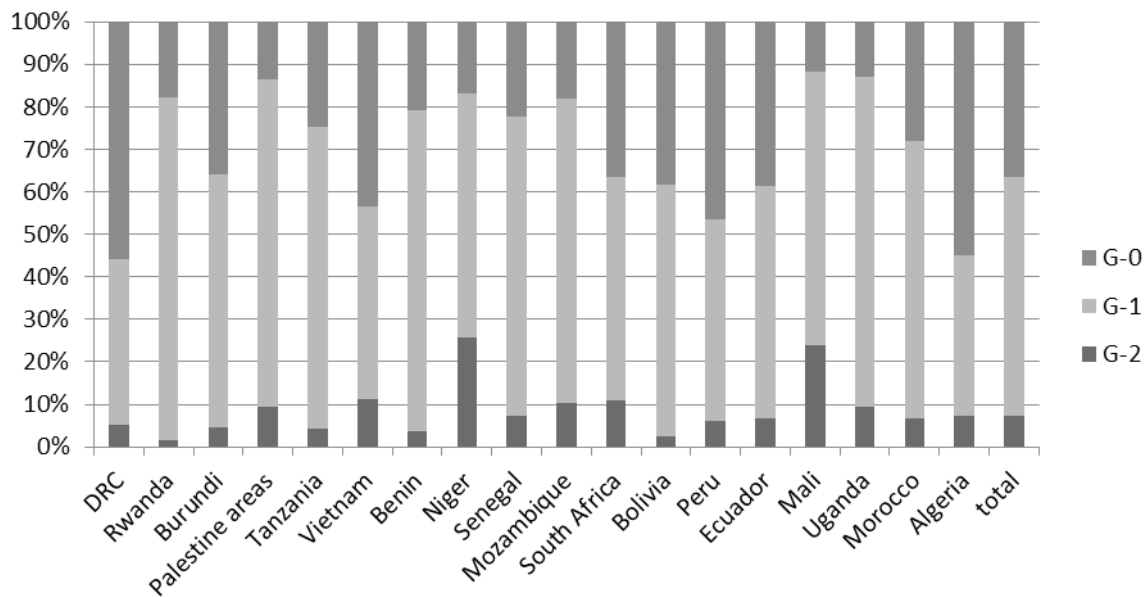
Country	Nr.	% screened	Total exp. ('000)	% screened
DRC	1,652	63.8	2,389,724	49.8
Rwanda	529	62.8	400,951	84.8
Burundi	486	71.4	327,990	75.0
Palestine areas	283	66.4	197,395	72.4
Tanzania	247	68.0	187,878	63.5
Vietnam	347	63.7	174,980	78.6
Benin	276	63.0	159,190	87.0
Niger	210	68.6	152,846	94.3
Senegal	361	65.1	152,425	85.9
Mozambique	244	72.5	150,742	88.3
South Africa	457	58.2	141,932	76.1
Bolivia	402	60.2	141,560	74.2
Peru	406	68.2	131,025	90.4
Ecuador	337	65.0	127,121	91.2
Mali	246	74.0	126,606	87.3
Uganda	258	71.3	126,028	84.9
Morocco	314	67.8	125,368	92.1
Algeria	89	55.1	78,532	65.3
Total partner countries	7,144	65.4	5,292,292	67.2
Other countries/ regions	10,431	62.8	12,716,393	67.2
Total	17,575	63.9	18,008,685	67.2

Source: ODA database DGDC

Within the partner countries, however, considerable variation exists. With regard to the screened interventions, percentages vary between 55.1% in Algeria and 74.0% in Mali and with regard to the screened expenditures, percentages vary between 49.8% in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and 94.3% in Niger. As the DRC is the most important partner country of the Belgian development cooperation (in terms of total expenditures), this low percentage of screened expenditures is rather remarkable. The interventions that are screened are also relatively small, given the fact that the percentage of screened interventions is higher than the percentage of screened expenditures. Except for Tanzania, the screened interventions in other partner countries are relatively large, especially in Ecuador (difference of 26.2% between screened interventions and screened expenditures), Niger (difference of 25.7%) and Morocco (difference of 24.3%).

When focusing on the screened expenditures of the partner countries (see fig 2.4), the DRC is also the partner country with the highest percentage (55.7%) of expenditures for G-0 interventions. 5.3% of the expenditures are for interventions with gender equality as principal objective and 39% of the expenditures are for interventions with gender equality as important objective. Rwanda is the partner country with the highest percentage of screened expenditures (80.5%) for interventions with gender equality as important objective (G-1), while Niger has the highest percentage of screened expenditures (25.7%) for interventions with gender equality as principal objective (G-2).

Fig. 2.4. Expenditure on G-0, G-1 and G-2 interventions per partner country (%)



Source: ODA database DGDC

The differences between the partner countries do not seem to be related to the level of inequality in a country. Countries with a relatively high total percentage of G-1 and G-2 interventions include e.g. countries with a relatively low level of equality (Mali, Niger and Uganda) and countries with a relatively high level of equality (Rwanda). On the other hand, countries with a relatively low total percentage of G-1 and G-2 interventions also include countries with a relatively low level of equality (DRC) and countries with a relatively high level of equality (Algeria, Peru, Vietnam).

In order to find out if the number of screened interventions and expenditures increased in the period 2002-2012, we looked at the first year of expenditure of the different interventions (see table 2.4).

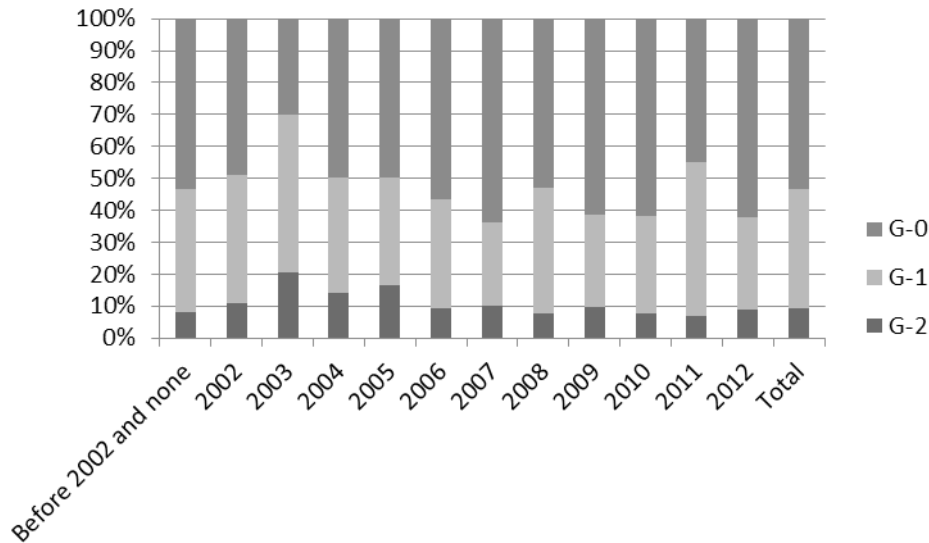
Table 2.4. Number of interventions, % screened interventions, total expenditures 2002-2012 (in '000) and % screened expenditures per first year of expenditure

Year first expenditure	Nr.	% screened	Total exp. 2002-2012 ('000)	% screened
Before 2002 and none	3,098	54.4	4,167,361	73.2
2002	821	25.3	707,975	59.4
2003	2,495	23.7	2,013,182	33.0
2004	1,027	36.9	1,963,124	29.7
2005	989	54.9	1,268,309	28.9
2006	910	54.9	1,322,363	57.4
2007	777	69.8	1,183,444	93.0
2008	2,460	95.3	1,179,213	96.0
2009	1,193	93.2	2,244,745	98.9
2010	1,135	85.6	934,632	95.9
2011	1,857	90.5	728,107	89.4
2012	813	81.8	296,230	86.0
Total	17,575	63.9	18,008,685	67.2

Source: ODA database DGDC

While the percentages for both the screened interventions and screened expenditures fluctuate in the period 2002-2012, the percentages of screened interventions are clearly higher in the more recent years (above average since 2007), with relatively the highest number of new interventions screened in 2008. When focussing on the screened interventions, figure 2.5. makes clear that no clear trend is discernible as percentages of G-2, G-1 and G-0 interventions fluctuate considerably in the period 2002-2012 with the highest percentage of new interventions with gender equality as principal or important objective in 2003 (70.1%) and the lowest percentage in 2007 (36.2%).

Figure 2.5. Number of G-0, G-1 and G-2 interventions per first year of expenditure (%)

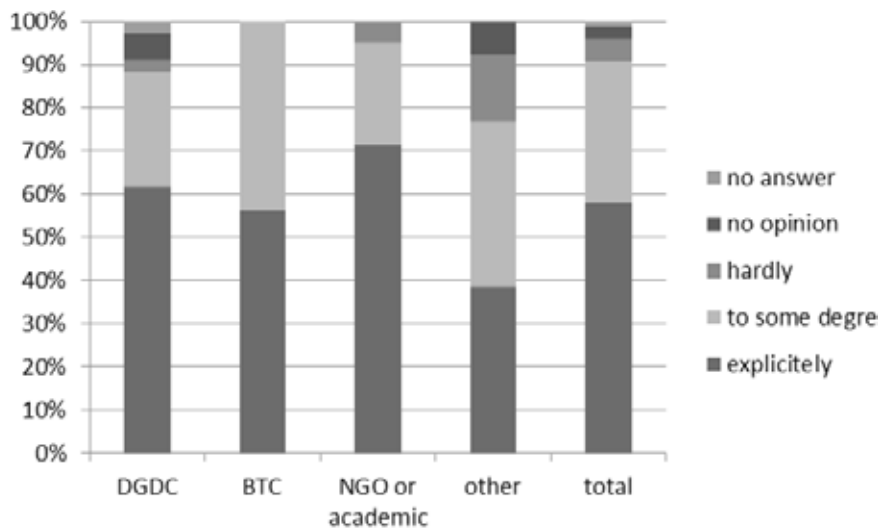


Source: ODA database DGDC

2.2. Implementation/ monitoring phase

The majority of the respondents of the survey (91.0%) assess that gender issues should be addressed in the implementation and monitoring phase of interventions, as figure 2.6. demonstrates.

Figure 2.6. Answers to the question: Do you think that gender should be addressed within your organisation when implementing and monitoring projects/programmes?



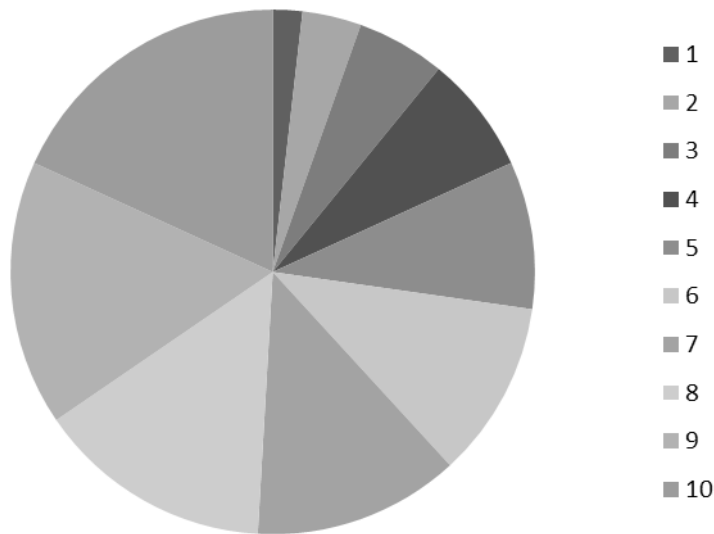
Source: Authors' Survey

A significantly lower percentage of respondents, however, think that gender is more than sufficiently or sufficiently addressed (31.0%). Similar to the identification/ formulation phase, the DGDC respondents are with 23.5% (only 'sufficiently', none of the DGDC respondents scored this item with 'more than sufficiently') the most critical, the NGO and academic respondents with 32.9% again the most positive. These percentages are, however, for all the groups of respondents, considerably lower than for the identification/ identification phase. Reasons for not or hardly addressing gender issues include lack of knowledge, lack of expectation by the organisation and lack of monitoring of the degree to which gender issues have been integrated. When gender is addressed in the implementation and monitoring phase, it is mainly through strengthening the gender capacity of staff that is involved in the implementation and monitoring of interventions (23x mentioned), by taking gender issues into account in the selection of target groups (21x mentioned) and through using and monitoring sex-specific indicators in the intervention (21x).

An evaluation of the quality of BTC performance in 2008 mentions that "Gender is approached in a very classical way and is limited to guaranteeing equal participation/access of women and men to the project and to the realisation of the project. There is seldom a strategy for the empowerment of women" (quoted in CTB, 2010: 25). A more recent evaluation of the quality of BTC performance in 2011 reveal comparable findings; in only 3 out of the 32 analysed interventions specific efforts have been made to integrate a gender dimension. Even though several analysed interventions have a women-friendly orientation (focus on women, themes/ sub-sectors that focus on women, or sectors in which many women work), they did not make specific efforts to strengthen the gender capacity of staff of partner organisations, to stimulate participation of women in decision-making or to ensure their access to the services of the intervention, as a result of which the leverage effect on gender is limited (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2012). Based on the above, we may conclude that in practice, the shift from a WID approach to a GAD approach has hardly been made. The findings from an evaluation synthesis of the African Development Bank reveal that Belgium is not unique in its continued use of the WID approach. According to this evaluation synthesis gender mainstreaming is often interpreted as a focus on women, while new concepts of gender and new working approaches are not easily adopted. In addition, in a context of time and budget constraints combined with limited specific knowledge, staff easily fall back on a WID approach (African Development Bank Group, 2012).

Most of the participants of the survey agree that gender is considered too much as an issue that only concerns women. Of the eight statements included in the survey this statement received the highest average scores of all respondents (7.2), with more than half of the respondents (59%) giving an 8, 9 or 10 (scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 10 = strongly agree).

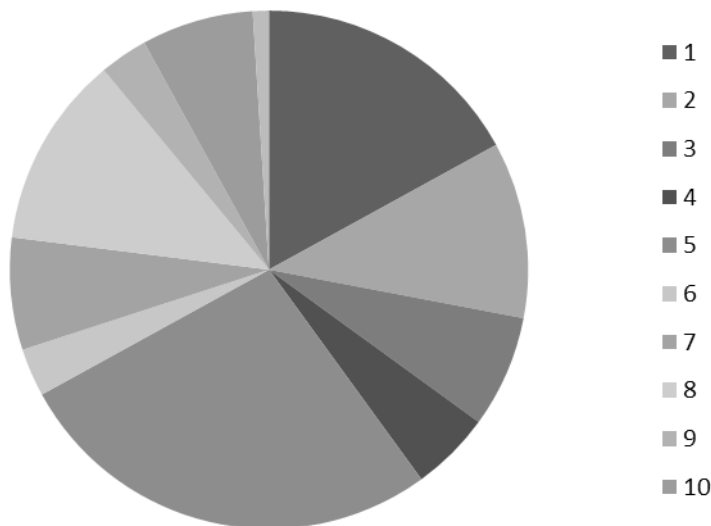
Figure 2.7. extent of agreement on the statement 'gender is considered too much as an issue that concerns only women'



Source: Authors' Survey

On the statement 'if we want to improve the situation of women we must primarily work with the men' less respondents agreed (average score 4.8), with only 22% giving an 8, 9 or 10, while 35% gave a 1, 2 or 3 (see figure 2.8).

Figure 2.8. extent of agreement on the statement 'if we want to improve the situation of women, we must primarily work with the men'



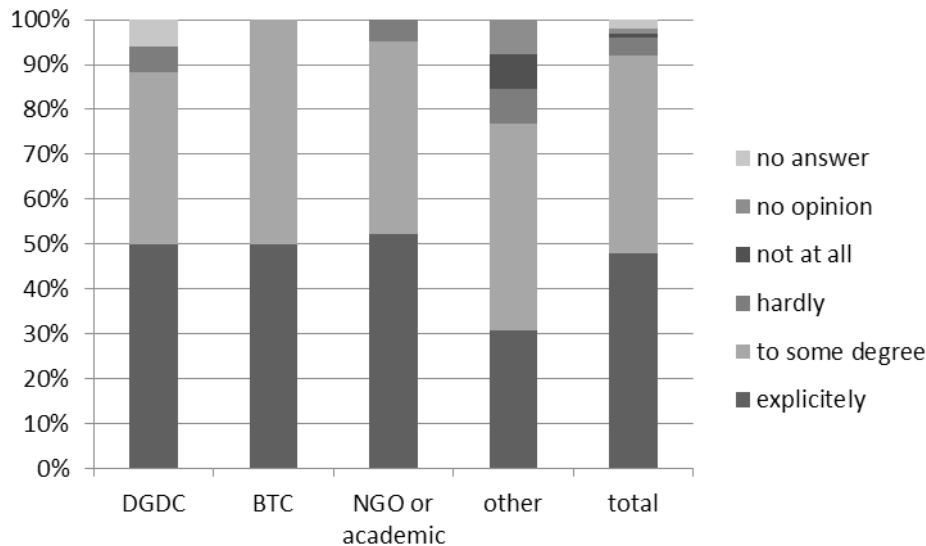
Source: Authors' Survey

Within the group that strongly agreed (8, 9 or 10) on the statement that gender is considered too much as an issue that concerns only women, the opinion on this last statement varies considerably, with 35.6% strongly disagreeing (1, 2 or 3) and 30.5% strongly agreeing (8, 9, 10).

2.3. Evaluation phase

Comparable with the identification/ formulation and implementation/ monitoring of interventions, the majority (92%) of the respondents of the survey are of the opinion that gender should be addressed in the evaluation of interventions, as shown in figure 2.9.

Fig 2.9. Answers to the question: Do you think that gender should be addressed within your organisation when evaluating projects/programmes?



Source: Authors' Survey

While the percentage of respondents who think that gender is more than sufficient-ly or sufficiently addressed in the evaluation of interventions is with 56.1% much lower than the percentage who considers it important, this percentage is considerably higher than for the implementation of monitoring phase (31.0%) and somewhat higher than for the identification/ formulation phase (50.0%). The 'other respondents' are the most critical (46.2%) with regard to the integration of gender in the evaluation of interventions, the BTC the most positive (59.4%).

The relatively positive opinion of the BTC respondents might be related to the fact that the BTC made some efforts to integrate a gender dimension in its evaluations. Transversal themes, including gender are integrated in the template of evaluations (as well as in the templates of baseline reports, monitoring reports and mid-term reviews) and gender is included in a checklist related to the required quality (interviewees). The gender checklist consists of seven questions: 1) Are women and men benefitting from the project in an equal way?; 2) Is the project transforming gender relations?; 3) Is the project reducing existing gender gaps?; 4) Is the project facilitating the participation in the project of women?; 5) Is the project promoting the recruitment of women?; 6) Is the project respecting the national gender policy?; 7) Is the project monitoring its results in a gender sensitive way? So far, gender is not yet integrated in BTC's revised M&E system (MoRe Results), but this is expected to be done in 2014 (interviewees).

In the DGDC as well, the integration of gender issues in evaluations has been improved, as revealed in a BTC analysis of the external evaluations commissioned by the DGDC (Giadrossi et al., 2012). When analysing the integration of gender in projects, evaluators tend to focus on the absence or presence of specific indicators; the absence or presence of a gender training; the difference of what is foreseen in the technical and financial file and what has been

realised; the inclusion of gender in project reports and M&E mechanisms; and the available resources (Giadrossi et al., 2012). Evaluations of programmes of non-governmental actors, on the other hand, hardly discuss transversal themes, which is not surprising as 73% of the reference terms do not refer at all to transversal themes (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2013c).

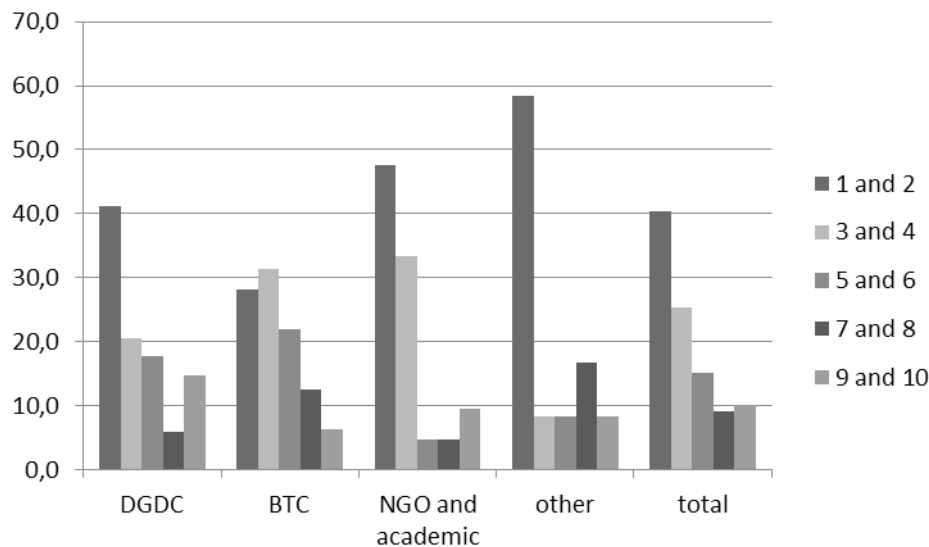
According to the ADB evaluation synthesis, so far no good example exists of an organisation that systematically integrates gender issues in evaluations. The lack of gender integration in M&E has negative consequences for gender mainstreaming, as without systematic process and impact evaluation it is impossible to detect the phenomenon of policy evaporation and to learn from success and failures. Additionally, using evaluative evidence with respect to the impact of gender mainstreaming results is an important trigger to stimulate gender mainstreaming (African Development Bank Group, 2012; see also 3.3).

3. CAPACITY, TOOLS AND INCENTIVES

Belgium's commitment to gender equality is visible in the 2007 Law on Gender Mainstreaming (OECD/DAC, 2010) and in the 1999 Law on International Cooperation and the 2013 Law on Development Cooperation, which has included gender as a transversal theme.

This commitment seems to be acknowledged by the respondents of the survey. More than half of the respondents do not agree with the statement 'gender is not really important to my organisation's leadership' (average score 3.8), as figure 3.1. shows.

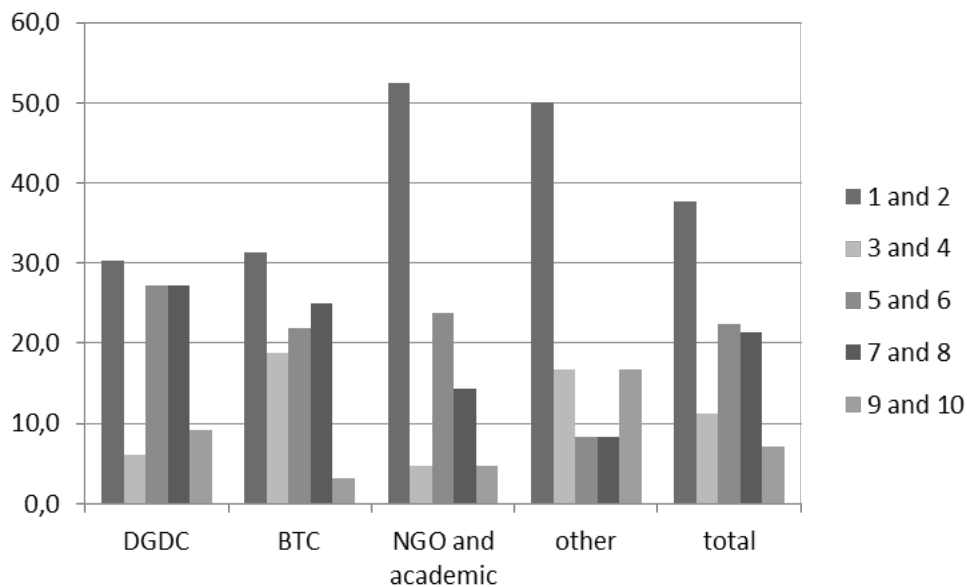
Figure 3.1. Extent of agreement on the statement 'gender is not really important to my organisation's leadership'



Source: Authors' Survey

In addition, many respondents also disagree with the statement 'explicitly dealing with gender is not rewarded/appreciated in my organisation' (average score 4.4). Especially among the NGO/ academic and other respondents, people highly disagree with this statement, as figure 3.2. shows. Among DGDC and BTC respondents, the opinion with respect to this statement is more diverse, with also many respondents agreeing with the statement (36.4% of DGDC respondents and 28% of BTC respondents gave a score between 7 and 10). There are no significant differences in the level of agreement with the statement between management and programme staff.

Figure 3.2. Extent of agreement on the statement 'explicitly dealing with gender is not rewarded/appreciated in my organisation'



Source: Authors' Survey

While the respondents of the survey generally acknowledge the commitment of leadership and feel that dealing with gender is rewarded, at the same time more than half of the respondents (58%) are of the opinion that there are no or inadequate facilities (capacity building, training, technical support, documentation, time) to integrate gender adequately in their tasks. In addition, the previous chapter has shown that the integration of gender in the different phases of the project/ programme cycle, especially in the implementation phase is rather limited. Studies of other (development) institutions have underlined that commitment to gender equality and a gender-sensitive policy discourse does not automatically lead to gender-sensitive practice (see CIDA, 1994; Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002). In order to avoid 'policy evaporation', commitments and general policies need to be translated into adequate human and organisational capacities and clear-cut incentives.

This chapter provides an overview of the capacity, tools and incentives used to implement commitments on gender equality.

3.1. Capacity

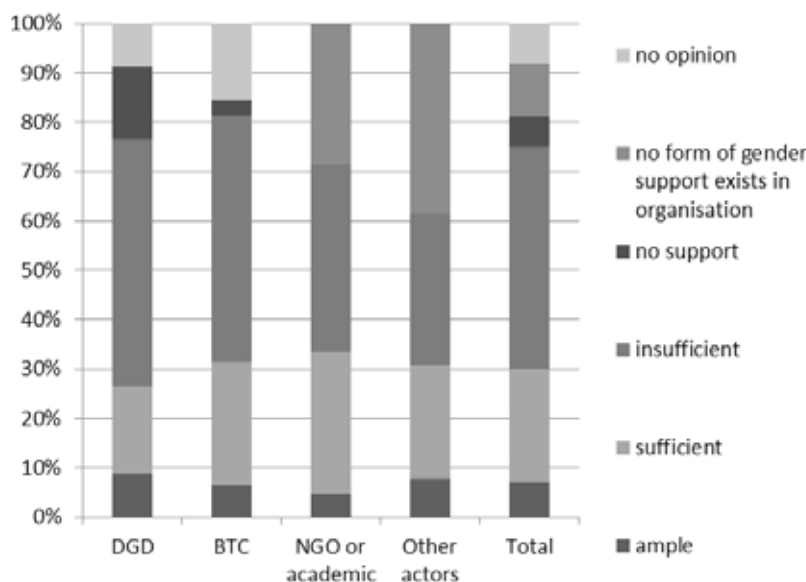
Strengthening the institutional capacities of DGDC is one of the three pillars of the gender strategy paper. The strategy paper formulates some lessons from the past (on the basis of an OECD/DAC document of 2000), including:

- The integration of gender equality on institutional level requires extra means, in the sense that all civil servants are responsible and units in charge of gender equally have rather a catalysing, advising and supporting role;
- An important aspect of each institutional strategy is the development of competence, responsabilisation of civil servants, an adequate follow-up through the elaboration of gender sensitive indicators and publication of results;
- Strengthening the gender capacity of all staff, especially in the field, is crucial (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2002: 23).

In practice, however, gender capacity is concentrated with staff that is specifically assigned to deal with gender issues; within DGDC a specific gender desk with 1 à 2 staff members and within BTC a gender specialist. Gender capacity is especially limited at higher level (interviewees). Whereas the yearly training for DGDC attachés usually devotes some limited attention to gender issues (interviewees), the annual briefings for BTC representatives (ResRep) do not address gender issues (despite lobbying from the gender desk), which further adds to the observation that attention for gender in the field largely depends on the personal commitment of the local representatives (interviewees). Generally, knowledge on transversal themes, including gender equality, is not considered to be needed for all staff, but rather considered to be an add-on (interviewees). A gender network that was installed in February 2006, consisting of staff members of different departments, including the internal M&E unit, and the BTC gender expert, could have stimulated the diffusion of gender expertise throughout the organisation, but unfortunately, the network does not function anymore (interviewees).

Findings of the survey indicate that staff is not completely satisfied with the support from the gender desk/ gender specialist. As figure 3.3 shows 50% of both DGDC and BTC respondents think that the support is insufficient, while 14.7% of the DGDC respondents and 3.1% of the BTC respondents experience no support at all. These percentages are considerably lower for the indirect/ academic actors (38.1% insufficient support, 0% no support) and other actors (30.8% insufficient support, 0% no support), but this can mainly be explained by the absence of specific gender support in these organisations (28.6% respectively 38.5% indicate the absence of specific gender support).

Fig. 3.3 Answers to the question: Do you think that there is sufficient support from the gender desk/gender expert/gender focal point in your organisation?



Source: Authors' Survey

The survey findings have highlighted as well that the division of labour between the DGDC gender desk respectively the BTC gender expert and other DGDC and BTC staff is not really clear; for 55.9% of the DGDC respondents and 46.9% of the BTC respondents the division of labour is not or hardly clear. For the indirect and academic actors and other actors this percentage is again much lower (14.3% respectively 7.7%), but (52.4% respectively 53.8% did not answer). Interestingly, many of the respondents who perceive the division of labour to be clear or very clear are also satisfied with the support of the gender desk/ gender specialist/

gender focal point (23 out of 30 respondents), while many of the respondents who perceive the division of labour to be not or hardly clear are also not satisfied with the support of the gender desk/ gender specialist/ gender focal point (32 out of 38 respondents). This correlation among the perceived clarity of mandates and the perceived quality of support, hints at the fact that a key issue is the clarity of the division of labour^[11]. This unclear division about responsibilities is not unique to the Belgian case, but related to the implementation of gender mainstreaming within organisations in general (Mukhopadhyay, 2009). The underlying assumptions of a gender mainstreaming strategy is that responsibilities are diffused throughout the organisation while gender specialists focus on the catalytic, advisory, supportive, the horizontal (across sectors and aid modalities) and vertical (across different phases of the intervention cycle) oversight functions. In reality, however, no examples exist of organisations that are fully mainstreamed and gender mainstreaming generally remains the responsibility of the gender desks or specialist (Holvoet and Inberg, 2012). Assuming that having a gender mainstreaming policy automatically leads to the existence of gender mainstreaming within the organisation is further strengthened by the idea that gender mainstreaming can be implemented without a cost, a strategy that has been used by gender specialists in an attempt to make gender mainstreaming more attractive. In reality however, additional investments and incentives are needed to trigger the effective implementation of gender mainstreaming, certainly at the initial phase of implementation.

In order to play a catalysing, advising and supporting role effectively, a gender desk should be located high enough in the hierarchy of an organisation. Recently, however, both the DGDC gender desk and the BTC gender specialist have been relocated to a position lower in the hierarchy, the DGDC gender desk is presently relocated from the policy support unit to the thematic direction (more specifically within the unit dealing with ‘society building’), and the BTC specialist is relocated from a middle management location to the agriculture desk. However, the relocation might also have advantages as a closer linkage among the gender expert and a thematic desk also increases opportunities for closer exchange and coordination. A closer cooperation with the sector level (if it effectively takes place) might trigger the translation of gender issues into sector-specific gender language and help to reduce the ‘vagueness’ of the gender terminology which is one of the often heard criticisms which hamper the effective implementation of a gender dimension in sector interventions (interviewees). It is interesting to monitor and evaluate the relocation within BTC^[12] in order to compare the advantages of different locations of the gender expertise within the organisation.

For gender mainstreaming it is crucial that the responsible gender expert possesses certain capacities/ qualities such as assertiveness, pro-activity, networking skills and the ability to ‘sell’ gender issues in the different sectors. Especially within DGDC gender experts do not always possess these capacities/ qualities, which might also lead to a varying visibility of gender issues within the organisation (interviewees). The backstop mission of a DGDC gender expert to the DRC in 2009 serves as a good example, which has also been highlighted in the DAC peer review (OECD/DAC, 2010). This mission resulted in a better integration of gender in the three intervention sectors (agriculture, disclosure of the countryside, technical and vocational education) of the ISP. As 2.1. has shown that the DRC has a relatively low percentage of G-1 interven-

[11] Of the 30 respondents who appreciate the support of the gender desk/ gender specialist/ gender focal point as sufficient or ample 23 respondents think as well that the division of labour is clear or very clear. Of the 51 respondents that are of the opinion that the support is insufficient or non-existent, 32 respondents think as well that the division of labour is not or hardly clear, 12 respondents did not answer.

[12] As the gender expert herself (and not only the location) has also changed within DGDC, it makes no sense to do a similar type of monitoring & evaluation within DGDC.

tions, a higher integration of gender in the ISP might stimulate a better gender integration in the interventions in the DRC. The DAC peer review recommends making sufficient funds available for such backstop missions (OECD/DAC, 2010).

With the aim to coordinate the implementation of the 2007 Law on Gender Mainstreaming within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a Gender Mainstreaming Task Force was set up in 2013. Two staff members of each direction are member of this task force, one effective and one reserve member. At the first meeting it was decided to create a full time position for the coordination of gender mainstreaming. In August 2013 a full-time coordinator was appointed, who is assisted by a part time staff member. Together they form the cell gender mainstreaming, which is connected to the services of the Chairman of the Executive Committee and which has its own budget (interviewees). Compared to other Belgian federal ministries, the instalment of such a high-level gender mainstreaming cell with a full time coordinator is unique (interviewees). While the initiative is laudable, it remains to be seen whether it will be effective in promoting the effective integration of gender mainstreaming throughout the ministry.

3.2. Tools

The gender strategy paper indicates that gender issues are integrated in the methods that staff should use, which are, however, insufficiently operationalised into specific tools. Therefore, the action plan of the strategy paper includes the development of tools that meet the needs of each directorate (evaluation, summary, indicators) and the elaboration of a methodology for evaluating the integration of gender at the institutional level (Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, 2002a: 41). In reality, these tools have not been elaborated, except for the integration of gender in the instructions for the ICPs and in the evaluation sheet of NGOs. Besides, the G-marker is used for monitoring the integration of gender in the identification and formulation of interventions (see 1.2. and 2.1.).

The gender experts DGDC and BTC collaborated intensively in order to integrate a gender dimension in the ISP instructions (interviewees). The instructions indicate that transversal themes (gender, environment, children's rights) should be taken into account in each phase of the ICP and should be integrated in the priority sectors. On the basis of these ISP instructions, the O* Platform 'Aid Effectiveness' developed methods and tools for a better integration with specific attention to the use of entry points to promote gender in sector policies and programs (Holvoet and Inberg, 2009) and applied these specifically to the case of DRC (desk and field study, focus on agricultural sector) (Holvoet and Inberg, 2010a) and Rwanda (desk study, focus on health, energy and forestry sectors) (Holvoet and Inberg, 2010b). In practice, however, this operationalisation of the ISP instructions has not been used thus far.

Gender has been included in the assessment criteria of the indirect actors since 2008. In the assessment criteria of the 2008-2010 programmes specific attention to gender is given in e.g. the area of logical frameworks and M&E. The attention for gender in the assessment criteria of the 2011-2013 is more general and included under the 'relevance' dimension. The most recent assessment criteria, for the 2014-2016 programmes, are again more specific and refer to gender in e.g. the description of specific objectives, the interim results and expected types of activities of the programmes. The fact that, due the 2013 Law on International Cooperation, only gender and environment are retained as transversal themes in these assessment criteria puts the emphasis on these two dimensions and could stimulate the integration of gender in the programmes of indirect actors. So far, however, a lack of gender integration has never been a reason for the rejection of a programme, which does not really incentivize indirect actors to

integrate a gender dimension (interviewees).

The survey shows that 50% of the DGDC respondents think that there are no or no adequate tools available to integrate gender into their work and 58.8% think that there is no or insufficient information available on the working of these tools. From the 16 respondents who think that there are sufficient or ample tools available, 11 are of the opinion that sufficient or ample information is available and 13 out of 16 consider the tools useful or very useful^[13]. All of the respondents who always (1) or mostly (7) use these tools (1) assess the tools as useful (7) or very useful (1)^[14]. Of the respondents who sometimes use the tools (11), most think the tools are useful (6) or very useful (1). Reasons not to use the tools include lack of knowledge of the tools and the fact that the tools are not sector specific.

Since 2011 BTC has used a gender budget scan to assess planned expenditures in terms of their likely impact on women and men and to take stock of the progress during implementation and monitoring. The gender budget scan uses four colours: green for gender-sensitive activities, red for gender-specific activities, yellow for activities that support the gender machinery and blue for gender neutral activities. The gender scan is easy in its use and is considered a useful complementary tool to the G-marker as it is also used beyond the identification phase while it also provides more detailed information (interviewees). Thus far, the gender scan has been applied to about 20 programmes in various sectors.

Despite the existence of this new gender budget scan, 81.3% of the BTC respondents believe that there are no or no adequate tools available for integrating gender into their work, and 81.3% highlight that there is little or no information available on the working of these tools. According to the BTC gender mainstreaming strategy the lack of knowledge and lack of skills to integrate gender in BTC projects and programmes is a problem rather than the lack of tools, as methods, guidelines, manuals, checklists, strategies and tools are widely available at national and international level (CTB, 2010). Five of the six respondents who believe that there are sufficient adequate tools available also assess that there is sufficient information on the working of these tools and five of the six also indicate that these tools are useful or very useful. However, half of the BTC respondents who think that the tools are useful or very useful, hardly or never use these tools (7/14). The four respondents who always or mostly use the tools (logically) also perceive the tools to be useful (1) or very useful (3). Of the eight respondents who sometimes use the tools, only three find the tools useful (2) or very useful (1). An important reason for not using the available tools and instruments is the fact that the tools are not considered to be sector specific enough.

3-3- Incentives

According to the evaluations included in ADB evaluation synthesis, the absence of accountability and incentive systems is a key factor in explaining the limited gender mainstreaming in organisational processes and interventions (African Development Bank Group, 2012). A lack of incentives is also an issue that the large majority of our interviewees have mentioned. Incentives can be categorised as 'hard' or 'soft'. While hard incentives refer to binding and enforceable measures, soft incentives are less precise, non-binding and dependent on voluntary compliance (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2010). Pollack and Hafner-Burton (2010: 292) highlight that in reality there is more of a continuum, from soft to hard, including for instance

[13] The three respondents who highlight that there are sufficient tools available, but assess these not be useful also highlight that there is insufficient information available on the working of these tools.

[14] The respondent who always uses the tools is also the one who assesses them to be very useful.

the establishment of coordinating committees and networks of gender mainstreaming officials, the collection of sex-disaggregated statistics, checklists, manuals, handbooks, gender training, gender impact assessment of policies, post-hoc monitoring and evaluation to the enforcement through positive and negative sanctioning of public officials.

Hafnor-Burton and Pollack (2009) demonstrate in their research on the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming in the EC that cross-cutting mandates such as gender and environment are more successfully implemented when hard incentives are being used. Others (Weaver, 2008 cited in Pollack and Hafnor-Burton, 2010), however, are more sceptical and point out that hard incentives mainly provoke ritual compliance rather than far-reaching changes in social institutions.

In the evaluation of gender and development in Belgian development cooperation, we have focussed on two hard and two soft incentives:

- Sensibilisation, specifically through the demonstration of positive results of gender integration (soft)
- Possibilities for coordination and creation of networking (soft)
- Mechanism for monitoring of level of knowledge and of permanent learning (hard)
- Integration of gender in the assessment criteria of staff (hard)

As far as hard incentives are concerned, we can conclude that these do not exist within DGDC or within BTC. There is no follow-up of the (increase of) staff gender expertise, let alone monitoring of the (change in) degree to which staff members effectively integrate a gender dimension in their work. While the BTC included the integration of gender issues in staff assessment criteria in the 2010 gender mainstreaming strategy, due to internal resistance it has not been implemented (interviewees). Since recently, however, the BTC has paid more attention to formulate vacancy texts in a more gender neutral way and to have as well a gender balance in assessment committees. Knowledge on gender issues is considered an advantage and sometimes a crucial element, but it is not a decisive criterion in appointments (interviewees). This is unique to the Belgian case. The 2012 African Development Group evaluation already highlighted that development institutions hardly include gender expertise and experience in recruitment processes and that gender is generally not included as a transversal theme in the recruitment of non-gender specialists (African Development Bank Group, 2012).

With regard to the soft incentives, both the 2002 DGDC gender strategy paper and the 2010 BTC gender mainstreaming strategy include specific actions to disseminate positive results of gender integration as a way to motivate staff that gender mainstreaming efforts make a difference. In practice, however, not much has been done in this area. This is also reflected in the survey results as 82.3% of the DGDC respondents and 87.5% of the BTC respondents are of the opinion that that there is no or insufficient dissemination of positive results of gender integration (compared to 71.4% respectively 53.9% of NGO and academic respondents and other respondents).

At the level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the recently created Task Force Gender organised some sensibilisation activities in 2013. This included amongst others a presentation by the Federal Institute for equality of men and women on the legal obligations with regard to gender equality as well as a presentation of the Task Force and interdepartmental working

group for members of the direction committee. Additionally, since recently the daily news overview that is sent to all staff members also gives more attention to gender issues (interviewees).

The gender specialists of DGDC and BTC coordinate amongst each other on a voluntary basis, but the level of coordination varies strongly over the period under study. In the context of the integration of gender in the instructions of the ISPs the gender specialists worked closely together, which stimulated a better integration (see above), but currently the cooperation and coordination is less intensive (interviewees). An informal group established for the purpose of monitoring the integration of gender in the ISPs only met once (interviewees). At ministry level two coordination structures exist, i.e. the Task Force Gender for the benefit of gender mainstreaming and an interdepartmental working group that coordinates Resolution 1325 activities. While it is still too soon to assess the functioning of the Task Force Gender and its effectiveness, in theory, such networking might function as a soft incentive to stimulate integration of gender in the policy and activities of DGDC and the other departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The communication with respect to Resolution 1325 between the various departments of the ministry is still rather difficult, despite the existence of the interdepartmental working group (interviewees).

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In line with the 1995 Being Declaration and Platform for Action, Belgium, similar to the majority of bilateral and multilateral donors, has adopted a gender mainstreaming strategy. Various evaluations, however, have demonstrated that the implementation of these strategies is rather weak (African Development Bank Group, 2012). This working paper has presented a selection of the first findings of the evaluation on Gender and Development in Belgian Development Cooperation. Several strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and challenges have been identified throughout the paper, which are highlighted in this concluding chapter.

4.1. Strengths and weaknesses

Belgium has shown commitment to gender (mainstreaming) through the 1999 and 2013 laws on international/ development cooperation, which include gender as transversal theme, and through the 2007 law on gender mainstreaming. By confirming internationally made commitments on gender equality in laws, Belgium clearly moves beyond discourse on gender mainstreaming, which is in contrast to many other countries. However, our findings on Belgium's performance confirm other research that highlights that in reality gender mainstreaming often evaporates throughout the intervention cycle (see e.g. African Development Bank Group, 2012; Holvoet, 2010; World Bank, 2001).

Through the inclusion of gender in the instructions of the ICP and the use of the G-marker attention to gender is highest in the identification/ formulation phase. Analyses on the basis of the G-marker show differences between cooperation channels, sectors and countries. With regard to the percentages of screened expenditures and percentages of interventions with gender equality as main or important objectives, interventions financed through the multilateral channel and international and local NGOs generally perform better than interventions financed through the bilateral and indirect cooperation. As especially the interventions financed through the bilateral cooperation are under control of DGDC and BTC, these results indicate a limited implementation of the gender mainstreaming commitments. When focussing on the sectors, however, interventions in the priority sectors of Belgian development cooperation are on average more often screened than interventions in other sectors. The percentage of expenditures for interventions with gender equality as main or important objective in the priority sectors is above the average level for the sectors in general, although this average is rather low due to some sectors with hardly or no expenditures for gender equality (e.g. debt relief and refugees in donor countries). Expenditures for interventions in partner countries are not more often screened than expenditures for interventions in non partner countries. Large variations exist, however, between the different partner countries, with the DRC having the least screened expenditures (49.8%) and Niger having the most screened expenditures (94.3%). When focussing only on the screened expenditures, large variations exist as well. These variations do not relate to the level of gender equality in a country and might rather be linked to the own ad-hoc initiative of the staff involved, although the susceptibility of a country could play a role as well (a partner country with low levels of gender equality can of course be committed to improve the situation).

Although findings of the second phase of the evaluation can still provide a more nuanced picture, it seems that in the implementation of interventions the focus is rather on women as a specific group than on gender issues. Similar to other countries Belgium development cooperation hardly made the shift from a WID to a GAD approach, which is not entirely surprising as the WID approach fits easier with bureaucratic requirements and consequently holds great

appeal within donor agencies (see Tiessen, 2007). As a result, however, the leverage effect on underlying deep rooted gender relations (which is the aim of the GAD approach) is rather limited (see also Davids and van Driel, 2009; Davids and van Driel, 2010; Chant and Sweetman, 2012).

Different studies have pointed at factors to explain the phenomenon of gender policy evaporation including among others the lack of political willingness and senior management leadership, the unclear division of responsibilities between the gender and the non-gender expertise, the lack of budgets and capacities, deficient monitoring and evaluation, and the lack of accountability structures and clear-cut incentives (African Development Bank, 2012; Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2009; Moser and Moser, 2005; Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2010), factors that have influenced the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Belgium development cooperation as well.

With regard to division of responsibilities between gender and the non-gender expertise, in contrast with the directives formulated in the gender strategy paper, responsibility for gender mainstreaming remains mainly concentrated with the gender desk/ specialists. In addition, the survey demonstrates that division of responsibilities is not clear to the majority of the respondents. This lack of clarity seems to lead to dissatisfaction with the support provided by the gender desk/ specialist, probably because expectations of the support do not match with the support the gender desk/ specialist is able/supposed to give under a gender mainstreaming strategy. This hints at a more fundamental flaw in the underlying theory of gender mainstreaming (implementation), which seriously hampers the effectiveness of its implementation in practice. Notwithstanding the flaws in the underlying theory, the support provided by the gender desk/ specialists, including the use of specific gender tools, is not always perceived as practical enough and often insufficiently framed in the language of the different sectors.

With regard to capacities, gender capacity is minimal and concentrated within the gender desk/ gender specialists. In addition, staff responsible for gender mainstreaming do not always possess the capabilities necessary for gender mainstreaming. In a situation where incentives to mainstream gender are minimal, these specific capabilities (e.g. assertiveness, networking skills) are all the more important. As regards the location of both the DGDC gender desk and BTC gender specialist, both have recently been relocated to lower levels in the hierarchy which, also institutionally, does not really assign them the necessary leverage and authority towards other departments and units while it also does not help to keep the oversight function which is key to gender mainstreaming. However, as argued below, the location with specific sector desks might also have advantages.

With regard to incentives, both hard and soft incentives are largely absent. This glaring absence of incentives is likely to be one of the underlying reasons for the lack of implementation of the gender mainstreaming strategy within Belgian development cooperation.

4.2. Opportunities and threats

The 2007 Law on Gender Mainstreaming and the 2013 Law on Development Cooperation are important opportunities for an increased implementation of gender mainstreaming within Belgian Development Cooperation. As the 2013 law only retained gender and environment as transversal themes, gender might be more emphasised in future policies, programmes and projects. The recent assessment criteria of indirect actors e.g. only include these two transversal themes, which could trigger the integration of gender in the programmes of indirect actors.

The 2007 Law on Gender Mainstreaming resulted in the installation of a Taskforce Gender Mainstreaming within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2013, which is coordinated by the cell gender mainstreaming, which is located in the services of the Chairman of the Executive Committee. With the creation of this cell in a high position in the hierarchy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with its own budget, the ministry formally meets important conditions for effective gender mainstreaming. It is, however, important not to focus only on the inputs but also on the effective implementation, which can e.g. be challenged by a lack of time available for the members of the task force. Some members of the taskforce have, for instance, already highlighted that they are not supposed to spend time on the task force, except for attending meetings while the core work obviously should take place within each of the departments. Especially in the initial phases of gender mainstreaming time, energy and money have to be invested to stimulate effective implementation while also commitment of management is crucial. The presence of these key ingredients are important elements to be in place and monitored from the outset. If not, it is highly unlikely that the task force will function effectively, let alone, lead to results. If the presence/absence of the key ingredients for implementation of gender mainstreaming is not monitored also future evaluations will not be able to identify the underlying reasons for the lack of effectiveness, which is likely to add again to the existing frustration with respect to the effect of gender mainstreaming (while it was not implemented in the first place).

As far as the institutional location of the gender expertise is concerned, the location of the gender specialist within a sector desk can provide an opportunity to increase the effectiveness of the gender support. Given the fact that a number of other building blocks are not in place for the gender expert to be able to focus more on the oversight function (which necessitates a high level positioning in the organisation), the lower level location within a specific thematic department might probably be considered a second best strategy in which the focus is on integration of gender in some key priority sectors. It might at the least trigger a more in-depth exchange and collaboration with the staff of the specific sector in which the gender expert is located which may result in a less vague and more sector-specific gender approach. If this proves to be successful, it may later on be replicated in other sector departments with the gender expert moving from sector to sector department for considerable periods of time. It is advisable, however, that the gender specialist remains directly accountable to higher management instead of to the head of the sector desk, in order to increase the leverage of the gender support provided.

The recently appointed new Board of Directors of BTC (12 members) consists of 50% of women, compared to two women in the prior Board of Directors. While it is far too early to assess the effect of this substantial change in the composition of the board, a more representative board of directors could provide an opportunity for BTC to trigger the gender sensitivity of its organisational processes, its operations and outcomes.

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