

Gender Mainstreaming in the European Development policy towards the ACP- Countries: On the road to transformation?

Gender Mainstreaming within the new programming framework of
the 11th European Development Fund

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1. Introduction

Gender mainstreaming in the European Development policy towards the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP) is part of the development cooperation since the signing of the Cotonou Agreement in 2000. The notion of gender equality already started to appear in the agreements during the Third Lomé convention. This occurred at the same time as the development paradigm shifted from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD). It is from this moment that gender mainstreaming became an important development tool. The EU expressed in its summary report of the public consultation ‘Towards a New Partnership between the European Union and the African Caribbean and Pacific Countries after 2020’ that gender equality and women empowerment are one of the five main priorities in future cooperation. As a result, gender equality will be included in the future development agenda of the EU in relation to the ACP countries.

The idea of Gender and Development and gender mainstreaming is to transform gender relations. This means changing the patriarchal structures, a long-term process that does not change overnight. Theory on gender mainstreaming explains that gender mainstreaming is a contested concept and the transformative character depends on the type of strategy involved. Strategies are divided into an integrationist approach, transforming policy and policy practice, or a transformative agenda-setting approach that aims to change society’s power bases and include women’s voices. However, often is shown that gender mainstreaming strategies seem to lack a transformative character. The EU considers policy gender mainstreamed when a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all levels and stages of policy making. However, previous studies by scholars have proven that European policy documents concerning development strategy and planning lack transformative language, inclusion of voices of the Global South and no commitment in budgetary means. Nevertheless, theory does stress that the transformation of gender relations and patriarchal structures remain a time-consuming process.

Since 2014 the European Commission launched the new programming framework of the 11th European Development fund (EDF) and the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI) for the period 2014-2020. The 11th EDF presented a new approach in programming and strategy based upon national development plans of the developing countries. This strategy sees the countries of the Global South develop their own plans. The new framework should simplify and improve development cooperation including gender equality goals. Scholars are critical of the commitment to cross-cutting issues and argued that gender equality and mainstreaming are barely present in the new European framework and question whether they even address the objectives targeted by women’s and feminist organizations. The EU, on the other hand, argued the opposite and, even though the EU admitted to having muted other cross-cutting issues, they continued their strong commitment to gender mainstreaming. This is especially true in comparison with the 10th EDF framework, gender mainstreaming was more positively perceived by critics. However, is the gender mainstreaming approach of the 11th EDF more transformative in comparison with the 10th EDF? Is the new programming framework a step forward in the process of changing patriarchal structures? And does the EU includes women’s voices that are represented by the ACP Women’s and Feminist organizations?

This thesis seeks to contribute to the existing gender mainstreaming literature by examining the most recent steps that have been taken in the process of changing or transforming patriarchal structures and gender relations. Other auteurs have extensively examined the

processes of gender mainstreaming of European development policy in the periods 2003-2007 and 2008-2013. This thesis builds on this research by examining gender mainstreaming within the development policy of 2014-2020. Is the EU taking steps forward in the process or are signs of change and transformation absent? This will be examined through a comparative analysis between new documents published in the period 2014-2020 and the previously studied documents of the period 2008-2013. The analysis will focus on possible progress made in terms of transformative potential of the new programming framework of the 11th EDF.

In order to analyse the steps taken in changing or transforming gender relations and patriarchal structures, the gender mainstreaming strategy in the European development policy towards the ACP-countries and the related policy documents such as Country Strategy Papers, National Indicative Programmes and National Development Strategies will be examined. Secondly, the objectives presented in the documents will be compared to the objectives of Women's and Feminist organizations in their respective region to see if women's voices are included. For the first question documents from 2008-2013, the 10th EDF, and 2014-2020, the 11th EDF, will be examined. The research on the gender mainstreaming strategy will be conducted by a quantitative analysis that focuses on the count of female, male and gender references in the text of the studied documents, as well as a qualitative analysis that focuses on the inclusion of gender issues in these documents. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis will serve to answer the second question, does the EU includes women's voices in their strategy. The analysis will focus on objectives of women's and feminist organizations from the ACP region and examine whether women's voices are included in the strategy documents or whether gaps appear.

The thesis will start by providing an historical overview on the development of gender equality paradigms in European development policy followed by an introduction on gender equality within the EU-ACP development cooperation. Consequently, the theoretical basis of the subject will be presented in a literature review. The last chapters comprise the new programming framework under the 11th EDF, the methodology, the analysis and the conclusion.

2. From WID to GAD and Gender Mainstreaming

In chapter 2 the evolution of gender equality in EU development policy will be discussed in order to understand the EUs development regarding the inclusion of gender equality in development policy. The chapter will discuss the policy paradigms shifts within the gender approaches in EU development policy and their differences in approaching gender (in)equality.

2.1. Early Gender Equality policies in Development

The first gender equality policies in the field of development evolved in the 1950s-1960s. Policy concerning gender equality was mainly focused on welfare. The welfare approach aimed to develop women into better mothers. This approach conceptualized 'women' as a passive beneficiary of development (Moser, 1993). The reproductive role of women was recognized and policy focused on food-aid, malnutrition and family planning (Moser, 1993). The patriarchal and liberal discourse behind the approach left problems of gender relations in society unchallenged (Rai in Visvanathan, Duggan, Wiegiersma and Nisonoff, 2002). The emphasis of women as mothers created more dependency instead of independency (Moser, 1993). In this case, women were considered the problem (Moser, 1993). Still, the welfare approach remains popular for first world development policies regarding the third world because it is a safe strategy that leaves many gender aspects unchallenged (Moser, 1993). It does not question the traditional role of women within society and gender division of labour, for example (Moser, 1993).

In the same period, 1950s -1960s, the EEC created a basic foundation of gender equality in the Treaty of Rome in 1957 (Lister and Carbone, 2006). The EEC implemented article 119 that covered the equal payment between men and women, (Lister and Carbone, 2006). Nevertheless, the article was not enforced until more than a decade later and not a true act to achieve more gender equality as social or gender equality where not the underlying idea of this provision (Macrae, 2009). France wanted to implement the gender provision because they had implemented equal pay for men and women earlier (European Commission, 2017). Hence, France tried to avoid unfair competition that would potentially hurt French business due to cheap female labour (European Commission, 2017).

2.2. Women in Development

The EU started to integrate gender equality in its development policy since 1975 in context of the United Nations (UN) decade of Women in Development. After widespread criticism of liberals and socialists on the welfare approach, the United Nations (UN) organized the Women's Year Conference in 1975 (Rai in Visvanathan, Duggan, Wiegiersma and Nisonoff, 2002). During this conference the UN announced the start of the decade of Women in Development. The alternative approach should focus on equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment (Moser, 1993). The EEC first gender policies in development cooperation occurred within this context shaped by the UN. The approach was developed according the pioneering book of Ester Boserup 'Woman's Role in Economic Development' (Jaquette, 2017). The approach stated that women were excluded from the development process before

(Debusscher, 2013). This approach conceptualized ‘women’ as active participants in development and focused mainly on political and economic autonomy for women and reducing inequalities with men (Moser, 1993). WID emphasized economic efficiency, equity and labour relations. Both men and women in the Third World should be able to benefit from modernization (Rai in Visvanathan, Duggan, Wieggersma and Nisonoff, 2002).

The WID approach was highly criticized for being a Western approach and a form of colonialism or neo-colonialism that declined the status of women in developing countries (Moser, 1993). The dependency theory underlined the exploitative history of the North-South relations. Critics perceived Women’s oppression a product of imperialism and (neo-) colonialism. Additionally, underlying societal and cultural problems remained unaddressed and as a result unequal gender relations were ignored (Debusscher, 2013; Subrahmanian, 2007). WID initiatives were also criticized by Marxists and Communist feminists from the West for their capitalist character. They perceived the initiatives as a way to counter communism in the Third World through Western foreign assistance (Jacquetta, 2017). Nevertheless, the Western feminist discourse saw major progress by women in communist countries as China and Cuba (Jaquette, 2017). For many Western feminist, part of radical women’s movements during that period, the communist example demonstrated that liberal capitalism could not foster any transformative change and counter male dominance (Jacquetta, 2017).

2.3. Gender and Development

The critique in the 1980s has led to a shift in the focus of the WID. The UN held the Beijing Conference in 1995, where the EU played a significant role, and the WID approach was officially transformed into the Gender and Development (GAD) approach (Debusscher, 2011). Instead of focusing on the inclusion of women in development, a transformation of gender relations as such became the main goal (Rai in Visvanathan, Duggan, Wieggersma and Nisonoff, 2002). This meant that the GAD paradigm acknowledged that the relation between women and men had to be analysed to improve women’s status (Debusscher and Hulse, 2014). Accordingly, the EU adopted the Resolutions on integrating gender equality in development cooperation with the following objective:

“To mainstream gender issues into all development cooperation policies, taking account of the particular status of women in the countries in question (their legal and actual status). Activities should also develop and promote endogenous public and private capacities in developing countries.” (The European Council, 1998:1)

Moreover, the EU included the objective of the resolution in the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 (O’Conner, 2014). The key objectives promoted in the treaty were high level of employment and equality between women and men (O’Conner, 2014). The EU also committed itself to promote gender equality in all its activities according the idea of gender mainstreaming (O’Conner, 2014). The newly included principles of gender mainstreaming defined a shift in the development of gender policies and their implementation (David & Guerrina, 2013). From now on gender dimensions would be included in all policy areas of the EU. Bretherton in David and Guerrina (2013) explains the gender mainstreaming approach as following:

“gender mainstreaming [...] reflects analysis of the roles and behaviours not only of women,

but also of men; and of the interaction between them. It implies that men, as well as women, will need to adapt. Gender focused approaches do not merely seek to add women to a particular context; they seek to change the context itself.”(2013:54)

Nevertheless, the GAD approach has been criticized over the past years. Debusscher (2011) argues that the shift has not succeeded. According to Debusschers analysis the GAD contained the same conservative focus as the WID. She argues that women were still perceived as the problem and the one's that had to provide a solution for gender inequality. Thus, in practice the GAD ignored gender as a type of relation. Furthermore, Debusscher found a certain Europeanness in their development policy where the EU acts as a normative power in realizing goals as gender equality.

Moreover, GAD and gender mainstreaming as a strategy were not popular in the operational and institutional structure, resources and working methods (Aasen, 2006). The many different tools, guidelines and analytical research used on how to integrate women and gender equality showed few examples of success within development cooperation (Aasen, 2006)

2.4. Millennium Development Goals

In the year 2000, a few years after the Beijing Conference, the United Nations (UN) presented seven Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs would dominate the development discourse for the next decade (Sen & Mukherjee, 2014). The 3rd MDG focused on gender equality and its goal was to: “Promote gender equality in all levels of education and empower women”. The EU endorsed the MDGs and made them a central objective for the European development policy (Lister, 2005). Accordingly, the EU developed the European Consensus on Development. This document contained a strong focus on the MDGs and served as a guiding document for European development cooperation and policy combined with gender mainstreaming.

3. Gender equality policy towards ACP-Countries

This Chapter provides a brief overview of the development of gender equality in the EU-African Caribbean Pacific region (ACP) relation to gain insight before the case study on ACP development policy and gender mainstreaming will be conducted.

3.1. Lomé Conventions

The development of gender equality in European development policy discussed above had an impact on the EU-ACP relations. The first references to women rights in the development cooperation with the ACP countries were found the Third Lomé Convention signed in 1984 (Debusscher, 2013). Article 123 of the Convention stated that:

“1. Co-operation shall support the ACP States' efforts aimed at enhancing the work of women, improving their living conditions, expanding their role and promoting their status in the production and development process.” (European Communities, 1986: p.41)

“2. Particular attention shall be given to access by women to all aspects of training, to more advanced technology, to credit and to co-operative organizations, and to appropriate technology aimed at alleviating the arduous nature of their task.” (European Communities, 1986: p.41)

Although the aims set out in Article 123 were a beginning of the inclusion of gender equality, it was still focused on the “... arduous nature of their task” and narrowed to a small number of socio-economic sectors (The Courier, 1985; Debusscher, 2013). These aims were rooted in the Women in Development approach. As discussed earlier the WID approach was heavily criticized for ignoring unequal gender relations. Also, in the Third Lomé Convention the emphasis was merely on how development could benefit from women instead of focusing on social justice and gender equality (Debusscher, 2013).

Progress on gender became visible under the Fourth Lomé Convention, signed in 1989. The convention included many references to women in the context of human rights, participation in economic and social processes, education and training, welfare and environmental management, it even included a part specially focused on ‘Women in Development’ (Lister, 2005; European Communities, 1992: Article 153).

3.2. Cotonou Agreement

The successor of the Lomé Conventions, The Cotonou agreement signed in 2000, is the current framework for the EU-ACP relations and shows a strong commitment to gender equality. The gender provisions are found in the Preamble, nine articles and in the joint declaration on the actors of the partnership (Painter and Ulmer, 2002). The Cotonou agreement was a key step forward promoting gender mainstreaming: “Systematic account shall be taken of the situation of women and gender issues in all areas — political, economic and social” (EC, 2012). Moreover, it was the first time the term ‘gender’ was included in an agreement between the EU and the ACP countries (Arts in Lister & Carbone, 2006). The aim

for gender equality is further elaborated under article 31 of the Cotonou agreement (EC, 2012):

Cooperation shall help strengthen policies and programmes that improve, ensure and broaden the equal participation of men and women in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life. Cooperation shall help improve the access of women to all resources required for the full exercise of their fundamental rights. More specifically, cooperation shall create the appropriate framework to:

1. (a) *integrate a gender-sensitive approach and concerns at every level of development cooperation including macro- economic policies, strategies and operations; and*
2. (b) *encourage the adoption of specific positive measures in favour of women such as:*
 1. (i) *participation in national and local politics;*
 2. (ii) *support for women's organisations;*
 3. (iii) *access to basic social services, especially to education and training, health care and family planning;*
 4. (iv) *access to productive resources, especially to land and credit and to labour market; and*
 5. (v) *taking specific account of women in emergency aid and rehabilitation operations.*

After the first version of the Cotonou agreement signed in 2000, the agreement has been revised several times. The latest revision in 2010 added a section to article 31 that includes important gender issues:

“... addressing gender inequality, gender-based violence and abuse, as drivers of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and intensifying efforts to safeguard women's and girls' rights, develop effective gender sensitive HIV/AIDS programmes and services for women and girls, including those related to sexual and reproductive health and rights, and to support the full involvement of women in planning and decision making related to HIV/AIDS strategies and programmes;”(European Commission, 2012; 43)

4. Literature review: Gender Mainstreaming, the ‘transformative’ approach

As gender mainstreaming is widely adopted in EU treaties and agreements it is important to look into the body of literature concerning gender mainstreaming. Especially, the different kind of gender mainstreaming strategies that can be adopted in development policy and what they mean for the understanding of the concept of gender and their potential to transform gender relations. This is one of the main focus points whilst researching the transformation process of the European development policy towards the ACP countries. As other strategies are more likely to foster transformative results than others. In this chapter, the different gender mainstreaming strategies will be discussed. Also, the concept of gender will be explicitly discussed as it provides insight on how gender can be understood and what difficulties arise from the complexity of the dynamic concept. Finally, the complexity plays a role in the gender mainstreaming strategies as it defines the transformational character of the strategy. The chapter will begin with an explanation of gender mainstreaming and the discussion of the concept of gender.

4.1. ‘Gender mainstreaming’ a contested concept

The change towards a gender mainstreaming policy has been an initiative that derived from feminist critiques related to previous policies aiming for gender equality (Mazey, 2002). The aim of the critiques was to achieve gender equality beyond the workplace, the main focus of EU legislation (Mazey, 2002). In 1998 the Council of Europe designed a definition of gender mainstreaming for the first time:

“Gender mainstreaming is the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making.” (Council of Europe, 1998:15)

According to the Council of Europe (1998) gender mainstreaming challenges the gender relations as is and seeks to transform these. A transformation will contribute to the gender equality and drift away from the male biased society. Nevertheless, there has been argued that some gender mainstreaming approaches are more capable of fostering such a transformation than others (Debusscher and Hulse, 2014). Critique on gender mainstreaming approaches focuses particularly on the strategies and as Tine Davids et al. (2014) describes it, the ‘taken-for granted’ conceptualisation of gender.

4.2. Underneath the concept of gender mainstreaming

The ‘taken-for-granted’ conceptualisation of gender emphasizes the unequal power relations between women and men and is likely to maintain patriarchal structures (Davids et al, 2014). In this case ‘taken-for-granted’ means that the divide of sexes is used to approach gender relations. However, Davids et al. explain that including women in development processes to generate change in society is simply not enough. Gender should be viewed as a complex power relation that affects daily life for many and development as such (Davids et al., 2014). Nevertheless, the meaning of gender underlying the concept of gender mainstreaming is not

clear-cut and difficult to define. Therefore, this problem remains topical in the debate on gender mainstreaming. Joan Eveline and Carol Bacchi (2005) even refer to gender as 'slippery' term. Historically, 'gender' was divided in two ways: as a sex (biologically) and as a social construction (Eveline and Bacchi, 2005). Eveline and Bacchi explain that this distinction was valuable to feminists as they were now able to argue that the caring nature of women did not have a natural basis and that the difference between women and men in reproductive functions and physique should not influence the opportunities of both in society. Thus, the emphasis should be put on gender as a social construction instead of just the division of sexes. In addition, the Council of Europe (1998) stressed that besides a social construction, 'gender' also stands for the relationship between the sexes. Nevertheless, over time 'gender' was linked to 'women' instead of both sexes, drifting away from the idea that gender is socially constructed and defines the relationship between the sexes. This obstructed the goal of changing or transforming gender relations (Baden and Goetz, 1997). Many scholars critiqued this type of theorizing of gender and developed new thoughts on gender. For example, Connell (1987, book review: Marilyn Lake), he argued that gender equality is not only an unequal power relations between men and women, but also a form of hegemonic masculinity that excludes other masculinities such as homosexuals. The same occurs when referring to women. Connell critiques heterosexuality that is considered the norm when referring to gender.

Geeta Chowdry and Sheila Nair (2002), approach the concept of gender through a postcolonial feminist International relations (IR) perspective. They believe that the concept of gender is dictated by Eurocentric views. Post-colonial IR theorists as Chowdry and Nair believe that colonial constructions are still in place and have created the power relations of today. This western cultural dominance is the product of the colonial rule where Europeans were seen as superior and 'the other' as inferior. They argue that for challenging the mainstream concept of gender, it is necessary to address the relationship between (neo-) imperialism and race. The exploitation of the South by the North marked the concept of gender and intersecting concepts as race and class. According to them the Eurocentric lens is not fit to accommodate the intersectionality of gender, race and class. Like Connell, Chowdry and Nair seek to challenge the norm, but through a post-colonial lens. They centralize the importance of gender and intersectionality with race and class and criticize the homogeneity and simplified constructions of the Third World women.

Chandra Mohanty (1991) supports the views of Chowdry and Nair. She argues that gender inequality is based on Western feminist experiences, indicating that these experiences created the norm. As a consequence, 'gender' or even 'women' are quasi-universal terms defined by western Feminist that exclude the experiences of for example women of colour, non-heterosexuals and poor women (Mohanty, 1991; Pateman et al., 1992). Subrahmanian (2004) refers to this as the hollowness of the concept, where gender is simplified. Elizabeth Spelman, as described in the review of Jennifer Nedelsky, argued that aspects of race and class should become part of the gender concept especially since gender is social constructed this should be a requirement. Bessis (2004) suggested that international development organizations might emphasize on gender to depoliticize issues concerning social inequality and conflict

4.3. Gender Mainstreaming Strategies

As a result the contested nature of the concept of gender, that is discussed above, provides a narrow lens for the diverse process of gender mainstreaming (Subrahmanian, 2004). Davids et al. (2014) argues that vagueness deriving from the concept of gender has indeed its effect on gender mainstreaming approaches and affects the transformative nature of gender mainstreaming policy. According to Davids et al gender mainstreaming can be placed in two different frames. The two frames that are referred to are:

1. Transforming and/or improving policy making
2. Changing society's power bases

Davids et al. explains that there exists a dilemma between the two points and often it remains unclear what the sole purpose of gender mainstreaming is. This also applies to the European development policy in the context of development. The transformative character of a policy depends on the way it is examined.

The two opposing points presented by Davids et al. are the foundation of two gender mainstreaming approaches: the transformative agenda setting approach and the integrationist approach. Whereas the transformative agenda-setting includes more radical feminist ideas, women's voices of civil society and aims to change society as Davids et al. describes, the integrationist approach focuses on transforming policy making and policy practice (Allwood, 2013; Davids et al., 2014; Debusscher, 2013)

Sylvia Walby (2005) argues that the two frames involving gender mainstreaming, 'gender equality' and mainstreaming', imply that gender mainstreaming is a contested process. This means that multiple interpretations of gender mainstreaming and its end goal are possible. Walby discusses the vision of Rees (1998) where transformation means that "neither the assimilation of women into men's way, nor the maintenance of dualism between women and men, but rather something new, a positive form of melding, in which the outsiders, feminist, changed the mainstream" (Walby, 2005: 323). Another vision she explains is of Jahan (1995) who argues similarly to Davids et al. that gender mainstreaming has two outcomes 'agenda setting' or 'integration'. The outcome 'agenda setting' refers to transformation and reorientation of existing policies paradigms, changing the decision-making process, prioritizing gender equality objectives and reformulate policy goals. Walby explains that in this case the mainstream shall have to change instead of the outsiders. The integrationist approach introduces a gender perspective that does not challenge the policy paradigm in place (Walby, 2005). This means that it is only used to achieve the existing policy goals more effectively. Walby emphasizes that the latter approach is more likely to be implemented but will lack a transformative character. The first approach remains appealing to feminist although often the integrationist approach is preferred by policymakers.

According to Mieke Verloo (2005) the transformative nature of gender mainstreaming policy depends on its praxis. In this sense, there are several strategies that can be adopted in gender mainstreaming policies. Mieke Verloo (2005) mentions the three strategies based on the gender and political theory of Judith Squires: the strategy of inclusion, the strategy of reversal and the strategy of displacement. The first strategy focuses on the inclusion of women in the world as it is, from which they are currently excluded. This theory is mainly popular in the liberal feminist discipline. Verloo emphasizes that the strategy is seeking gender neutrality and seeks to extend dominant values to all, regardless of their gender. The second strategy,

the strategy of reversal, lays emphasis on gender differences. According to the strategy, the female gendered identity has to be recognized and the male dominance and culture is seen as the problem. A non-hegemonic gender identities and cultures are pursued within the strategy. This is mainly a strategy that belongs to a more radical or cultural feminist perspective. The third and last strategy is the strategy of displacement that moves beyond gender and actively pursues politics of diversity. This idea is firmly present in the postmodern or post-structural feminist discipline. The strategy seeks to destabilize the relation/opposition between equality and difference, the strategies of inclusion and reversal and gender hierarchies and seek to deconstruct the gendered world. In conclusion, this line of thought problematizes the genderedness of the world and argues that gendered identities are a product of a political discourse.

Squires (2005) builds on these three strategies and their potential to transform by outlining the strengths and weaknesses of each strategy and tests their capacity to fulfil the demands of diversity, mentioned by Mohanty, Baden and Goetz, and democratic inclusion. Squires addresses the narrowness created by the concept of gender in gender mainstreaming that Subrahmanian mentioned. According to Squires aspects of religion, race, class and disability have to be taken into account, nevertheless little has been done to develop a diversity mainstreaming approach instead of gender mainstreaming approaches. Squires concluded the following: *“I have argued that mainstreaming is best understood as a transformative strategy when it is conceptualized as a means of pursuing complex equality via inclusive deliberation.”* The transformative model Squires refers to gender mainstreaming as displacement strategy, as mentioned earlier.

Naila Kabeer (2005) explains the nature of transformation through the distinction of two types of agency. She points out that there is a need for transformative agency instead of effectiveness of agency. Effectiveness of agency in the case of gender equality refers to women fulfilling the role society assigned them with greater efficiency. On the contrary, transformative agency aims to challenge these restrictive roles and the responsibilities that come along with such roles. Kabeer emphasizes that in order to challenge the patriarchal structures, a long term-process is needed as discriminatory structures do not change overnight. It is a process that will trespass generations.

4.4. The EU and Gender Mainstreaming Strategies

Debusscher and Hulse (2014) argue that the EU, within its own borders, is mostly leaning towards integrationist approach. The tendency towards the integrationist approach instead of the transformative agenda-setting approach can be found in the implementation process according to Mark Pollack and Emilie Hafner-Burton (2000). The process that nearly every policy is subjected to consists of many stages. Pollack and Hafner Burton refer to this as ‘piercing the needles eyes’. Gender mainstreaming policies, thus, have to pass through three needles eyes (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2000: 437):

1. The supranational level: The Commission
2. The intergovernmental level: The Council
3. The Member State level: the provisions have to be implemented according to the ‘gender order of each Member State.

This could explain a possible tendency towards the integrationist approach in the EU development policy as the implementation process is complicated. In this case, Debusscher and Hulse (2014) argue that gender mainstreaming can be perceived as a technical tool that contributes to the internal market and economic growth instead of democracy and social justice. Thus, gender mainstreaming serves to achieve other goals. Moreover, gender policy is documented in non-binding communications and guidelines and is depended on the goodwill of the Member states (Debusscher and Hulse, 2014). Nevertheless, the EU itself defines their gender mainstreaming strategy as a long-term strategy to change the dominant mainstream, which means that they want to pursue a transformative strategy. The European gender committee described the mainstream as “... dominant ideas, attitudes, practices or trends... that provides the rationale for the allocation of resources and opportunities.” (Gender Committee, Equal). Within the EU strategy gender is perceived as a socially constructed concept. The European development consensus enforces this by including intersectionality as described by Mohanty and Nedelsky earlier. The description and goals set by the European Commission show the opposite of an integrationist approach.

4.5. EU Gender Mainstreaming Strategies in the ACP Countries

As mentioned earlier, scholars as Debusscher (2011,2014) argue that the EU gender mainstreaming strategy in development policy has proven to be largely integrationist. In her research on gender mainstreaming the strategies of Latin America and South Africa only confirmed that the dominant mainstream and hierarchy remained in place. According to Debusscher development aid fell into the scope of Women in Development, as explained in chapter 2, instead of Gender and Development that supports the gender mainstreaming approach and gender equality was used as a tool to achieve other goals.

Anne van Vleuten’s (2006) research on gender mainstreaming in the ACP countries resulted in similar critiques. She argues that gender mainstreaming is “...an exercise of expressing policy priorities and intentions, which have not been followed up by active and well-supported implementations efforts”. The strategic and planning documents concerning development aid show “modest gender performance” and a lack of inclusion of women’s organizations and thus, women’s voices, that were included in the implementation of the Cotonou agreement.

On the contrary, the EU is determined to improve its policy and has set ambitious plans regarding the goal of gender mainstreaming in the future within the EU-ACP relations. For the 11th European Development Fund the EU has changed the planning process and use of documents, this will be elaborated on in the next chapter, that simplifies the strategic course and has proven to be effective in the field in of the ACP countries, for example Zambia (European, 2017). As mentioned, before the new European consensus on development also shows a positive and refreshing outlook in the field of gender mainstreaming where intersectionality is part of the approach.

As the EU has promising words and even achieved some positive results in the field of gender mainstreaming the past years it is valuable for this field of research to examine the new approach to development policy in the ACP-countries for the period of 2014-2020 by comparing this to the previous period of 2008-2013, which showed that gender mainstreaming remained rather integrationist (Debusscher, 2011 and 2014; van Vleuten, 2006). Especially, since the EU and other scholars agree on the fact that transformation does not come overnight and the set goal of a transformative gender mainstreaming strategy

requires a long-term process. Therefore, this thesis will examine if the European development policy is heading in the direction of a transformative strategy.

In this thesis, a transformative gender mainstreaming strategy in the EU-ACP development policy moves beyond gender and aims for diversity and to eventually diversity mainstreaming taking into account for example, race, class, religion, disability or sexual preference. This also means that the perception of gender has to drift away from its focus on exclusively women and be more inclusive. This means that gender relations and patriarchal structures as such are challenged and women's voices are included in the gender mainstream strategy. In the next chapter the new approach to programming in 2014-2020 development framework will be discussed to understand where the gender mainstreaming strategy is based upon.

5. The European Development Fund and the New Approach to Programming in 2014-2020 development frameworks

As mentioned above this chapter will discuss the new programming framework of the 11th European Development Fund (EDF). The framework provides the basis for the methods and analysis done in chapter 6 and 7 as the framework provides the basis for development policy and the documents that will be used to shape programming. In the first part of the chapter the EDF as such will be discussed where after the new approach under the 11th EDF, followed by the status of the 11th EDF.

5.1. The European Development Fund

The European Development Fund was created by the treaty of Rome in 1957 to provide development aid to the ACP countries and other overseas territories (European Commission, https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/funding/funding-instruments-programming/funding-instruments/european-development-fund_en). The fund is financed by the European Member States and active in the fields of economic development, social and human development, regional cooperation and integration (European Commission, https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/funding/funding-instruments-programming/funding-instruments/european-development-fund_en). Although it is financed by the EU Member States it remains outside the framework of the EU's general budget. For the period of 2008-2013, the 10th EDF, the budget contained 3% of the annual EU budget (http://ec.europa.eu/budget/biblio/documents/FED/fed_en.cfm)

5.2. The 11th EDF: A New Approach

For the development programming framework 2014-2020 under the 11th European Development Fund (EDF) and the Development Cooperation instrument (DCI) the EU set out a different course in comparison with the 10th EDF.

This new framework is based in the Treaty of the European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) (European Commission 2012). The European Commission (2012) expressed that the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS) and the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty gave rise to an effective framework for the EU's external action policy and development cooperation.

According to the Lisbon Treaty the fight against poverty remains the main target of the development policy. However, the EU stated that the changing environment and context the EU operates in demands among others a more accurate analysis, streamlined policy agenda's, and reinforcement of operational instruments to enhance inclusive and sustainable development cooperation (European Commission, 2012).

This means that the programming process will be simplified for the programming framework of 2014-2020. Simplification, in this sense, entails that the EU will use existing national or regional policy documents in the bilateral development cooperation with partner countries in question as the leading strategic course in the programming process (European Commission,

2012). Accordingly, the national or regional development plans will serve as the basis for the EU's National Indicative Programs (NIPs) and the Multiannual Indicative Programs (MIPs). This makes the NIPs and MIPs key documents in the programming process. Country Strategy Papers will become dispensable unless required differently by exceptional circumstances.

A second element of simplification is the aim to have succinct programming documents. In the same spirit, there will no longer be a standard obligation for EU Delegations to prepare various technical annexes to the programming documents on specific issues.

5.3. Status of the 11th EDF

The framework 2014-2020 has been subject of various critiques and evaluation over the years, especially in the area of issues with a cross-cutting dimension such as gender equality. Alisa Herrero et al. (2015) pointed out that although the EU is committed to mainstream gender equality in development policy, the EU lacks a strong institutional commitment focused on gender equality and women empowerment. The EU does not facilitate the tools needed to achieve policy commitment. Moreover, Herrero et al. mentions the lack of communication concerning the gender equality and empowerment priorities coming from the European External Action Service (EEAS). Nevertheless, Herrero et al. admits that the NIPs are not completely gender-blind. According to them, the NIPs do contain gender-sensitive indicators, however, these do not indicate that gender equality is a key priority.

On the contrary, the European Commission (2017) stated in the mid-term evaluation that in comparison with the 10th EDF, where there was a lack of application of cross-cutting principles, the 11th EDF showed a more positive commitment towards cross-cutting issues. Although some cross-cutting issues were muted, gender mainstreaming was the exception. As an example, the Commission presented the case cross-cutting issues and gender mainstreaming in Zambia. The results illustrate good policy practice in the field of gender equality. According the Commission this was the product of strong commission guidelines, a strong focus of particular Member States on gender in alignment with the Zambian Government, the facilitation of regular dialogue on gender across different sectors by support groups and technical support providing for monitoring and evaluation. The evaluation shows that there is a good level of coherence between the choices made in National Development plans and the NIPs.

6. Data and Method

In order to analyse possible progress in the long-term process of transformation and the transformation potential, as described in chapter 4 by the literature and the EU, of the gender mainstreaming strategy under the 11th EDF the research model of Debusscher (2012) will be applied. She examines the strategy of gender mainstreaming in European development policy in Latin America through quantitative and qualitative research. The research model allows to examine multiple aspects of the gender mainstreaming strategy used in the European development policy: use of language, view on gender and gender issues, accuracy of the objectives, and mainstreaming level of the budget that could indicate whether the objectives will turn into action in practice. Through the examination of Country Strategy Papers (CSPs) and National Indicative Programmes (NIPs) of the periods 2003-2007 and 2008-2013 Debusscher explored and compared the transformative nature of the gender mainstreaming strategy used in the documents of the different periods. The method will be applied to the development policy documents of six ACP countries covering two periods, 2008-2013 and 2014-2020: Rwanda, Nigeria, the Dominican Republic, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Vanuatu and Tonga. By comparing both periods this thesis seeks to explore the progress in the long-term process of the transformation of the gender mainstreaming strategy underlying the new programming framework of the 11th EDF that replaced the Country Strategy papers for National Development Strategies of the developing countries themselves.

6.1. Dataset

Debusscher uses CSPs and NIPs, bilateral agreements between the EU and the partner country, to analyse the framing of gender equality. CSPs are identified as the 'building block' of gender mainstreaming in practice (Painter and Ulmer, 2002; 4). The CSPs outline the strategic development objectives and provides an overview of the development aid the partner country receives from the EU (European Commission, 2006). The NIPs are the planning documents and set out the implementation of the development programme in accordance with the CSPs strategic objectives. They contain the selected sectors for development programming, timetables, budgets and measurement indicators (Debusscher, 2012).

As mentioned in chapter 5 the European Commission sought to renew the programming process of the bilateral development cooperation under the EDF and the DCI. In terms of the dataset, this means, that instead of CSPs, the National Development Strategies have to be analysed for the period of 2014-2020 as they are now used to determine the strategic course for the programming process set out in the NIPs instead of the usual CSPs.

The analysis will be based on a comparison of the programming documents of 2008-2013 and 2014-2020 to analyse the gender mainstreaming strategy. The focus of the comparative analysis is to examine the progress of the transformative potential of the strategy as the EU and scholars as Kabeer refer to it as a long-term process. Furthermore, gender as a concept and gender mainstreaming are acknowledged as complex and diverse. As mentioned earlier gender can be understood in different ways and was often linked to women instead of both sexes and therefore obstructs the goal of changing or transforming gender relations. Therefore, it is important to see how gender is framed in the documents as this forms a vital part of the nature of the gender mainstreaming strategy. For the period of 2008-2013 the

CSPs and the NIPs will be analysed and for the period of 2014-2020 the National Development Strategies and the NIPs will be analysed. By comparing both policy-periods on the perception of gender equality and the gender mainstreaming strategy I will be able to examine the possible progress, in terms of transformation, that has been made by the adoption of a new programming framework. The ACP countries that will be examined in the analysis are Rwanda, Nigeria, the Dominican Republic, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Vanuatu and Tonga. In Annex I all the consulted documents are listed per region and country. The choice of countries is based on the completeness and availability of their development documents.

6.2. Method

The research model of Debusscher (2012) consists of a quantitative and qualitative analyses of the gender mainstreaming strategy. Through conducting a quantitative and qualitative analyses according the method a comparison between the CSPs and NIPs from 2007-2013 and the new documents used in the renewed programming framework of 2014-2020 the thesis will explore the transformative potential of the programming framework and the gender mainstreaming strategy used of the 11th EDF compared to the framework under the 10th EDF.

The CSPs and NIPs, or in case of 2014-2020 policy documents the National Development Strategies and NIPs, are analysed to discover the perception of gender equality emphasized in the approach. The quantitative analysis consists of a word count that intends to unravel the discourse behind the strategy and to see whether the focus has shifted from exclusively women to gender relations. In case of a 'transformative' approach references to women and men have to be exactly equal. This would indicate that the perception of gender shifted from only women to both women and men. Inequality in references indicates that one sex is the norm and the other the problem in gender issues. Debusscher's model focuses on references that only apply to women, for example: women, woman, girl, mother and female, and references that only apply to men, for example: men, man, boy, father, and male, and references that apply to both sexes, for example: gender and sex.

For the second part of the quantitative analysis, the extent to which gender issues are included in the parts of the CSPs (country analysis, EC cooperation and responsive strategy), National Development Strategies (vision, sectors of development, implementation and monitoring) and NIPs will be examined. An adjustment to Debusscher's method has to be made as instead of comparing a CSP with another CSP, the National Development Strategies are used under the 11th EDF. This means that for the CSPs the country analysis, EC cooperation and responsive strategy will be analysed on the inclusion of gender issues and in the National Development Strategies sections that have a similar function such as the vision, sectoral goals, and implementation and monitoring. The planning documents of the EU emphasize the need to focus on gender issues and equality. This applies to both planning periods, 2008-2013 and 2014-2020. The EU expressed the goal to address 'gender equality and women's empowerment' and to integrate that into "...political and policy dialogues" (European Commission, 2008:8). In the new planning program documents the EU planned to further engage with 'gender equality and the empowerment of women' (European Commission, 2012:2). In order to examine the inclusion of gender issues in the documents, references related to gender equality will be counted¹. Also, the budgetary commitment on

gender mainstreaming will be measured on the inclusion of gender references¹. Debusscher (2011:185) uses a certain scoring system to address the percentage of the budget that is gender mainstreamed. Scoring categories consist of ‘not mentioned at all’ (in the case gender mainstreaming does not occur) to a “one-sentence reference to gender equality”, “two to three concrete references to gender equality in the objectives or expected results”, and “four or more concrete references to gender equality in the objectives or expected results” to “gender is integrated in one or more performance indicators” which means that gender mainstreaming is achieved. Since the NIPs contain performance indicators linked to sector goals that measure the success of the development program, the inclusion of gender references in these indicators would show commitment to achieving gender equality in practice. The latter assumption derives from the fact that the mid-term evaluation of the European Commission (2017) expressed firm commitment to gender mainstreaming as opposed to other cross-cutting issues that were muted, as mentioned in chapter 5, and showed positive results on the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Therefore, there will be assumed in this thesis that gender references included in performance indicators show commitment to achieving gender equality in practice. Debusscher provides an example of the approach:

“For example, an NIP with the focal sector “Justice” and the objective of reforming the justice system may have “perception of the credibility of the judicial system” as one of its indicators. If this indicator is disaggregated by gender or if it contains a specific indicator linked to gender (for example, “number of gender-based violence cases resolved”), it corresponds to having the development objectives linked to gender equality in practice. These gender indicators may be broken down by sex (for example, school enrollment rate for girls and for boys) or specific indicators of steps in the direction of gender equality (for example, a decrease in gender-based-violence).” (2012:185)

Debusscher emphasizes the importance of the gender indicators as they indicate gender mainstreaming is brought to the planning phase. According her method a policy is gender mainstreamed in case the references to women and men are equal, the planning phase includes gender equality and when gender issues and indicators are part of the budgetary commitment. The research model deems these factors necessary when achieving a transformative approach.

The qualitative part of the research model of Debusscher consists of analysing the CSPs and National Development Strategies and NIPs and along with documents women’s and feminist organizations working on gender equality in the region that will be examined. In the analysis of this thesis it will be examined if the views of ACP women’s and feminist organizations show possible gaps in the CSPs, NIPs and National Development Strategies on gender equality. Debusscher also argues that it shows whether the approach in the planning documents addresses the substantive objectives of women’s movements and organisations. Debusscher adopts a critical framework analysis to conduct the analysis. This is a methodology that considers policy documents frame the problem, the causation of the problem, and the one who is responsible for solving the problem.

¹ References according Debusscher’s method (2012) that include: gender, sex(es), woman, women, female, girl(s), maternal, sexual, reproductive, mother, father, men, man, boy(s), male(s), feminist(s)/feminism, patriarchy/ patriarchal, domestic violence, and rape.

Critical Frame Analysis identifies the ways in which gender equality policies are framed, and, in particular, grasps the nuances of a policy frame through an in-depth, detailed, analysis of the different dimensions of a specific frame.

Debusscher demonstrates this with an example:

“For example, who has the problem of “domestic violence”? Men, women, or society? The answer to this question has implications for the kind of solution that will be designed. If women have the problem, a solution could be to build more safe houses. If men have the problem, a solution could be to provide therapy for perpetrators. If society has the problem, the solution could be to alter the broader societal structures and mechanisms that cause violence against women (such as the higher poverty rate of women, the unequal division of care work, and harmful media images of women and men) ” (2011:185, 186)

In addressing the above question, Debusscher’s research model first determines which gender issues are considered problems and which gender issues are considered a solution in the CSPs and NIPs. She continues with an examination that determines which gender issues are left out by the policy documents, contrasting them with the documents of ACP women’s and feminist organizations. The final step in the qualitative analyses of Debusscher is to examine the ‘gendered’ character of the problems and solutions, the roles allocated to men and women and if the gender stereotypes are challenged or confirmed.

According Debusscher’s method, gender mainstreaming and transformation in policies are truly achieved when problems and solutions regarding gender equality focuses on both men and women and when the policy documents include voices of ACP civil society, in this case women’s and feminist organizations.

7. Analysis: Gender Mainstreaming in the European Development Policy towards the ACP-Region

In this chapter the analysis of gender mainstreaming in the European Development policy towards the ACP-region will be conducted according the method of Debusscher as discussed in chapter 6. All citations and information in this chapter derive from the sources that are listed in Annex I and II.

7.1. Language

Table 1

	CSPs & NIPs 2007-2013		National development plans and NIPs 2014-2020		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
References to women	139	62,05	380	52,85	519	55,04
References to men	28	12,50	170	23,64	198	21,00
References to gender	57	25,45	169	23,51	226	23,96
Total	224	100	719	100	943	100

In all CSPs, NIPs and National Development Strategies of the ACP region references to women are most common (see table 1). There are numerous occasions where the documents solely refer to women, whereas references to men are mostly made in conjunction with references to women for example in the National Development Strategy of Rwanda in the section ‘productivity and youth employment’: “decreased critical skills gaps among men and women”. References to men did often not occurred alone. The large number of references to women indicate that the language in the CSPs and NIPs during the 10th EDF and the National Development Strategies and NIPs as basis for the 11th EDF is not gender mainstreamed. Nevertheless, the imbalance between references to women and men became slightly smaller in the approach of 11th EDF that used the National Development Strategies instead of the CSP used in the 10th EDF. Especially the references to men increased considerably in the NIPs of 2014-2020 and the National Development Strategies. The references to women slightly decreased with the new strategy. Still, the imbalance between the references remain large and are not equal in count.

7.2. Where are Gender Issues Located?

Table 2

	2007-2013		2014-2020		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Country Analysis (CSP)/ Vision or Strategy (Nat. Development Strategy)	50	60,98	42	21,11	92	32,74
EU Cooperation (CSP)/ Sectors of development (Nat. Development Strategy)	9	10,98	113	56,78	122	43,42
Response Strategy (CSP)/ Implementation and Monitoring (Nat. Development Strategy)	10	12,19	13	6,53	23	8,18
NIP	13	15,85	31	15,58	44	15,66
Total	82	100	199	100	281	100

In the documents concerning the ACP region references to gender equality issues are present in all parts of the documents of both the 10th and the 11th EDF (see table 2). The numbers of gender issues found in the documents increased significantly with the use of the National Development Strategies as a guideline for the development cooperation. Except for the country analysis in comparison with the vision of the National Development Plans, these show a slight decrease in number of gender issues mentioned. Nevertheless, a positive trend is visible moving from the old framework under the 10th EDF to the new one under the 11th EDF.

Nevertheless, when looking at the percentages, the new programming framework shows less incorporation of gender issues in the developing countries vision than in the country analysis of the EU. On the other hand, the gender issues are included in the development plans of the different sectors chosen as a focus point of the National Development Strategy. For example, the National Development Strategy of the Dominican Republic contained a strong focus on gender related violence and made this a cross-cutting issue in the strategy.

The percentages of the responsive strategy and the implementation and monitoring section show the same trend as the section of country analysis and vision. This means that in fact the first generation of documents contain a stronger emphasis on gender issues and the realization of the actual plans. In the National Development Strategies of the ACP countries there is a clear lack of inclusion of gender issues when speaking of implementation and monitoring compared to the EU responsive strategy. Nevertheless, the gender issues included in the first-generation documents remain vague and superficial. In the Rwandan CSP a reference to gender issues was made in the section of ‘support to civil society’ and framed as followed:

“specialised NSAs and representative organisations can provide advocacy and monitoring services for specific vulnerable groups. Support may therefore be provided to such organisations (for example, dealing with orphans, women, the Batwa population, persons affected by HIV/AIDS or disabilities) to ensure that the rights of vulnerable groups (for example, to benefit from labour-intensive public works, rural infrastructure, capacity building) are respected.”

The text and goal remain vague and do not indicate to concrete actions or expected outcomes that will lead to the desired result. In the second generation of documents the implementation section of the ACP countries, development plans contain more specific thematic outcomes as in the case of Rwanda. However, in the case of Nigeria the implementation section of their National Development Strategy does not contain any measures or actions concerning gender equality and gender equality remains part of the more descriptive parts of the strategy.

The lack of commitment in implementation may indicate that the set goals on gender issues are not as important to their development process and, like Debusscher states in her own research (2012), the governments are just trying to ‘tick the box’ because gender issues are formally required to be incorporated.

Concerning the NIPs, the incorporation of gender issues barely changed in comparison with the first and second generation of documents. Gender equality issues are even slightly less integrated in the second-generation NIPs. However, the first generation NIPs also contain vague statements about gender equality, whereas the second generation contains more statements and specific actions that contribute to the realization of gender equality. An example is found in the Rwandan NIP 2014-2020:

“EU is committed to strengthen the linkages between the agricultural and social protection sectors and nutrition security during the 100-day period between a mother’s pregnancy and her child’s second birthday”

In general, the CSPs contain a strong emphasis on gender issues in the country diagnosis but lack inclusion in the responsive strategy. The National Development Strategies absorbed gender less in their general vision but integrated these efficiently in their sectoral goals. When it comes to implementation the National Development Strategies lack the inclusion of gender issues that makes implementation of plans less likely. Nevertheless, the documents of 2014-2020 did include more gender issues than the 2008-2013 documents pointing out that gender issues are mainstreamed in many objectives. Still, the percentages show that the increase in the inclusion of gender issues did not increased the percentage of gender issues in the NIPs. This shows that progress in the planning and actions phase is not been made and remains practically the same. Herewith, the EU does not show progress on a stronger commitment to act on gender issues.

7.3. Budget

Table 3 (in Millions)

	2007-2013		2014-2020	
	No.	%	No.	%
Not gender- mainstreamed	1031,06	86,63	67,3	6,25
Perhaps gender-mainstreamed	57,84	4,86	108	10,04
Likely to be gender-mainstreamed	10	0,84	70,8	6,58
Very likely to be gender-mainstreamed	-		200	18,59
Fully gender-mainstreamed with indicators	91,3	7,67	630	58,54
Total Budget	1190,2	100	1076,1	100

The budget for 2007-2013 counted 1190,2 million euros and for 2014-2020 1076,1 million euros. In the first generation of NIPs 86,63% of the budget was not gender mainstreamed (see table 3) which means that gender was not mentioned once in the objectives, expected results and performance indicators. According to Debusscher (2012) this means that it was not gender mainstreamed in practice either. The other 4,86% gender was mentioned once and has a small chance to be gender mainstreamed during the implementation process, but it still remains very unlikely. Only 7,67% of the total budget was fully gender mainstreamed which means that the performance indicators contained references to gender equality issues.

In the second generation of NIPs there is a clear change with regard to gender mainstreaming in the budget. Here only 6,25% of the budget was not gender mainstreamed at all, whereas the larger amount indicates to gender mainstreaming or fully gender mainstreamed. 25,17% of the budget is expected to be likely or very likely gender mainstreamed in practice. More than half of the budget is expected to be fully gender mainstreamed through the inclusion of gender in the performance indicators. This indicates that gender mainstreaming is incorporated in the planning phase and became more important in comparison to the first-generation NIPs.

All percentage of the second generation of NIPs show an increase in the possibility of gender mainstreaming in practices in comparison to the first generation of NIPs. The budget demonstrates a commitment of the EU of gender mainstreaming in practice and is highly visible in aid planning.

7.4. Gender Equality and it's solutions: Who is the problem?

In this part, the gender issues and solutions targeting gender issues will be discussed in order to examine who is seen as the problem in gender equality issues and if the solutions are fit to deal with the problems.

7.4.1. The problems in the Country diagnosis and National Visions

The CSPs, NIPs of 2007-2013 of the ACP region link gender equality issues generally to education, political participation, economic development, health and domestic violence. The country diagnosis of 2008-2013 expressed concerns regarding these sectors. For example, regarding education, the Rwandan CSP expressed a concern about girls lacking behind in passing exams: "... gender disparities remain a serious problem... girls lacking behind in

exam pass rates in primary and secondary school...” or the Nigerian CSP that was concerned about primary school enrolment of girls: “...primary school education is low, especially for girls”. Other significant problems were found in employment, especially women lacking opportunities on the labour market. Also, low female political participation was among the important problems like in the Nigerian CSP presented a problem of: “Low presentation of women in Nigeria’s national chamber”.

In the NIPs and National development strategies of 2014-2020 the focus of the main subjects related to gender issues shifted to sustainable development, nutrition security and maternal health, gender-based violence and economic development. These were the most discussed themes in the 2014-2020 documents, other less discussed topics were education, access to legal services, female trafficking and support for civil society. The economic development perspective was an important one for the National Development Strategies of the ACP countries and women were often placed in an economic perspective. For example, in the Vision of Nigeria’s National Development Strategy gender equality is linked to education and employment mentioning that “...Policies targeting the economic role and status of women, including quality education, skills acquisition and access to finance for entrepreneurship, will be put in place”. Equal access to employment opportunities for women is the main goal and gender equality can contribute to this. Vanuatu’s National development mentions women as a ‘valuable economic resource’ to foster development. Rwanda included a statement of the same sort mentioning that “The Rwandan economy will be more productive when all women and men are full participants and when the needs of the group with special needs are addressed”. Whereas the Dominican Republic is merely focused on domestic violence as “intra-family violence against women is a serious problem”. Another subject that came forward consistently is maternal health, the vulnerability of women in general and female households as they often fall into poverty. Nevertheless, some topics were only discussed in the NIPs of certain regions within the ACP region itself. For example, the African countries contained a focus on gender and family and agriculture, a subject less discussed in the documents the Caribbean and the Pacific.

7.4.2. The Solutions of the Responsive strategies and NIPs

7.4.2.1. NIPs and Responsive strategies 2008-2013

The solutions given in the documents are few. For example, in the responsive strategy of Vanuatu the EU only mentions to strengthen their ties with civil society in order to achieve practical progress. However, in the NIP of Vanuatu gender solutions are focused on ‘decreasing the gender gaps in wages’ and ‘female participation in political and economical spheres’. This targets the gender issues more effectively but still the given solutions are few and not as varied. The responsive strategy and NIP for Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is even less targeting, and mentions only that “crosscutting issues will be an integral part of the public modernisation programme and will be mainstreamed...”. The NIP of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines stated that “The programme will take into account gender distribution when making and implementing recommendations for the public-sector modernisation”. All of these statements remain vague and do not set clear solutions on how gender will be mainstreamed or solutions will be implemented. The same applies to the Dominican Republic where only few vague statements were made such as “equal opportunities for men and women” or “the Dominican government is committed to support and mainstream gender”. These statements say even less about a solution to promote gender equality. The documents related to the African region do not show us any different. The Nigerian NIP contains 2 vague statements regarding the improvement of women empowerment and easier access to

the lower courts and dispute resolutions for women. In conclusion, the solutions targeting the objectives set in the CSPs 2008-2013 are only vaguely responded to by the NIPs and Responsive Strategies. Even in the case of Vanuatu where more solutions were given targeting employment and political participation, the solutions were not as varied as the nature of the gender issues at stake. Debusscher (2013) came to the same conclusion when analysing the documents for 2008-2013 of the Latin American countries. The vague statements that lead to general and vague solutions make it is hard to tell whether women, men or society are considered the problem. However, the word count in chapter 7.1 shows that women are emphasized in gender issues more than men in the documents of 2007-2013, indicating that they form the largest part of the problem.

In the next section the NIPs 2014-2020 and the implementation and monitoring part of the National Development Plans will be discussed and compared with the NIPs and Responsive Strategies of 2008-2013.

7.4.2.2 NIPs 2014-2020 and Monitoring and Implementation of the National Development Strategies

In the documents providing the framework for development cooperation in the 11th EDF programming there are definitely some changes with regard to the solution provided for the set goals. Rwanda makes an excellent case, making them the exception, as in their National Development Strategy they were the only country that actively included gender equality in their implementation and monitoring section. Examples of the statements made were:

“...Increased private and public advisory services to farmers, especially women and youth, for agricultural skill development”

or *“...Campaign to improve women’s position in the labour market”* and *“...Enhanced information flows to, and participation of, women and men through established and new channels”*.

These statements are clearer in their target and achieving a certain goal in comparison to the goals set in the responsive strategy of 2008-2013. These solutions also point out that society is the problem as they indicate to forming “new channels” or “increased private and public advisory services”. The same applies for their NIP where the EU provides more varied and clearer statements than in the previous generation NIP. For example, the goal was “to ensure equal access and the use of energy for men and women”, a contributing solution was “increased participation of women in decision-making with regards to access and use of energy sources” or “Farmers Field School trainers and facilitators particularly women, will be stand to work with famers”. Nevertheless, vague statements remain in place and Rwanda scored merely positive with regard to the other countries in the analysis.

The Dominican Republic’s NIP improved in terms of solutions given in the NIP, although still not varied enough to tackle the diverse nature of gender issues mentioned in the National Development Strategy. Here less vague plans were set out like “...strengthening the professionalization of civil services ensuring equal opportunities for both men and women”. This solution also gives an indication that the problem is society as civil services have to be professionalized in order to provide these equal opportunities. Nevertheless, in their National Development Strategy gender equality is left out of the scope of the implementation and monitoring sections leaving their commitment to gender equality questionable. In documents

of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Tonga no trace of gender equality issues could be found and were completely left out in both the NIP and implementation and monitoring section. Surprisingly, as the National Development Strategies of both countries show important problems concerning gender equality regarding domestic violence and female political participation. In their national development plan Saint Vincent and the Grenadines even refers to women's participation "...among the most vulnerable and economically powerless". The NIP of Vanuatu did contain some references to gender equality but again not as varied as the gender issues that were mentioned in their National Development Strategy.

In conclusion, The NIPs of 2014 along with the implementation and monitoring sectors of the national development a small change occurred. Even though, the solution brought forward in the documents lacked variation, they were included more than in the documents of 2008-2013. The solutions were targeting the set goals of the countries themselves more than before. Some solutions presented in the NIPs pointed out that society is the problem in gender issues, however, many solutions remained too general to conclude that society is the major problem. In this case, chapter 7.1. shows that women are still the largest problem, however, some shifts are visible. In addition, some countries lacked any references to gender equality at all questioning the priority of the issues by either the EU or the development country in question.

7.5. Views of Women's and Feminist Organizations in the ACP Regions: Are there any Gaps?

Debusscher (2013) concluded in her research focused on Latin America that the views of the EU in comparison to the views of feminist and women's organizations, (hereafter referred to as organizations) that represent women's voices, remain limited. For the ACP-region similar research will be conducted and leading approaches and documents of these organizations in the ACP region are compared with the approach to gender equality of the EUs NIPs, CSPs and the National Development Strategies of the countries themselves. In Annex II all the consulted documents per organization are listed.

In the first range of documents concerning 2008-2013 the solution for gender issues is mainly formed through education, female political participation, policy reform, employment opportunities and access to justice. In the second range documents from 2014-2020 the solutions slightly changed focus on maternal health, nutritional security, sustainable development, agriculture, female political participation, gender-based-violence, employment, productive development policy. Especially maternal health, plays an important role in the documents. The organizations show a strong emphasis on sexual and reproductive health. For example, the Caribbean organization, The Caribbean Context and Women's Activism (CAFRA), has many projects that act on the legalisation of abortion, and African organizations, FEMNET and The African Feminist Forum (AWDF), emphasize the right of women to a free choice of sexual orientation, sexual identity, abortion and the right to bodily autonomy. In the EU documents this subject is framed differently. The EU focuses merely on maternal health and nutritional security.

Notably, the ACP organizations are looking beyond causes of educational systems and law enforcement that lack gender equity or simply policy implementation covering gender equality. For example, AWDF gives priority to other elements that lie at the foundation of gender equality issues such as religion, culture and tradition. The CAFRA organization in the

Caribbean emphasizes the importance of intersectionality of race, class and ethnicity. Also, the Pacific Feminist Forum (PFF) focuses on a large varieties of intersectionality's such as: generation urban status, language, ethnicity, class, sexuality, class, socio-economic status and spiritual beliefs. The EU and the governments of the ACP countries discussed in this thesis perceive gender equality in its documents as an issue that can be solved through access to education, equality and access in laws, or improvements in maternal health and nutritional security. Problems of gender equality due to race, class, ethnicity, religion and culture are left out of the scope. Few exceptions are the National Development Strategy of Tonga, where religion and tradition do influence gender (in)equality in the society or the effect of the traditional roles between man and women in the Vanuatu development strategy that also refers to the fight against AID/HIV. According to National Development Strategy of Vanuatu the fight against AID/HIV should be gender mainstreamed.

A topic that is better covered is Gender based violence. Both the ACP organizations and the EU plus National Development Strategies mention the topic extensively. The EU mainly refers to domestic violence against women but do not specify the scope further of gender-based-violence which leads to excluding other forms of violence. The organizations on the other hand broadened the scope of gender-based violence. Besides the emphasis on domestic violence which is also highly present in the documents, other forms are discussed too. For example, the PFF, refers to sexual harassment or FEMNET that refers to genital mutilation. CAFRA included forms of sexual exploitation and sexual harassment in the workplace.

Another subject that is newly included in the documents of 2014-2020 is sustainable development. This subject is included in many statements concerning gender equality. For example, in the Rwanda NIP 2014-2020 sustainable energy is one of the main focal sectors and the EU wants to foster "...equal access and use of energy for both men and women". This also concerns increased participation of women in decision making on energy use and resources. In the NIP 2014-2020 of the Dominican Republic, Tonga and Vanuatu gender equality is mentioned as a requisite for inclusive and sustainable development. The organizations increasingly mention sustainable development in their documents. The PFF mentioned that they would also address climate and ecological problems. FEMNET linked women empowerment to sustainable development, encouraging active engagement and influence of women in order to contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG).

In conclusion, the EU has shifted to solutions of a different kind, leaving the subject of education more on the background. Some of the subjects are relevant to the organizations as well, like sustainable development and gender-based violence. However, the extensive focus of the EU on maternal health creates a gap. Although maternal health is mentioned in the documents of ACP organizations it is not of prime concern. Sexual and reproductive health, on the other hand, are more important to the women's organization. Another visible gap in the EU documents is the lack of including intersectionality's which makes gender issues simplified. The organizations extensively cover the subject of gender issues coinciding with race, class, traditions, culture, religion etc. Thus, the EU did change their focus of solutions, but still exclude important subjects that are extensively covered by civil society.

7.6. Inclusion of Women's Voices in Policy Documents

In the literature review is mentioned that a transforming gender mainstreaming strategy in the policy documents includes women's voices of the developing countries. Women's voices in this research refer to women's or feminist organizations dealing with gender issues, as discussed in the previous part. This part of the thesis analyses the inclusion of the women's voices in the previous analysed CSPs and NIPs to see if the objectives presented in their documents overlap with the objectives mentioned in the EU documents and if the EU mentions support for or cooperation with women's and feminist organizations.

In the documents of 2008-2013 very few references were made to cooperation with such organizations. An exception is the CSP of Vanuatu that includes a remark on the need to foster dialogue between the government and civil society to discuss integration of women on higher levels of politics and the fight against HIV/AIDS. Nevertheless, the EU does not express their support for women's and feminist organizations on specific gender issues. In the documents of 2014-2020 not much has changed. Few references were made to these organizations. Although, in the NIPs of Rwanda and Nigeria the EU did express its support to civil society. For example, in the Rwandan NIP the EU stated that "...supporting civil society in favour of vulnerable groups such as gender based violence" and in the Nigerian NIP the EU expressed the importance of supporting civil society in sectors as human rights and women's associations with their program implementation and to offer technical assistance. Furthermore, the EU expresses the need to intensify the consultation with civil society under the 11th EDF. These statements do show signs of cooperation between the EU and the women's organizations.

On the other hand, the National Development Strategies of the ACP countries include civil society in their development strategy and emphasize that cooperation with civil society forms an important pillar for good governance and democracy. Still, not much reference is made to women or feminist organisations. An exception is the National Development Strategy of Tonga that mentioned that women's group play an important role in economic growth. Civil society, including a reference to women's organizations, is seen as a vital pillar in achieving human development, according the National Development Strategy of Tonga.

7.7. Reflecting on Theory

In chapter 4 theory regarding the concept of gender and gender mainstreaming was discussed. This chapter will reflect on the theory by putting the findings of the analysis in theoretical perspective.

In most of the CSP and National Development Strategies women are described as the missing part that will make the engine of development running. Once the position of women is improved the development process will be successful. Men are almost excluded from this process and not seen as crucial, or crucial enough and only few solutions to gender issues made society the main problem. There are some exceptions among the countries that attempt to include men in their scope. For example, the National Development Strategy of the Dominican Republic and Vanuatu, their vision contained a focus on both men and women

when discussing the gender issues that needed to be tackled. Nevertheless, the sectoral goals of both the Dominican Republic and Vanuatu do not include men in their objectives. For example, the Dominican Republic repeatedly emphasized domestic violence in their objectives but only with regards to women, men are completely left out. In the literature review Davids et al. claimed that this forms a problem and including women in the development process is simply not enough. Notably, the term ‘gender’ is linked to ‘women’ and not to both sexes. This occurred in in the documents of 2008-2013 as well as in the new set of documents used under the 11th EDF of 2014-2020, although less than before. This approach will not foster a transformation in gender relations and obstructs the actual goal of gender equality (Baden and Goetz, 1997)

Besides the fact that the majority of the gender issues in the documents only referred to women even in the range of 2014-2020, the gender issues that were referred to were low in variation. Theorist as Mohanty or Hirschmann criticized this low variation as mentioned earlier in the literature review. Almost none of the CSPs, NIPs, and National Development Strategies referred to gender issues linked to for example race, class, sexual preferences or poor women. According to this body of literature the documents would be a form of Western-feminism where the concept of gender is a ‘hollow’ concept that simplifies gender other than mentioned earlier. The only exception is that both the 2008-2013 and 2014-2020 documents clearly included a focus on poor women, mostly referring to their vulnerable situation when having a single female headed household. Furthermore, women are often included in phrasing concerning vulnerable groups such as in the CSP of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines “...vulnerable high-risk population groups such as the elderly, the disabled, women of childbearing age, children, adolescents, the physically challenged and the mentally ill”. This description of ‘vulnerable group’ does included some versified groups however, when speaking of gender equality this does not occur. The literature review states that gender is a socially constructed concept and therefore inclusion of race, class and sexual preference are crucial in capturing the nature of gender issues. Even though the EU based their NIPs 2014-2020 on the National Development Strategies of the countries themselves, governments of the developing country fail or refuse to capture the nature of the gender equality issues.

As for the gender mainstreaming strategies adopted in the documents, as literature already revealed earlier, the EU has previously tried to approach the diverse process of gender equality with narrow lenses. According to theory on gender mainstreaming strategies discussed in the literature review, there are two main approaches: The transformative agenda setting approach and the integrationist approach. The first aims to change societies power bases and includes women’s voices of civil society. Squires also refers to this as diversity mainstreaming. The second focuses on transforming policy and policy practice. In this sense, the gender mainstreaming strategy in the documents of 2008-2013 in comparison to the documents of 2014-2020 have not changed significantly. The documents of 2014-2020 did include more gender issues to target that where relevant to the governments of the ACP countries based on the National Development Strategies. Moreover, the solutions and gender issues where diverse and cover more sectors than the education, health and economics, the major objectives. Nevertheless, ACP women’s and feminist organizations main points about sexual and reproductive health, patriarchal structures and intersectionality where barely included. The documents mostly expressed the need for policy reform and more effective or productive policies. This means that the EU is still leaning towards a more integrationist approach. Although, there were some exceptions worth mentioning where the EU paid attention to tradition that affected gender relations as was the case in the NIP 2014-2020 of

Vanuatu. However, the exceptions are still few and the majority of the documents targeted the policy agenda's instead of patriarchal structures and intersectionality.

The theory in the literature confirmed the difficulties to implement a transformative strategy of gender mainstreaming. Squires argued that little has been done to foster diversity mainstreaming. Nevertheless, Kabeer rightfully argued that change does not come overnight and in order to challenge structures generations will pass. In this sense, the EU is making small steps in diversifying solutions for gender issues in policy-making and the few references that do contain intersectionality. Steps are taken and the process seems to move forward. The EU continues to address gender equality adding slightly a bit more transformative language in the documents. Further research shall have to be done in order to keep up with future developments in the transformation process.

8. Conclusion

Gender equality has been an important objective for the European development policy. In Treaty of Rome gender issues were included for the first time. It was not until the Treaty of Amsterdam, signed in 1997, that a gender mainstreaming resolution was included. Gender mainstreaming was part of the GAD approach the successor of the WID approach that was criticized for excluding women in the development process. The GAD approach aimed to not only include women in the development process, but to transform gender relations as such. In the EU-ACP development cooperation the term 'gender' and gender mainstreaming were incorporated for the first time in the Cotonou agreement and became an important objective.

Literature on gender mainstreaming shows that the term 'gender' is a highly interpretative concept and often simplified in policy making. As a result, the lenses on gender issues and strategies remain narrow and often unable to foster transformation. When it comes to transformation, many scholars provided their vision on gender mainstreaming strategies and their transformative potential. There were two main strategies to distinguish, the transformative agenda setting approach and the integrationist approach. Whereas the first strategy aims to change societies power bases and include women's voices, the latter aims to transform policy and policy implementation. The first is considered as a transformative strategy and according to Squires this should eventually lead to a form of diversity mainstreaming. Other voices, as Kabeer, rightfully argued that change and transformation don't come overnight and the process will trespass generations to come.

The EU decided to change course and strategy for development cooperation, and thus gender mainstreaming, for the 11th EDF. The objective was to improve the framework of the 10th EDF that lacked to commitment to crosscutting issues. The EU aimed to simplify the programming framework, using the existing development strategies of the developing countries themselves. Critics of the new course argued that cross-cutting issues as gender equality and women empowerment is not committed to and set as a key priority in the NIPs 2014-2020. The European Commission, on the other hand, argued that the 11th EDF made positive progress, especially on gender mainstreaming. This thesis sought to research the long-term transformation process by analysing the new programming framework and its gender mainstreaming strategy regarding the ACP-region by comparing it to the older documents under the 10th EDF with the new under the 11th EDF. In the case study of the ACP-region the method of Debusscher is applied. Hereby the inclusion of gender issues and references and civil society play an important role.

The case study reveals that there is a possible shift in the European development policy towards the ACP countries. In comparison to the old range of documents of 2008-2013 the new approach of 2014-2020 shows that the number of gender issues incorporated increased substantially. Moreover, men are slightly getting included involved in the documents and thus in policy making on gender issues. This means that gender issues are shifting their focus for solutions to men and women instead of only women. However, the imbalance remains and women are still a major focus in dealing with gender issues.

Remarkably, is that gender issues are most likely to be found in the descriptive parts of policy planning documents where the objectives are outlined, and not as much in the implementation section. The NIPs of 2014-2020 incorporated the same amount of gender issues in comparison to the previous range of NIPs. However, the budgetary result was positive. Many indicators included gender issues and more than half of the budget was fully gender

mainstreamed or very likely to be. Whereas in the NIPs of 2008-2013 the budget was far from gender mainstreamed. This shows the commitment of the EU on the mentioned gender issues and making it very likely that gender issues will be dealt with in practice.

In general gender issues and given solutions were more diversified than in 2008-2013 and targeted the set goals of the ACP countries themselves. In addition, some solutions pointed to society as the problem for gender issues, however, these were only few. The solutions for gender issues also shifted from mostly education to subjects more relevant to women's and feminist organizations, like sustainable development and gender based violence. Nevertheless, gaps between the organizations views and the 2014-2020 documents were visible. Maternal health is given major attention in the NIPs and National Development Strategies. The ACP organizations, on the other hand, were very much concerned with sexual and reproductive health. Another important gap is the lack of intersectionality on the side of the EU and something that is vital for approaching gender issues according the organizations. Though, the EU's focus is shifting but still excludes important objectives.

Finally, the research question was whether the new European planning framework under the 11th EDF made progress in the long-term process to transformation in comparison to the planning framework under the 10th EDF. The character of the strategy is still mainly focused on transforming policy and practice than actually transforming societies power base and gender relations as such. Thereby an important requisite was that women's voices have to be included in the documents as well. Visibly, the EU made progress creating more diversity in solutions of gender issues and included some statements that shaped society as the problem instead of women; the gender mainstreaming of the budget increased substantially, meaning that policy is more likely to be implemented in practice; and the percentage of the focus on men in the strategy documents increased in the past years, meaning that women will be seen less as the problem. Still, gaps remain when it comes to including women's voices represented by women's and feminist organizations. The final conclusion is that the EU is still far from diversity mainstreaming and transformation in gender mainstreaming, but is definitely making progress to slowly fill some of the gaps and shifting their focus. For the future, it is important to keep track of this progress through further research when new planning documents are published.

9. Bibliography

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Annex I: Strategy Documents

Rwanda

National Development Strategy “Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy II 2013-2018”

http://www.minecofin.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/documents/NDPR/EDPRS_2.pdf

CSPs and NIPs of 2007-2013 and 2014-2020

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en

Nigeria

National Development Strategy “Nigeria Vision 20:2020”

<http://www.nationalplanning.gov.ng/images/docs/NationalPlans/nigeria-vision-20-20-20.pdf>

CSPs and NIPs of 2007-2013 and 2014-2020

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en

The Dominican Republic

National Development Strategy “Ley 1-12 Estrategia Nacional de Desarrollo 2030”

<http://economia.gob.do/mepyd/wp-content/uploads/archivos/end/marco-legal/ley-estrategia-nacional-de-desarrollo.pdf>

CSPs and NIPs of 2007-2013 and 2014-2020

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

National Development Strategy “National Economic and Social Development Plan 2013-2025”

<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/1466vincentgrenadines.pdf>

CSPs and NIPs of 2007-2013 and 2014-2020

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en

Vanuatu

National Development Strategy “Priority and Action Agenda 2006-2015: “An Educated, Healthy and Wealthy Vanuatu””

<https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/linked-documents/cobp-van-2015-2017-sd.pdf>

CSPs and NIPs

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en

Tonga

National Development Strategy “Tonga Strategic Development Framework 2015-2025”

<https://policy.asiapacificenergy.org/sites/default/files/TSDF%20II.pdf>

CSPs and NIPs of 2007-2013 and 2014-2020

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en

Annex II: Women's and Feminist Organizations in the ACP region

Africa

The African Feminist Forum

The Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists

http://awdf.org/wp-content/uploads/Charter_of_Feminist_Principles_for_African_Feminists.pdf

FEMNET

The FEMNET Annual Report of 2016

<http://femnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/FEMNET-Annual-Report-2016.pdf>

Caribbean

CAFRA

The Caribbean Context and Women's Activism

<https://www.cafra-regional.org/caribbean-context-womens-activism/>

Cafra Strategic plan 2015-2018

<https://www.cafra-regional.org/important-documents>

Pacific

Fiji Women's Right Movement (FWRM)

The Pacific Feminist Forum

<http://www.fwrn.org.fj/news/events/pac-feminist-forum-2016>

<http://www.fwrn.org.fj/images/PFF/PFF-Charter-Final-2Dec2016.pdf>

M'a Fafine Mo E Famili (MFF)

<https://mfftonga.wordpress.com>