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**Gender Questions in Development Cooperation:
Emerging Issues in the Czech Republic's Bilateral Programmes**

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List of Acronyms

(frequently used)

Aid	Development Aid
CR	Czech Republic
CZ	Czech
CZBDC	Czech Bilateral Development Cooperation
CZDC	Czech Development Cooperation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (of OECD)
DC	Development Cooperation
EU	European Union
GA	Gender Analysis
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GE	Gender Equality
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GRF	Gender Roles Framework
IIR	Institute of International Relations
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NGDO	Non-Governmental Development Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank
WE	Women's Empowerment
WID	Women in Development
WO	Women's Organization

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Abstract

This paper explores the challenges posed to the Czech Bilateral Development Cooperation (CZBDC) in including the principle of gender equality as a result of the governments' commitments to related international treaties and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). My analysis of the CZBDCs' policy contents and institutional practices together with policy-makers' perspectives reveals that the gender equality principle surfaces in limited 'templates-related' gender language without any practical implications in project management and implementation manifestations. When the inclusion of gender equality appears, the formulation is reduced to the efficiency-driven approach known as Women in Development (WID), using the Gender Roles Framework (GRF) being implemented by non-government development organizations (NGDOs). The paper further explores some possible explanations of current level of this inclusion and shows that the framing of Development Cooperation along the lines of conventional Aid motivated by economic and political interests may be one reason. Consequently this limitation must be placed in the broader context of the transition of Czech society from one styled by Soviet principles to another guided by European Union (EU) norms, playing an important role in providing the conditions within which to promote gender issues beyond a certain level. Yet the views and initiatives taken by selected groups of civic actors in academia and at the grassroots level show emerging and diverse interests in engendering CZBDC. Although these activities are at early stage, not yet impacting on policy and practices, already some constraints in doing so can be foreseen. The varied understanding of gender and its policy implications requires considerable dialogue, debate and reconciliation of diverse and often diverging views to find common ground for action. In addition, these interest groups do not have the means to access the body of knowledge on gender and development to help them foster their own perspective based on a historical and comparative understanding of both the gender and development domains. Given the prevailing logic of 'efficiency' written into country policy and gender equality frameworks, it seems inevitable that any gains to be made through civil actors' pressures in integrating the gender equality principle in Bilateral Development Cooperation will have to negotiate this economic efficiency mentality. Finally, programming gender in policy will presumably meet a different set of challenges related to the current trends in CZBDC. From a budgetary standpoint, the financial crisis will affect allocation to bilateral activities while the Czech Republic's (CR) EU membership will require more allocation for multilateral purposes. Last but not least, government bureaucracy but also NGDOs appear partly, if not considerably gendered, which might limit the impact of pioneering civil actors' endeavours.

Key words: development cooperation, Path dependence, Women in Development, efficiency, gender in planning, society in transition, Czech Republic

1. Chapter – Introduction

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), in 2008 spending in development cooperation reached almost one hundred billion Euros. The Czech Republic's contribution represents one thousandth (0.001) of this sum (2009: 129). Although small in quantity, the volume is significant when assessed from the perspective of the country's current position in development cooperation. More importantly, such programming has an impact on lives of women and men in recipient-partner countries¹. Studying the contribution of the Czech Republic (CR) in this domain can open up new avenues for research and practices relevant for countries sharing a similar position in an enlarged European Union (EU).

2.1. Statement of the research problem, relevance and justification

More than three decades of activism, theorisation and policy lobbying by gender/women's groups, academics and practitioners have brought the principle of gender equality (GE) onto the development cooperation agenda. Yet the journey to a more just world is unfinished.

The Czech government has committed and is legally bound to GE through several international documents including the Treaty of Amsterdam, the Maastricht Treaty, the Charter for Fundamental Rights of the EU, the CEDAW², MDGs³ and more (Lukasova 2008: 1). Despite these formal steps, academic and grass-root activists' critiques have argued that Czech Development Cooperation and specifically its Bilateral component (CZBDC), does not seriously reflect gender issues. The 2008 report and its advocacy card prepared by the International Gender Policy Network under the programme EU-CIS⁴ Gender Watch showed disappointing findings: 'a lack of gender data in a majority of the projects of Czech bilateral development cooperation, and a lack of evidence that gender equality as a *cross-cutting* issue is mainstreamed into all phases of project cycle management' (Lukasova 2008: 3). On the academic side, Horky, from the Institute of International Relations (IIR) noted similar observations. He points out the CZBDC's low sensitivity towards gender issues, adding that while GE is reflected in the government's policy and operational documents, it does not feature as prominently as it should (2008a: 17). Both critiques also point out a lack of interest from women's organizations in international affairs.

The focus of this research is the framing of 'gender' in a variety of contexts including: (i) CZBDC policy documents and practices and the underlying reasons for its limited visibility; (ii) the renewal of interests in GE on a national level, and (iii) the relative strengths and weaknesses of emerging pressures for change in the CZBDC's approach to gender.

Gender and development in the CR is a new and unresearched area. While this poses great challenges, it also validates the inquiry endeavour. Research findings can hopefully play a role in the current CZBDC transformation processes to gain momentum for greater recognition of its gender dimension and to identify the support required to stimulate change in actors' approaches. The inquiry therefore combines an activist's and academic's style.

¹ I continue using partner-country.

² Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

³ Millennium Development Goals

⁴ Commonwealth of Independent States

2.2. Research objective and questions

The research aims to contribute to knowledge and understanding of gender dynamics in the CR's Development Cooperation as a post-Soviet society and new member of the EU and to identify critical questions requiring further research in this field. In doing so the *overall question* asked is:

In what ways has Czech Development Cooperation (CZDC) generally, and its Bilateral component in particular (CZBDC), adopted gender issues in its policy frameworks, and what is the Path dependence model's⁵ potential in explaining the current shape of its gender policy and practices while providing new ideas for future debate?

This is further detailed to guiding *sub-questions*:

1. How have gender issues been defined and framed in CZDC and CZBDC selected policy documents and practices and in what ways do these definitions reflect the language used in international conventions?
2. In what ways has CZBDC administration been constraining or conducive to the integration of gender issues in its policy and practices?
3. What perceptions of gender do development policy-makers and implementers hold and what bearings do these have in making gender in/visible in CZBDC?

Finally, to open a space for new inquiry, an *additional sub-question* is proposed:

Given the current administrative trends and openings within particular civil actors⁶, what may be considered as the most important source of change towards engendering CZBDC policy and practices?

2.3. Research process, methodology and limitations

As a feminist development practitioner, the claims that CZBDC has limited gender visibility caught my attention and motivated me to try to expand and deepen the critique by asking the basic questions: 'what are the issues, why is it so, what can be done to bring change and what challenges and limitations can be expected?'. Due to lengthy assignments abroad, my research design was desk-based and without sufficient insights into recent changes in the country. My internship with Institute of International Relations⁷ (IIR) during July and August 2009 provided me an extensive opportunity to understand the internal dynamics and struggles within the government itself and also to appreciate the level of desire for progress and the disappointments met in striving for this. I was also able to obtain empirical data and grounded

⁵ maintains that society and its institutions in transition are shaped by new emerging norms in combination with inherited ones. More detailed information is found in Chapter-2.

⁶ academia, women's and development non-governmental organizations

⁷ This institute is closely attached to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as a coordinator and recent implementer of Czech Aid.

perspectives, which I would lack access to if I simply conducted brief interviews. Upon my initial exposure to the field, I became aware that my assumptions about existing links in Czech society were more theoretical than real. I needed to re-design my inquiry's focus and adjust the original guiding questions.

2.3.1. Methodology

This qualitative research supported by factual data is premised on the view that gender is a social construct operating in contextually and historically specific ways. To understand how gender issues are/are not articulated in CZBDC, it is vital to understand the paths along which gender consciousness in the CR has been formed, and the meanings assigned to 'gender' by key actors in the policy arena. My methodology combines different data gathering research techniques that triangulate findings and are sourced from four interlinked levels.

First, an historical analysis of Aid strategies during the Soviet period and as a new member of the EU was conducted using secondary sources, focusing on the conjunction between the framing of gender issues and particular political regimes. This was supplemented by statistical data analysis to further understand the current CZDC's structural aspects.

Second, to scrutinize the presence or absence of gender in the policy texts to discern its particular meanings and gender issues' priority, I use Kabeer and Subramanian's framework of policy analysis with its two elementary categories: (i) gender-blind or (ii) a gender-aware policy. The former manifests 'male development actors' 'using gender-neutral language' causing women's invisibility and therefore lost opportunities for improvement. The latter distinguishes diverse needs and interests of both sexes on different levels manifested in adjusted interventions⁸ (1996: 5-6). Current policy documents are chosen because of their importance at the levels of the policy's overall direction, its conceptualization and implementation in selected programme countries' papers.

Third, to recognize if and how gender aspects of policy are translated into reality, I review CZBDC implementation through the gender lens, predominantly from data sets available on web-sites, official and unofficial documents and enriched by implementers' views.

Fourth, to comprehend perceptions and positions to deepen understanding of the current situation and discern possible pathways of engendering CZBDC policy and practices, I conducted nine semi-structured interviews and discussions with Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) representatives from its CZDC conceptualization and implementation units. These views were compared with those held by 13 respondents from the largest non-government development organizations (NGDOs) and its platform, active players in CZBDC implementation and pre-classified as moderately gender reflective in programming (Horký 2009a: 17). Women's organizations (WOs) were selected and seven interviewed to discern their perspective on GE's international dimension. Lastly, three academics, speaking for research and universities' curricula,

⁸ (i) *integrating* women into the system (gender-neutral), (ii) *agenda-setting* for women and/or men according to their needs (gender-specific), and (iii) *transforming* gendered relations (gender-redistributive). Only the last deals with resources and responsibilities in equal redistribution (1996: 10-12).

reflected the current critical thinking in both themes. The interviewees, numbering 32⁹ (listed in Appendix-5), were purposively¹⁰ chosen from high and medium management levels, together with women and men of different age groups and job descriptions. Citations are used in the text without authors' names but with group's identification (when needed).

I recognize that the inquiry is broad, adopting a macro-horizontal approach combined with a vertical one, reviewing recent history and the current stage of policy and practices, triangulated with interviews from three different actor groups. It therefore required substantial time, reflection and data analysis that would have benefitted from a longer research time period. Organizing interviews and information gathering were continuously adjusted to gain access to respondents and resources, some of whom could not be attained due to time and availability. Acknowledging that partiality is a reality in all researches and that interpretations carry the weight of the researcher's standpoint, I have attempted to maintain a certain degree of self-awareness, knowing that my views influenced people cooperating with me and in turn, their views made me revise my positions. I have attempted to proceed ethically to achieve a critical and balanced understanding of the current situation.

2.4. Organisation of the paper

The document is divided into six chapters, the first explaining motivation and direction to undertake the topic and employ particular data collection methods. The second chapter provides the analytical framework in assessing data collected from gender, development cooperation and supplementary perspectives. The third chapter concerns the background setting, explaining historical Aid and gender issue trajectories. The fourth chapter aims to explore the complexities of policy and implementation, using the above mentioned analytical framework in assessing how gender is manifested. The fifth chapter addresses factors contributing to how gender issues appear in the CZBDC. Lastly, the sixth chapter summaries the analysis and provides a future outlook of emerging activities as a source of change while proposing further inquiry in the field of gender and development.

⁹ The number reflects the total sum of respondents rather than institutions/organizations. Institutions/organizations are fewer due to the triangulation method employed to cross-check views within an organization.

¹⁰ based on two key-informants' suggestions and web-sites

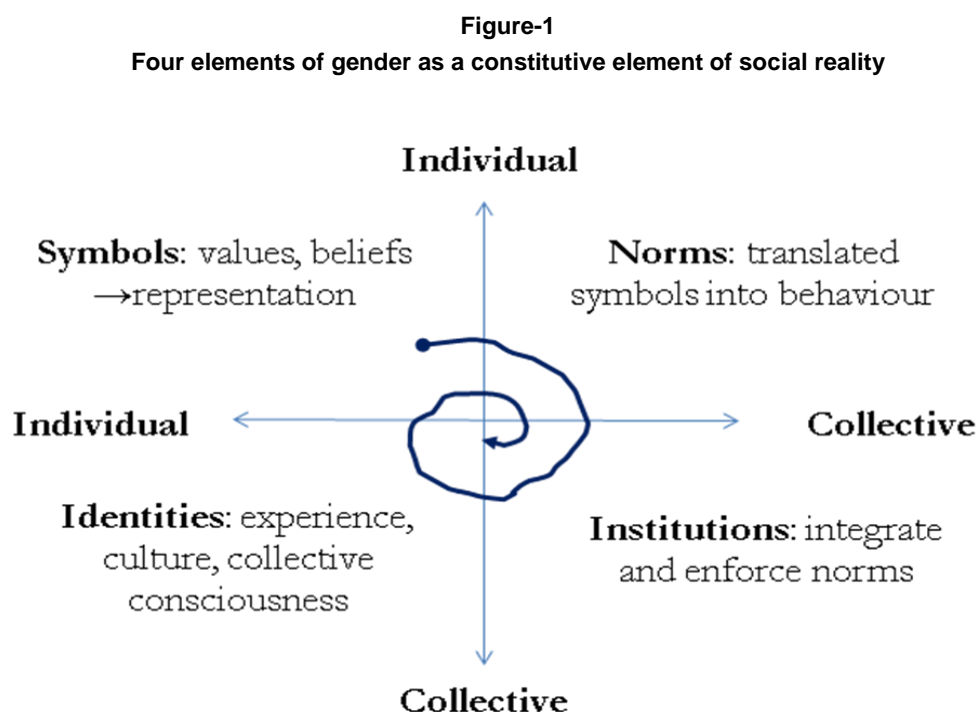
2. Chapter – Gender Questions in Planning, Motives of Aid, Society in Transition

The gender and policy literature suggest that the social meanings of gender are not fixed but are constantly negotiated and are therefore to be grasped within a context. The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the key ‘gender’ debates in policy circles and the conceptual tools being used to analyse the CZBDC.

2.1. Unfinished journey of gender in policy debates

2.1.1. Gender conceptualization

As a research concept, gender has been shaped and reshaped reflecting specific and contextual concerns. If in the 1970s, gender and sex were considered as being symbiotic, in the 1980s the two domains were treated separately, with sex belonging to field of biology and gender to social sciences, used as a tool to study gender-based social arrangements leading to inequalities. In the 1990s sex and gender were brought back together and considered mutually constituted and therefore modelling sexualized and gendered identities, intersecting with other categories such as race, age and class (Truong 2009a).



Source: author's adaptation from Truong 2009c

After reviewing many scholarly definitions drawn from different philosophical presuppositions, I propose to use Scott's definition, residing on two inter-connected premises of gender as a 'constitutive element of social relationships' between women and men and the 'primary way of signifying relationships of *power*' (1988: 42). Based on perceived sex-based differences, gender as an historically constructed regulating (constitutive) principle in society, manifests at four levels of (i) symbols, (ii) norms, (iii) institutions and (iv) subjective identities (Scott 1988: 43-44). When

detailing these, *symbols* are various cultural and often contradictory representations transformed into normative concepts (rules) of behaviour assigned to women and men. These *norms* are used and further advanced by various *institutions/organizations* such as family, school, church, market and state, and are experienced differently by women and men on individual and collective levels shaping their personal *identities*. Figure-1 details these four elements, showing their mutually enforcing interaction.

While researching development cooperation, it is important to emphasise that gender models differ by culture but remain still gendered and casted in binary terms (Connell 2002: 10). In other words, gender arrangements between women and men are framed and re-framed differently in different societies but always manifest in diverse structures, limiting individual action (ibid.). In conclusion, gender is now treated as a verb rather than a noun, to capture the constantly changing and organizing social principles through assigning roles, privileges and detriments to women and men. As Butler states, gender is ‘politically and therefore socially controlled’ (1990: 15).

2.1.2. ‘Gender’ in planning

Just as gender ‘definitions’ are embedded in historical trajectories, so too policies addressing gender disparities are continuously re-‘fined’. Studying the two core classifications of gender policy as (i) Women in Development (*WID*) and (ii) Gender and Development (*GAD*) reveals their pros and cons, together with the philosophical underpinnings linked to development approaches. Both were built on their predecessor, the *Welfare* approach, recognizing women’s roles rooted in their identities as mother and wife, when policy intervention objectives were built on the healthy family notion (Razavi and Miller 1995: 3).

The term WID originated in early 1970s in the USA¹¹ by feminist development practitioners questioning the unfair impacts on both sexes of ‘trickle down’ economics. Complementary to *liberal American feminism* efforts, the Danish economist Ester Boserup identified the wrong assumptions about women working outside the family arena detailed in her influential Sub-Saharan Africa study. It led to a policy redirection from women-as-mothers to women-as-productive-contributors to society. The argument ‘for justice and *efficiency*’ (Tinker in Razavi and Miller 1995: 4) was understood by policy-makers and development experts at the time via its connection to market-oriented and economic growth driven development. Therefore in the UN Decade of Women (1976-85), international and national machineries mushroomed, strengthened by CEDAW recognizing women’s rights. Enhanced health, education access, employment opportunities and political participation, later nuanced by general poverty alleviation strategies for the ‘poorest of the poor’ including female headed households, were WID flagships. Women as diverse-society-needs producers became policy and practice targets (Razavi and Miller 1995: 2,7,8).

Yet the WID periods’ impacts are viewed with contradictions. It is undeniable that WID has changed the paradigm of the feminine mother and wife to women’s active involvement in social structures, bringing significant improvements in several areas. However, it has also led to women being expected to produce for national enhancement and recompense for decreasing public provisioning. On a deeper level, WID failed to address embedded and historically formed

¹¹ United States of America

structural and institutional inequalities, intra-household poverty and unbalanced power relations between women and men in which deep injustices rest.

These WID shortcomings, being linked with *neo-liberal development* and *incorporating* women into it, led to questions on what has caused women's subordination in the first place and what role men have played in the process of creating and maintaining those disparities. As a social construct, gender has and is still going through its own his/herstorical self-definition. Therefore it cannot be claimed that WID suddenly shifted into GAD, but was a more gradual process beginning in the 1980s, although the 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women is often referred to as a milestone in it, doing so (Baden and Goetz 1997). GAD was drawn from different development premises, based in Marxism, Structuralism and Dependency theory, all pointing to the historical and structural character of *world injustice and power dominance*. Gender discrimination was associated with long term socially entrenched inequitable patterns, redressed by involving both sexes and a wider spectrum of actors ranging from public and private sectors to civil society (Truong and Bayangos 2007: 7-8). As will be shown in the following section, the differences between WID and GAD are revealed through gender mainstreaming efforts. But before doing so, an historical assessment of gender analysis (GA) is undertaken as an important step in linking theory to interventions.

2.1.3. Gender analysis in development frameworks

Over time several GA perspectives have arisen based on two general premises: (i) efficiency/economy and (ii) equity/social relations. These differ in both depth and direction of analysis as well as in their inter-linkages to other social actors (Razavi and Miller 1995: 13).

Efficiency/economy GA

The efficiency models designed at different institutions and at different times and dealing with analysis levels ranging from household to macro economy include: (i) Gender Roles Framework (GRF), (ii) 'triple roles model' (TRM), and the feminist (iii) neo-classical and (iv) critical, economics models (FNCEM, FCEM) (Truong and Bayangos 2007: 20). The following section reveals some key features of each, rather than being exhaustive.

GRF was developed by Harvard in cooperation with USAID and became commonly accepted by development organizations. It draws from WID's '*sex role theory*' (productive/reproductive) and is informed by *liberal feminism* (Connell in Razavi and Miller 1995: 14). Household, a basis of analysis, is treated as a joint unit of production and consumption where women gain more control over resources distribution through better *access* to resources generation. GRF aims to increase overall productivity and its project interventions facilitate doing so, largely in the education, credit and training areas. While straightforward in implementation, it carries significant weaknesses. Kabeer notes that it ignores 'social connectedness' and 'togetherness', the former referring to inter-dependency, cooperation and exchange/conflict between both sexes within households and the latter to power imbalances restricting women's access to resources in the first place (in Razavi and Miller 1995: 15,16). In the context of Scott's definition, it falls short on manifestations of gender in symbols, norms, intersections and other institutions apart from the household, yet has been widely used in development practices.

TRM originated at the University College-London (Development Planning Unit), by Caroline Moser and is an extension of GRF, recognizing one more duty, community management, therefore coining the triple roles notion. It means that women generate income, rear children and yet support 'village happenings', so their time and life is triple burdened compared to men. But the GA involves another dimension or level of priorities setting,

connecting to practical needs (education, health, income generating etc.) and strategic interests/needs (decision-making participation). In contrast to GRF, it recognizes more unequal power relations so planning could go beyond technical implementation to the political level. Furthermore, the poor are the centre of development with reproductive economy recognition and bottom up interventions. However it falls short in not fully linking with other structures as state and market ('bigger male power'), presuming women as a homogenous group and assuming that they have the same needs/interests while inclining to execute practical needs rather than interests (Truong 2009b, Truong and Bayangos 2007). But the model is still famous in development implementation circles.

FNCEM extends former concepts to the broader market level while looking into the constraints of adjusting it. Paul Collier and Ingrid Palmer argue that resources including female labour are unequally allocated among economic sectors due to biased gender roles and relations. It draws on GRF and therefore WID liberal feminism premises of women being an important development element and restricting their participation in different sectors creates inequality. Hence policy interventions support reproductive work being shared among the sexes allowing women to be actively involved in production. But this approach, used by the World Bank (WB) and OECD, does not question the origin of the gender labour division, but takes it as a given. Criticisms of FNC are the same as those of GRF as it fails to deal with gender as an organizing factor in social structures based in power relations formed over time (ibid.).

FCEM, opposing the FNC argument about reproductive work, is advocated by Diane Elson among others, suggesting that the care economy is an outcome and function of power relations. For this reason, the broad institutional context is concerned with and policy developed for the micro (household, individuals), meso (institutions, companies) and macro (market, state) levels. All such levels are assessed as being gendered, meaning discriminating. Gender inequality on the macro and meso levels arises from the concept's total omission, and at the household level from its improper 'conceptualizing' or roles copying by generations (Truong and Bayangos 2007). Though this model appears to account for more actors, it still rests within the efficiency/economy and ahistorical analyses, in contrast to the following model.

Equity/social relations

The Social Relations Framework originated at the University of Sussex's International Development Studies and is closely linked with Naila Kabeer. It is based on the idea that production, reproduction, distribution and consumption are linked to extended social processes at the household, community, market and state levels. All actors act and react, create and recreate mutual relations including those causing women's subordination. Therefore resources relocation alone would be insufficient to bring about improvement, but changes in social relations between women and men intersecting with other categories (class and race) are required as well. The gender labour division is understood not as a rational separation or choice but as 'social connectedness' and 'togetherness'. This GA concept is the most complex to reflect in policy design and practice, implying ongoing power negotiations and struggles leading to women's empowerment (Razavi and Miller 1995: 27-32).

2.1.4. Gender mainstreaming

The concept of gender mainstreaming (GM) was put forward in 1995 at the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women as a result of debates and negotiations by activists, women's organizations, academics and the international development community. The forum's outcome, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, was adopted, further stating the international

community's commitment to ensure 'that a gender perspective is reflected in all policies and programmes at the national, regional and international levels' (UN 1995). The United Nations (UN) Economic and Social Council nuanced the GM definition as "...the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action..., a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension... in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve *gender equality*." (UN 2002: 1). Governments, including the CR's, agreed to promote GM according to this definition. The EU classified the definition, further identifying a *dual track* strategy (i) integrating gender issues across all policy areas called *cross-cutting* and (ii) keeping a separate track of *women's empowerment* (WE) as a remedy for existing discrimination (EUCoP 2009).

The operationalization of GM leading to 'gender equality' has reflected diverse approaches, experience and struggles over time, pushing forward the issue and making governments responsible for doing so. Scholarly classifications vary but I adopt Jahan's definition, distinguishing three GM models: (i) a bureaucratic tool of integration, (ii) agenda setting for women and (iii) a transformation approach (in Squires 2005: 366). Detailing them, the first refers to GE framed as *sameness to men* based on liberal feminism and widely used in current planning approaches, especially within the EU as a *top-down government* instrument. The integration concept draws on gender biased social arrangements, viewing women and men as equally capable but failing to question existing norms and ideologies. It is often used as a technocratic tool without seeking deeper, socially embedded changes. The second perspective takes into account a *difference* between women and men leading to WE. It deconstructs existing norms and social arrangements, turning them into a redistribution of resources and rights. Yet its limitations are that it 'groups' all women together as 'women only' failing to recognize any internal differentiation within a given community. It has been taken forward through civil society participation, NGOs and social movements as a *bottom up* approach. The last, as its name suggests, deals with the *transformative* notion of the gender dimension, inviting all actors (political citizens) to public dialogues to express their needs. So sameness and difference are combined through deliberative democracy sensitive to all participant's diversity beyond simply the sex category. While this approach captures important features, displacing existing norms and respecting many diverse views on *equality and difference*, it has not been executed much in policy preparation due to a lack of concrete practical guidelines (Squires 2005: 343-374, Truong 2009a).

After almost 15 years from GM's institutionalization, a wide range of different understandings and viewpoints examining successes and failures have emerged. Some are more positive, identifying progress such as accepting gender terminology, establishing gender policies and various GE mechanisms (Moser and Moser 2005). Others identify examples of 'streaming gender away' or 'male-streaming' using GM as a fixed, top-down and depoliticized tool (Clisby 2005, Charlesworth 2005, Mukhopadhyay 2004).

2.2. Development cooperation and Path dependence

The research aims to examine and scrutinize development cooperation (DC) through gender lenses. For that reason I propose to study the motives/interests of actors *preceding* actual developmental interventions.

2.2.1. Development cooperation

Development partnership/cooperation/assistance/help, international/overseas/foreign aid and probably more naming can be found to define the fact that the governments of the 'developed'

world (Global North) facilitate or support the economic, social and political enhancement of 'less developed' countries (Global South). The different terms reflect historical steps originating from the 'patronising' language of help through assistance to cooperation. Yet often it is used interchangeably or loosely. Its official start is considered the period after the Second World War with the USA's Marshall Plan, aiming to rebuild a destroyed Europe, continuing through the Cold War period to be ideologically delivered along the political lines of communism and imperialism, to the post-cold war period when resources have been channelled conditionally to the Global South. If gender and its policy planning have gone through 30 years of struggle and self-determination, development and cooperation has done likewise over a longer period. There are no simple answers to the questions of what 'development' is, how it should proceed and who should have the right to be involved. Ongoing debates remain unfinished (Corbridge 2007, Leys 1996, Nederveen Pieterse 2001). This section's aim is to sketch an overview of discussions on DC's motives/interests and to analyse the Czech 'Aid' setting situation.

Motives/interests

According to Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen, four different Aid variations exist: (i) moral and humanitarian, (ii) national security, (iii) economic and (iv) environmental (2003: 10-17). The first one reflects obligations of the rich to help the poor based on right to development for all. This argument in its purest form is rather rare in the international arena and is mostly combined with enlightened self-interest, i.e., providing DC to the Global South will, in the long term, benefit the North. The recent combination of both is labelled as human internationalism reflecting donor's global undertaking to combat poverty and has been advocated by the Scandinavian countries, Canada and the Netherlands. Such formulated motive has been criticised, especially by Bauer (a liberal development economist), claiming that it is morally unacceptable to force North tax-payers to share their benefits with deprived people in the South, and states/governments have no right to do so (Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen 2003: 10-11).

The second interest/motive, national security, has never been fully used to protect the nation as such, but more importantly has aligned with countries' military and political protection priorities. However, after 11th September 2001, the USA among other countries has re-considered this concept and returned to a military interest approach. Similarly the EU has linked its Aid with reducing immigration from the Middle East and Africa (Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen 2003: 16).

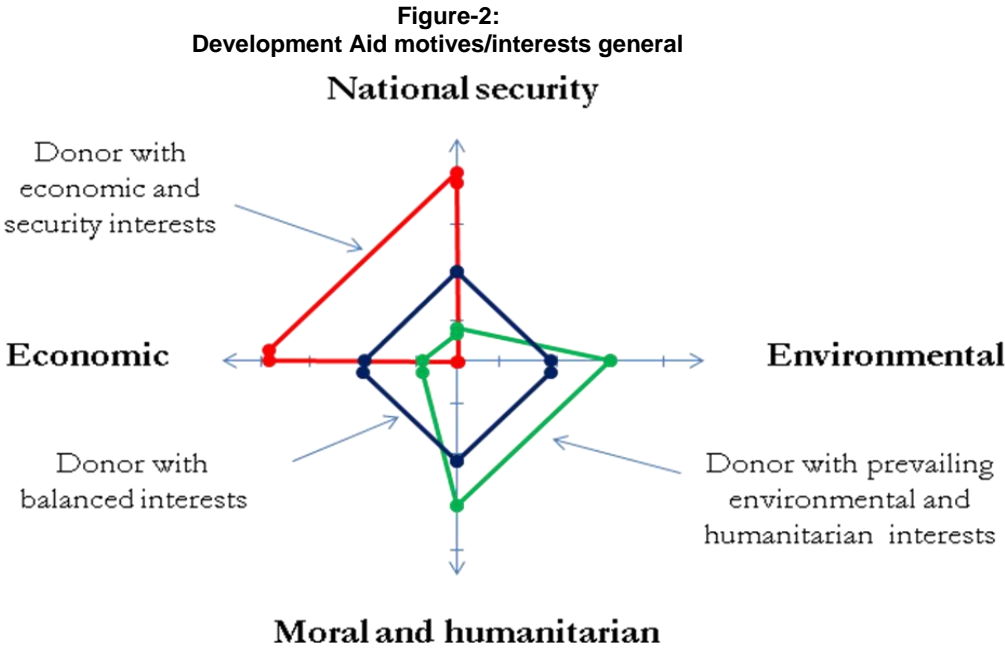
Commercial motives, the third group, have played a tacit but considerable role in determining Aid and target country selection. Former colonizers have tended to direct activities to ex-colonies, binding target countries to purchase donors' produce and services in a direct or derivative way. Several modes exist, including for example, specific projects, policies or institutional reforms aiming not only to sell to but also expand to future markets. While the OECD DAC¹² has claimed to reduce such tied Aid, few countries have untied it completely (Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen 2003: 13-14).

The fourth motive/interest, environmental considerations, have gained momentum since the 1987 Brundtland Commission's Report, identifying environmental inter-dependency and inter-

¹² Development Assistance Committee

connectivity and recommending the use of Aid to protect the environment globally. This motive and three others are visualized in Figure-2 to understand how donors move along the axes over time.

While official government proclamations to their taxpayers and target countries tend towards the moral/humanitarian and environmental motives of DC, the reality suggests that donors tend to respond to their political and economic interests, although generalizations should be avoided and more context specific judgments emphasised (Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen 2003: 17).



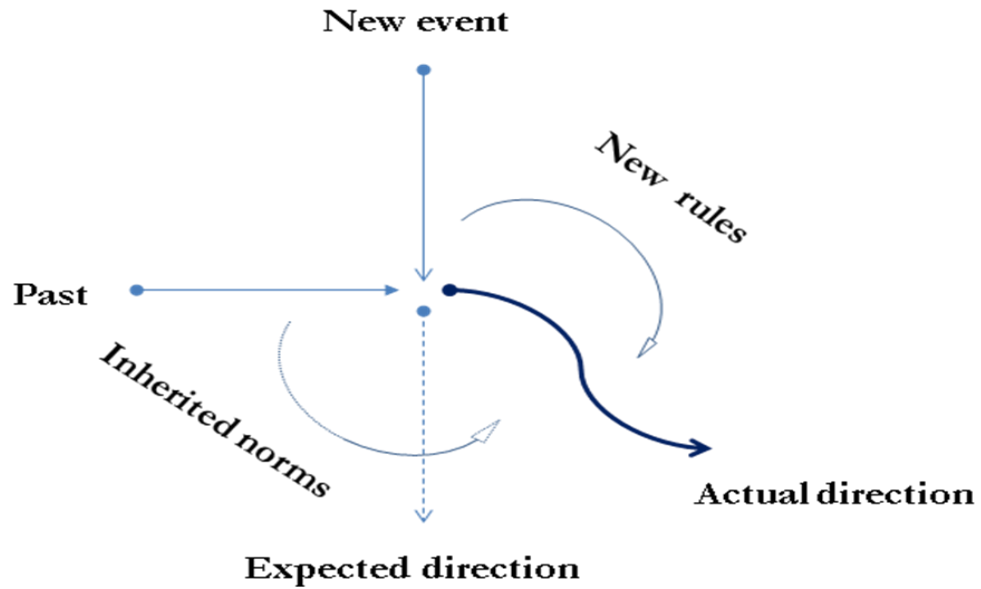
Source: author’s adaption from Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen 2003

2.2.2. Path dependence

Lastly, understanding the DC trajectory and the extent to which gender issues are in/excluded can benefit from a Path dependency analysis, linking concepts of both themes to the country’s recent and current history.

Path dependence theory originated from economists attempting to explain technology adjustment processes and non-linear industry progression and was later adopted by political and social scientists. According Pierson, two definitions could be distinguished. The first relates to the broad sense that history shapes the present and the second asserts that social institutions do not adjust linearly or progressively, but are rather constituted by ‘new’ and ‘old’ environments, interests, ethics and ‘cultures’ (2004: 17). In the context of Czechoslovakia-the Czech Republic’s recent history, North suggests employing this theory to understand specific features of society and its institutions’ transformations from one political system to another. ‘The result was the destruction of most of the formal framework, but the survival of many of the informal constraints. Policy-makers were confronted not only with restructuring an entire society but also with the blunt instrument that is inherent in policy changes, that can only alter formal rules but cannot alter accompanying norms’ (1997: 16).

**Figure-3:
Path dependence visualization**



Source: author's analysis

To summarize this chapter, the compiled analytical framework equips one with tools to address the research questions. Under the overall guidance of Scott's four-dimensional gender conceptualization, I will trace how gender is 'written' into CZDC policy and practices as an international GE mainstreaming principle. In doing so I will examine the premises of efficiency or equity that these gender articulations are based upon, using WID and GAD concepts. Knowing the current gender in/visibility, I will apply the motives/interests model to understand the space CZBDC is creating to address social disparities while comprehending policy-makers and implementers' perceptions of gender linkages to development. Given the fact that the CR has been experiencing transformation processes at all levels, including its DC orientation and gender thinking, it appears useful to use Path dependence in addressing the histories of both and discerning their motives/contentions over time.

3. Chapter – Czech Aid and Gender Issues: Recent and Current Trajectories

This chapter offers an historical analysis of the development Aid and gender themes together with the CZDC's current setting to create a deeper understanding of both topics.

3.1. Struggles and contentions: from Cold War to the EU accession

More than 30 years are examined in this section separated into three distinct periods, each producing impacts on current CZBDC framing and its gender dimension.

3.1.1. Communist period of political Aid and 'egalitarianism' among wo=men

The former Czechoslovakia¹³ has had a substantial development Aid history. During the Cold War (1980s) it was one of the of the bigger Soviet Bloc donors with 0.7-0.9%¹⁴ GDP¹⁵ allocations (Halaxa and Lededa 1998), following COMECON¹⁶ rules. The Aid was framed as a *political and economic* tool to strengthen the communist ideology/movement. Many countries were targeted including Cuba, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Mozambique, Libya, Iraq and Iran (Jelínek et al. 2008: 127). At times material and technical Aid was given with few conditions, often in exchange for natural resources. Furthermore long term *financial loans for Czech products and scholarships* were part of the bilateral and multilateral assistance (ibid.). Communist bloc Aid did not make a distinction between development and military assistance, and had a significant *arms-export dimension* reaching between 30 to 40% of its total amount (HUN-IDA in Szent-Ivanyi and Tetenyi 2008: 576). Using a motives/interests visualization, CZ Aid would be classified along the *economic* and 'collective' COMECON *security* axes¹⁷, with minimal humanitarian dimensions.

Gender issues were also framed in a particular way during that period with 'western' notions of feminism disregarded as imported from the 'imperialist' world. Yet the egalitarian approach meant the active but forced participation of women in political and economic social structures. Women needed to be loyal to the regime by participating in trade unions and/or the Communist Party. Moreover every woman's task was to be fully employed and provide care for the whole family (Rovna 2003: 2). Although the state played a role in social provisioning (free child-care services, health and education) enabling women to engage in production, their burden was high, resulting in deep unrecognized disparities between sexes based on a gendered division of labour at all levels. In contrast, some claim the opposite, emphasising the fact the women's emancipation was prominent, represented by their high participation in the labour market, in political 'decision making' and in the state's active support (Fábián 2005: 9). However, the fact

¹³ separated into the Czech and Slovak Republics in 1993

¹⁴ The calculation differs from the current one, the latter of which includes different items.

¹⁵ Gross Domestic Product

¹⁶ Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Eastern Bloc countries formation

¹⁷ Figure-4, page 26

that the right of free assembly was denied to the women's movement paused its progress for around 44 years (Havelková 2008: 222).

3.1.2. Decade of discontinuation for Aid and gender topics

When the Cold War ended (1989), the CR turned from Aid-giver to Aid-receiver, disconnecting from its donor position for several years. During this time, the country was in search of a new political orientation and alliances, changing from a centrally planned-economy to a market-driven one. Acknowledged by the 'West', unconditional support and loans from European and international institutions were received to process political, economic and social *transformations*. In the mid-1990s, the situation stabilized and in 1995 the CR became a member of the OECD, leading to a renewal of the Aid-giver role (Waisová 2005: 336-338).

Similarly, this period meant that 'egalitarian' gender thinking took a back seat. The influx of western women's empowerment rhetoric was not welcomed due to 'Czechs mistrust[ing] utopian and emancipatory ideologies; associating concepts such as... "women's equality," ...with the policies of the discredited paternalistic communist regime' (Heitlinger 1996: 90). During a time of emerging neo-liberal economic approaches, many former social services were eliminated or dismissed. However, pre-existing gender roles continued unchanged and even strengthened, resulting in women's burdens intensifying. Increasingly conservative gender rhetoric became apparent, with the Czech government and parliament showing no interest in GE issues and concentrating on its economic transformation (Hašková and Křížková 2006: 83-84).

Conversely, the opening of new democratic spaces was visible, also reflecting a re-opening of a women's movement lacking any connection to the pre-communist one. This is explained by the fact that post-1989 WOs were largely assisted by '*exogenous*' support streamed from 'western' feminists represented by returning emigrants, faith organizations and development agencies (Havelková 2008, vondrážka 2006). WOs' foci were quite diverse and small in size, budgets and broader influence (Hašková and Křížková 2006: 85).

3.1.3. The re-emergence of both themes with the EU accession

The Czech Republic's harmonization with EU pre-requisites served to strengthen its Official Development Assistance (ODA)¹⁸ and gender themes several years before the CR's 2004 accession to the EU. The preparation rested mainly in aligning with *Acquis Communautaire*, the EU law, and their accompanying institutionalization processes and norms.

An initial move was to establish a legislative framework for Aid through the *Principles* for the Provision of Foreign Assistance in 1995 document, updated several times since. The first document outlined ODA as being channelled multilaterally and bilaterally through sectors and approved third parties. The 'heavy' Ministries such as Industry and Trade, and Environment occupied the budget's largest allocations, resulting in the MoFA's coordinating role in development project implementation. The formation of Aid continued to be influenced by international norms and policy documents aligned to these. More than a decade of shifting emphasis and authority is noticeable, from strong ministries with a low MoFA influence to the MoFA gradually taking over

¹⁸ the OECD official title

conceptualization and implementation (Waisová 2005: 339-346). The language used also adapted, from 'help'/assistance and to CZ Development *Cooperation*.

Through internal analysis and external OECD DAC peer-review, it was recommended that CZDC continue aiming towards greater Aid effectiveness, transparency and less fragmentation (2007). Therefore the government institutionalized a period of *Transformation* (2008-2010), moving towards a Scandinavian model. The objectives to be achieved are to: (i) place the majority of projects under MoFA responsibility, (ii) clarify and consolidate its internal role divisions, (iii) create a unified budget and money allocation process, (iv) formulate and pass a government bill fully institutionalizing the CZDC and (v) harmonizing strategy with other EU donors. If this Transformation is successful, the CR can expect full OECD DAC membership (Jelínek et al. 2008: 131).

The EU Acquis Communautaire states 'non-discrimination and equal opportunities for all' as one of the its main chapters (EU 2009). Therefore in 1998, the Czech government established the Department for GE within the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA) to conceptualize and coordinate the gender agenda. Simultaneously, the annually updated National Action Plan, was endorsed (ÚVČR 2009: 16). Furthermore, the institutionalization of GE affairs into 'Equal Opportunities' has been strengthening, although serving to advance economic balance and women's integration rather than questioning structural gender inequality (Hašková and Křížková 2006: 88). If WOs had previously stood aside from government due to the EU's pressure, the cooperation of both actually formalized and strengthened. WOs had to also professionalize in complying with EU-determined themes and funding conditions.

Five years following the EU accession, the GE principle remains unsettled within the CZ government and society. The 'Equal Opportunities department' was moved from the MoLSA to the Ministry of Human Rights, assessed by interviewees as 'the men (politicians) shifting an unwanted box'. It is generally felt that the political will in promoting GE is not yet present.

It is undeniable that the EU GE policy has shaped government, public, media and most importantly WOs' views and approaches towards the theme itself. Czech scholars range from possessing softer to harder critiques on whether the EU's influence has actually confined or helped progress the women's movement and address structurally embedded inequalities (Hašková and Křížková 2006, Havelková 2008, Vondrážka 2006). The link of EU GE policy with a *feminist neo-classical economics* model of GA could be made, proposing an efficiency argument to remove barriers preventing women to participate in labour market. Its Czech version likewise focuses predominantly on equal pay, the glass ceiling, economic activities, reconciling family and work, parent's leave and political decision-making. Reproducing this *integrationist's* GE *sameness* approach is also visible in WOs' orientations, due largely to their financial *dependency* on government and therefore EU funds, and the public and private spheres lacking interest in supporting the issue (Hašková and Křížková 2006: 97).

In conclusion, although the CR is often considered as a newly emerging donor, it has a history of providing 'helping' assistance to Global South countries. After the Czechoslovakia period's politically, militarily and experts/equipment-delivery oriented Aid and a period of Aid receiving, Aid renewal returned in the late 1990s when the country was re-orienting towards the West. Similarly, gender issues were present during communism, but framed according to political norms. Its disruption led to a decade of discontinuation due to social provisioning abolition, yet interest in gender continued from emerging WOs. The EU membership meant that the norms promulgated by the Acquis Communautaire have been imposed top-down upon the CR to institutionalize the principle of GE, described as Equal Opportunities. The definition of 'equality' is framed along the lines of liberal feminism based on the efficiency and integration argument, noticeable within both government and civil society.

3.2. Czech Development Cooperation: the conventional setting

The quantitative picture of CZDC (detailed in Appendix-1), showing how it is divided into what regions, sectors and allocated to which key implementing actors, helps to comprehend its current trends.

3.2.1. General, bilateral, multilateral cooperation

The CZDC is financed from the national budget with the involvement of different implementation stakeholders. In 2008, the DC budget allocation was 3,634 billion Czech crown (around 145 billion Euro),¹⁹ constituting 0.11% of GDP (Table-1) and reflecting a dramatic increase in percentage and absolute amount (from 0.03 % in 1999 to 0.11 % in 2008). In 2009 it is expected to increase in percentage but decrease in absolute terms due to the global financial crisis and the decline in national income. Funds are channelled *bilaterally* (37 % in 2008) and *multilaterally* (63% in 2008). A progressive increase over recent years in both percentage and absolute terms has been evident in multilateral allocations, together with an actual decrease in money allocated to national implementers. This trend is likely to continue because in 2011 the country will also contribute to the European Development Fund with mandatory contributions added to current multilateral allocations. Any increase in CZDC and the bilateral part of it is unlikely due to national budget cuts in 2009 and 2010. Given the fact that the CR is neither a fully fledged member of OECD DAC nor a fully established EU donor, its power to influence the DC agenda on gender issues is limited and can only be seen at the ‘national’ level through bilateral allocations.

3.2.2. Bilateral cooperation

The CZBDC is key in the CR’s Development Cooperation, *bridging* Czech ‘expertise’ with partner- countries. It comprises several ‘cooperation’ activities (Table-2) revealing that the highest percentages go to *development projects* (31%), civilian and peace missions²⁰ (18%) and to debt relief (14%). Furthermore CZBDC is allocated via territorial targeting reflecting selection criteria for partner-countries as (i) their social and economic situation, (ii) their relationship with the CR, (iii) their level of democracy and respect for human rights and (iv) their preparedness for development (Jelínek et al. 2008: 130). Based on these, eight *programme countries* have been selected for long term cooperation (Angola, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Moldavia, Mongolia, Vietnam, Yemen and Zambia). Next are medium term targets and *project countries*. However in reality, most Aid flows to *Europe*, mainly South-East and Eastern Europe (42%), and the least to Latin America and the Caribbean (5%) (Table-3). Sectoral selection is based on *CZ comparative advantage* and harmonization with other donors (ibid.), meaning that the eight sectors involved are closely associated with CR ministries (Table-4), with the three leading ones comprising 68% of the whole budget. These are the Ministries of Industry and Trade (31%), Environment (21%) and Agriculture (16%).

¹⁹ This is a rough calculation based on the 17/9/2009 exchange rate only to demonstrate the volume.

²⁰ Discussions with regard to whether peace mission are more military often take place.

The Transformation period continues, producing unclear role divisions in CZBDC. The MoFA undertakes policy making as a policy-drafter with sectoral ministries reviewing policy. Actual budget administration is held by sectors (88%) and only more recently by the MoFA (12%) (Table-4). At the implementing level, the majority of projects are placed in the hands of the private sector (44%), with state and associated organizations²¹ executing 26% of allocations and NGDOs 22% (Table-5). Both decision and implementing actors meet in the DC Council, where the latter is represented by platforms assuming consultative voices.

To recapitulate, CZBDC, the smaller part of CZ Development Aid, is dominated by private companies as implementers, over-represented by heavy industries with only one third of its budget allocations going to development projects. The delivery of hard items accompanied by technology comprises the bulk of the CR's Bilateral DC, targeting the strategically important region of the enlarged EU, located on its eastern and southern borders. The dominating conventional rather than social development character of the CDBDC is reflected by statistics indicating its flows.

²¹ i.e. State Office for Nuclear Safety and the Office for Standards, Metrology and Testing

4. Chapter – Gender Perspectives in Czech Development Cooperation

The scrutiny of the ‘gender meanings’ in CZ(B)DC policy and implementation is inevitable to examine how they are aligned with government commitments to achieve GE through mainstreaming.

4.1. Gender in/visibility in policy documents

14 documents from the 2002-09²² period were selected to analyze on the basis of their importance and accessibility using Kabeer and Subrahmanianand’s gender-blind and gender-aware typology (Figure-A/Appendix-6)²³. The definition of ‘gender’ in this typology appears to be based on Scott’s model, with predominant emphasis on norms to allow for policy assessment, but in doing so other gender dimensions are left out. There is also an implicit assumption about the linearity of gender ‘implementation’ inclining to be used as a tool rather than reflecting power dimensions. Despite these weaknesses, this typology is useful to obtain a general overview of how gender is framed in policy. As all CZDC documents are in line with the EU norms, the GM *dual track* is also reviewed. The documents are organized into categories of: (i) strategic declarations, (ii) programme countries’ and (iii) implementation, documents. The findings are triangulated with interviews with MoFA/NGDO representatives, bringing a different perspective to the CZDC policy drafting processes.

4.1.1. CZDC policy declarations

The foundation ten-page document from 2004 is called ‘The Principles of International Development Cooperation following the Czech Republic’s accession to the EU (*Principles*)’. It provides an overall Aid policy framework consisting of: (i) definition and goals, (ii) forms, (iii) institutionalization (iv) regional and sector priorities, (v) implementation, and (vi) Humanitarian Aid definition (MoFA 2004: 4). Concerning GE and WE, the key document does not refer to either of these. While it could be assumed that they have been included under human rights or MDG statements, this is not the case and the third goal²⁴ does not explicitly feature, despite references to other goals. The whole document is entirely *gender-blind*. The Principles are planned to be replaced by The Bill on Foreign Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid (*Bill*), the processing of which started a year ago, but remains unendorsed. Although the Bill is awaited with high hopes in putting forward fundamental strategic changes towards greater Aid effectiveness and cooperation with partner-countries, its available draft does not feature GE or WE.

²² new drafts included

²³ Content and discourse analysis were considered as methodology, but giving the documents amount were disregarded.

²⁴ promoting GE and WE, while those principles are also mainstreamed through some other goals (UN 2000)

A complementary document mentioned in the Principles is The Concept of the Czech Republic Foreign Aid Program for 2002-07 (*Concept*), setting out aims and defining principles and priorities for five years. In 18 pages there is no reference to gender and only two minor references to women, these being in the Preamble mentioning the need for women's equality enhancement, and under cross-cutting targets, 'stressing particularly the *equal rights* for women, children and *other vulnerable* groups and providing access for their *education*' (MoFA 2002: 3). The remainder of the document is silent on gender or women. Because these are not reflected as aims, priorities or principles for a period of five years, I 'label' this policy document as *gender-blind*. *And while* a Concept 2008-12 was supposed to be released, research interviews revealed that only the Concept 2010-14 (*New Concept*) will be produced, leaving a three year gap²⁵. The current fragmentation of CZBDC is apparent not only due to such time delays, but also from MoFA interviewees, some referring to a new Concept to be released in 2010-14 while others referred to a 2011-15 publication. Presently, the discussion over the New Concept has started disclosing stakeholders' preferences and interests. Some government respondents spontaneously recommended that the document requires a more profound GE presence, although many failed to express any such sentiment.

4.1.2. Programme countries documents

Eight country programmes (*Programmnes*) were designed for a period of five years (2006-10), consisting of the main geographic and sectoral directions that the Aid should be taking. In each document²⁶ gender was present to a certain extent. Seven countries name GE as a *cross-cutting* theme, reflecting the first track of GM. However, only in Vietnam's paper is this principle promoted to a higher position with sub-sector status within the social sector, although its mainstreaming through other sectors is not proposed. Yet GE as a concept is brief and undeveloped, standing on its own rather than being truly mainstreamed throughout the sectors. It also does not propose any further steps or indicators in attempting to do so.

When GE is detailed it is associated with the second track of GM presented as WE to be achieved mostly through the education and health sectors. The main frame identifying women is via motherhood, their need for maternal health, employment and education. Only the Mongolian and Vietnamese Programmes go beyond this level to cover women's political role and recognise domestic violence. The documents' prevailing yet minimized tones corresponds with how the MDGs frame gender issues, mostly leaving out any acknowledgment of the care economy, structural inequalities and women's rights leading to greater social justice. Educated and healthy women are portrayed as the pre-requisite for countries' development and economic growth²⁷.

This limited conceptualisation nevertheless reflects an *emerging awareness* about gender and an inclination towards the *specific agenda setting* format of GM within the WID efficiency frame. GE's transformational aspect does not feature, since there is no acknowledgment of men's roles and also of the rights and needs of diverse minorities within the women's 'group', depicted in Programmes as homogenous.

²⁵ completed by using the 'old' Concept

²⁶ on average comprising 25 pages

²⁷ Table-6 schematizes matrix of findings, Appendix-2.

While the programme papers are the most explicit documents based on partner-countries' needs and interests, field interviews reveal that the majority of government officials do not know how the documents were designed. Only a few confirmed that there was no consultation with programme countries and documents were 'written from the desk' – meaning from the Prague office. Interestingly, when asked why the programme paper on Vietnam features GE with a higher priority than in other countries' papers, the response pointed to the 'self-gender awareness'²⁸ of the person drafting it ('what else is there to do in Vietnam than gender'). The closest notion reflecting countries' needs could be specified as the 'consultation' with their PRSPs (Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers) which probably also explains the more detailed WE and GE in the Vietnam document. PRSPs has been criticised by many researchers to be driven by neo-liberalism and its limitations resulting from its treatment of 'gender' as tokenistic (Whitehead 2003, Zuckerman and Garrett 2003).

4.1.3. *Implementation documents*

The CZBDC partly follows the international tendency of new Aid modalities in shifting from isolated projects to a sector-support orientation. However, CZ Aid²⁹ delivery is via a self-executed project-driven approach within identified sectors reflecting a *mixture of old and new* approaches.

Nevertheless the government's Project Cycle Manual (*Manual*) was/is a key document in guiding implementers (NGDOs, the private sector and others) through Aid delivery. I am using the past and present tenses because due to a Transformation process, the Manual no longer being valid for internal MoFA implementing unit use (Agency) although its core principles might be still used by external stakeholders. A Manual revision has been discussed since the beginning of 2008, but due to ongoing changes it has not yet been finalized. The current draft features GE and WE to the same extent as the old one (described below), but there is a willingness on the part of Agency staff to engender it.

The recognition of GE appears in the document's Introduction. It opens up with the rhetoric that CZBDC aims to combat extreme poverty and support MDGs including gender equality (MZV 2006: 4). But this is not consistently evident throughout the document. The second and final GE reference comes towards the end of the main part before the Annexes. It states that equality between women and men is one of seven factors facilitating project sustainability, next to partner's ownership, environmental sustainability and others. Although very limited in words, it could have some potential if respected by implementers. GE is framed as recognizing men and women's different *needs and interests* and while well designed, projects should respect this, facilitating a balanced impact on both and in the long run contributing to eliminate disparities (MZV 2006: 40). The rest of the 95 page document is silent on gender or women's recognition.

Also, significant project cycle components such as programming, identification, formulation, implementation and evaluation do not feature GE and neither does the logical framework, recommended as a tool for project management. Interestingly, the Manual appears by its content and format as a shortened and adjusted version of EuropeAid Project Cycle Management Guidelines. Nevertheless the original documents is incomparably more gender aware than its

²⁸ meant as a hyperbole

²⁹ Aid is used for CZBDC.

Czech adaptation. It features gender in detail in each project cycle part, in the logframe, in a feasibility study and in other sections (2005). Overall, the CZ Manual is assessed as *gender-blind*.

Drawing from interviews, it was obvious that the majority of MoFA and NGDO respondents knew about GE references (such as project sustainability) in government forms because they are ‘*required to be filled in*’ while applying for a tender or a grant.³⁰ Similarly, GE advertisements feature on yearly and final government project outline reports but none of these are seriously applied by implementers and nor by the government to check whether it has been achieved. Yet is worth noting that a certain level of GE consciousness among different stakeholders has manifested, as some NGDO representatives stated that ‘we do not want to only mechanically fill it in but to start doing what is required, but we do not know how to’. A majority of those interviewed knew that GE is framed as *cross-cutting* in documents and therefore should be seen as such in practice. But when detailing what that means and how to implement it, the majority were unclear about this.

To recapitulate, policy documents do not feature GE in a coherent and comprehensive manner. Some notion of doing so is visible in country Programmes, presumably due to being drafted in ‘consultation’ with PRSPs. But this limited manifestation does not provide any follow up, or guidelines on how to bring it into practice and how to translate it into budgets. Therefore the overall outcome is so fragmented that policy papers can be only seen as gender-blind. Interestingly, implementers and policy-drafters are conscious of GE’s *cross-cutting* character, but experience great *confusion* as to what it means. So when using Scott’s gender definition it can be argued that its *normative* part has been stimulated as a top-down notion (the WB → PRSP → Programmes and the EU → Manual), but without sufficient support to create GE normative awareness and understanding on the *subjective* level of stakeholders in government, NGDOs and other *institutions*³¹.

4.2. Analysis of implementation: Women in Development

If policy is designed to be used in practice to yield more just development, it becomes necessary to scrutinize the CZBDC implementation effort. This section therefore lays down a schematic picture of GE and WE and their manifestation in reality over last five years. To narrow the research focus, the social, health and education sectors were investigated, comprising 17.7% of the CZ Aid budget. The remaining sectors (industry, trade, transport and other sectors) were excluded, assuming that they reveal minimal gender visibility. Of the implementers NGDOs (22% of budget) were assessed as the stakeholders primarily dealing with gender while private companies or state organizations supposedly do not prioritise the issue. Generally speaking, sex-disaggregated data are not available and if some ‘gender’ projects exist, the data from these are not regularly updated. So the following analysis comprises a combination of data sources including interviews, web-sites and other assorted data.

³⁰ CDBDC is channelled to implementers either via tenders or allotting grants through project proposals assessed by an independent committee.

³¹ visualization-Figure-B/Appendix-6

The research assumptions were that each larger NGDO³² has been at least somewhat involved in 'gender' issues. Their more visible interventions are those dealing with *women* directly, manifested in the areas of education (e.g., literacy), economic activities (e.g., sewing workshops) and health (e.g., maternal-health services, HIV/AIDS) (MZV 2008c). What is questionable whether these interventions address embedded inequalities among women and men or simply assist in stereotyping gender roles while supporting women's double or triple burden. An example is an initiative in Namibia, referred by respondents as THE 'gender' project, but identified by the implementing organization³³ as a *family* livelihood programming. In sheltered workshops producing sewed decoration items, women comprised the majority of employees, while 'their men were sitting outside and drinking'. But unless gender audits involving beneficiaries are completed, it is not possible to evaluate these well meaning activities and their gender in/equality impacts.

The overall sustainability and long-term impact remains uncertain as these projects are not usually linked to broader local institutions and are designed for a limited time and lack further funding. In addition, only one or two projects deal with gender and structural issues such as working with local government and police on violence against women and awareness of this. While asking respondents what would bring more equality among women and men in partner-countries, their responses often highlighted enhancement of women's access to income, education and health facilities. This links implementation with the second part of GM theory and assesses the extent to which *specific women's projects* are underpinned by the *WID efficiency* argument.

GM's cross-cutting dimension appears to be less visible and acknowledged by those interviewed. It is seen as a quantitative measure, reflecting higher numbers of women in projects, most of these comprising their involvement in education e.g., hiring female teachers and enrolling more girls in schools. On the community level it manifests as involving women's and men's voices in decision making, often through separated sub-committees. Typical examples used were 'we DO gender' by allowing women have a say in village water and sanitation activities as they are the ones dealing with water the most.

An exceptional example provided was an Ethiopian project in innovative teaching methods where teachers (mixed sexes) chose to incorporate female circumcision when drafting syllabuses. Using gender GA theories then, the *Gender Roles Framework* comes closest to existing CZBDC practices. It is obvious that 'doing gender' consists of trying to incorporate women's opinions in community decisions, perceived as the solution to facilitating GE. However, it fails to question how gender disparities were created and maintained in the first place. Yet in comparison to all NGDOs projects, this notion is very limited and is only recently emerging. In addition, none of organization has a gender policy (internal or external), guidelines or a gender specialist and only few of their staff received gender training. So their reflections on gender are based on intuitive-knowledge-learnt through daily life experiences rather than being based on education-based-knowledge facilitated by tools³⁴.

³² Only few operate in the CR.

³³ Projects are executed by CZ NGDOs offices in implementation-countries.

³⁴ visualization-Figure-C/Appendix-6

Furthermore in contrast to CZBDC territorial priority³⁵ (South-East Europe) the above mentioned projects are in Africa and some in Asia, with only few located in the DC programme countries.

Field interviews revealed that the motivations to start ‘female’ projects have different backgrounds but stem primarily from the personal interest of particular women development practitioners with experience in Global South countries and through organizations ‘being forced by donors to have female sub-committees’. Also, exposure to the local realities created a *gradual consciousness* on gender issues within organizations themselves ‘realizing the need to address female illiteracy when we have already been running other projects in the area’.

In conclusion, the overall picture of CZBDC, its priorities and negligible budget show that the gender theme is limited and scattered. Executed women’s projects are framed mostly within MDG areas but are without a deep consciousness about gender *embeddedness in multiple power relations*. If the policy papers reveal minimal GE reflection as a cross-cutting theme, the implementation shows an inclination towards *specific activities* guided by *subjective experiences* ‘from the field’ and feelings of solidarity with the plight of women. A *disconnection between policy and its implementation* is obvious, leaving GM’s impact questioned.

³⁵ explained in Chapter-3

5. Chapter – Forces behind Limited Manifestation of Gender

Some possible explanations for gender's current limited manifestation in CZBDC are provided in the following part. In doing so, I firstly identify opportunities for gender to take effect while scrutinizing DC trends and underlying reasons for these. Secondly, I investigate what actual meanings and priorities are assigned to gender and its connection to development by policy-drafters and implementers. The analyses, based on empirical data and MoFA and NGDO respondents' views, are reviewed from the perspective of the last three decades.

5.1. Czech Development Cooperation motives and interests

Chapter-3 showed that the CZBDC is rather conventional in comparison to models emphasizing social and human development. This does not mean that all projects are only 'products-transfer'. But a significant part of the CZBDC comprises hard items accompanied by engineering knowledge delivery, as confirmed by MoFA respondents, identifying 'no space for gender due to the existing CR Aid orientation'.

5.1.1. *Economic interests*

From the vast body of literature on Aid, the question arises as to what rests behind the current conventional concept. Statistical data demonstrate private companies' leading position as implementer (44%). Moreover, territorial orientation is questionable as the least developed countries are in the minority as recipients while relatively economically 'advanced' South-East European (42%) countries dominate. These trends have been noted by civil society actors. The national version of the Global Call to Action against Poverty campaign pointed out the CZBDC's export orientation (ČpCH 2009). Furthermore, the NGDO platform's Aid Watch report criticized the selection of programme countries for not respecting official criteria but other preferences (FoRS 2008). Similarly, strongly expressed perceptions were articulated by NGDO and some MoFA interviewees, commenting that the Ministry of Trade and Industry uses the Aid budget as an 'extended hand of export', naming several examples of Czech products being directly 'sold' to programme countries. Yet this does not need to be negative for the partner-country because such 'hard' items might be important for their development. The question arises as to whether the delivery is based on what the CR needs to export or on the receiving country's poverty alleviation needs, as claimed in policy declarations. It can be further debated as to whether capacity building in operating and maintaining Aid delivery is involved, or if the delivered items make the receiver dependent on Czech expertise and replacement parts, requiring an assessment of how the Aid³⁶ is tied. Given the fact that publicly available information about CZBDC programming is minimized to money, project and implementers' names without any detailed description and official monitoring and evaluations, the debate must remain rather speculative. Nevertheless some members of MoFA were open to the assessment that 'Aid plays an important role in opening doors for future businesses'.

³⁶ Tied Aid is loans and credits limiting the procurement of the goods or services to the donor country.

5.1.2. Political interests³⁷

While statistics show civilian and peace missions as the second biggest CZBDC receivers (18%), it is highly questionable as to what effect they have had on local realities because no explanatory guidelines are available to assess this (FoRS 2008: 20). Though politicians do not pay much attention to CZDC, some discursive tendencies are recognisable. In 2007 the CR rejection of a temporary member of the UN Security Council was commented by the Prime Minister as a failure of CR Aid to stimulate partner-countries' support in the voting process (Horký 2008b: 376). Apparently, internal MoFA discussions have been considering DC as an instrument to pursue Czech foreign policy or concentrate more on poverty reduction and to make Aid conditional upon partner-countries' human rights observations (ibid.). Similar dual standpoints were verbalized by MoFA respondents with some expressing the need to attach political conditions to Aid, although others were more pro-poor oriented. A recent event providing clear evidence of the Government's position towards national security was the sudden dismissal of Vietnam from the programme countries' list. The official explanation given appears to be based on unfeasible legal compliance with Vietnam's 'new' system of direct budget support while adding that the country is already 'advanced enough'. The unofficial motive expressed by respondents was that the 'Vietnam government officially supports high immigration to the CR'. Interestingly, the Ministry of the Interior, responsible for immigration, is the only ministry designated as maintaining full independence after the Transformation period (MZV 2007a: 3), reflecting that these issues feature highly on the national agenda.

5.1.3. Environmental interests

Concerning this motive/interest, CZBDC holds a rather strong position. The Ministry of Environment is the second highest overall budget recipient (21%) and it is the only sector with its own projects and being considered as warranting cross-cutting status through others. Due to its doubly strong position, it also features explicitly in all policy documents from declarations through to Programmes. For MoFA and NGDO interviewees, it was often considered as a point of national pride and possible future comparative advantage within the EU and OECD DAC Aid labour division. In the private sector development platform, the 'environmental' organizations are in the majority and were actively involved since its start. Respondents also articulated a causal relationship between economic and ecological motives in Aid allocations, which would require empirical scrutiny to validate it. Moreover, ethical considerations are being raised by scholars that the Global North 'pushes' the South to eliminate polluting productions and services while continuing to do so itself (Shue 2006).

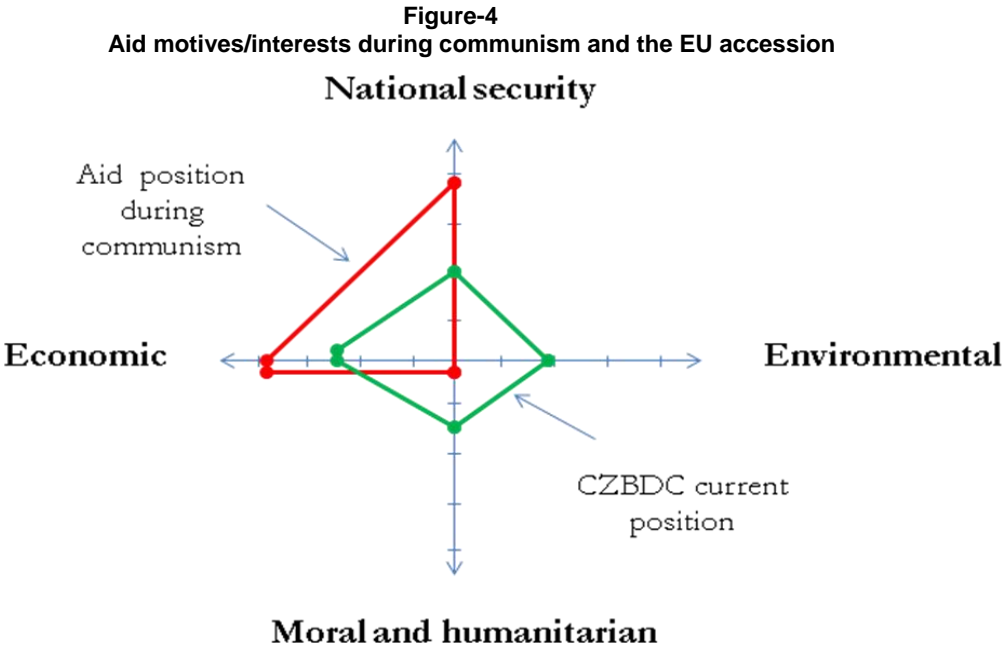
5.1.4. Moral/humanitarian interests

This motive is not as explicitly expressed and no direct measurable indicators exist. It is also complicated by the fact that the CR has never been a coloniser, so 'historical guilt' does not come into play. Civil society's critique has specified that in addition to having a pro-export orientation and lacking a transparent partner-country selection process, the CZBDC is also suspected of

³⁷ meaning original national security to capture the broader picture

inflating its Aid value, with some items counted in the Aid budget such as debt relief, scholarships³⁸ and refugee assistance not being intended to alleviate poverty, but rather assisting the CR's internal affairs (FoRS 2008: 16-20). When interviewees were asked why the CR should be active in DC, the majority spontaneously answered that 'we have something to offer', meaning comparative advantage, with some also acknowledging the fact that being 'developed enough ourselves, we are in a position to help poorer countries'. A minority were aware of 'global injustices manifested through unequal power relationships and our contribution to this through high consumption'.

To summarize, although CZBDC official documents claim transnational solidarity and consideration of MDGs as an aim for interventions, the opposite is true. Based on empirical evidence and respondents' interviews, the conclusion emerges that CR Aid has strong economic motives and national security-political interests. Yet environmental intentions are also present, occupying a large budget percentage and a great deal of perceived support. While morally driven motives were verbalized and can be observed in development interventions, power relations predominate within the government, with several ministries being the main forces framing current trends. Figure-4 shows how CZBDC can be visualized. Due to prevailing economic motives/interests, the *space* for gender issues to manifest is *very limited*.



Source: author's analysis

³⁸ Global South students studying in the CR

5.2. Transition period: the struggle over the new versus the old system

When comparing Aid motives during the 1980s and now (Figure-4), some differences emerge, but both share a prominence of economic and political motives. I argue that the public, media and broader political communities' limited attentions to CR Aid, induced by past (disregarded) and new (imposed) initiatives, have assisted in creating a specific DC model (Szent-Ivanyi and Tetenyi 2008: 573). This model pursues traditional Aid motives via questionable partner-country and sector selection, leading to the promotion of particular private interests. In doing so, I first briefly review the current position.

5.2.1. Limited public and political community's attention

Czech citizens' (tax-payers) attitudes towards Aid usefulness appear rather fragmented as shown in public surveys. Only one half of those surveyed have ever heard of CZBDC, while those that have believe that the current budget is adequate and two thirds of them expect something in return (SC&C 2008: 10). But even these findings are doubtful due to the validity and reliability of survey questions, as noted by MoFA respondents. Additionally, according to Horky, CZBDC is not an attractive theme with CR media (2008b: 376,2009b: 356). A recent example comes from a government press conference when journalists raised no questions seeking detail on the first DC Bill just endorsed by the Lower House³⁹, while discussing national affairs in depth (VČR 2009b). The public and medias' reserved attitudes are probably due to the impact of the politically twisted 'helping hand' approach to Aid during the communist period, in addition to the public's lack of information.

If the MoFAs' political interests in Aid are traceable, the broader CZ political community's⁴⁰ is the opposite. The current President holds the view that the only effective development tool is free trade, while being critical about DC as such. Similarly the Parliament does not express any particular stance on the issue, resulting in a lack of any real debate and if any interest is articulated by individual Parliamentarians, they are scattered across the political spectrum (Horký 2008b: 371-372). The only political party mentioning the CZDC in the autumn 2009 election campaign was the relatively small in influence Green Party (Strana zelených: 65). Within the MoFA itself, the DC Department is still a rather new, under-valued and understaffed unit slowly building its strategic position as articulated by its employees. Budget-and theme-wise, this Ministry does not belong to the most important ones, reflected in its limited bargaining position.

5.2.2. Sectors and programme countries questionable selection

In the late 1990s, when pre-accession negotiations with the EU resulted in an intensive push for CZ Aid-giving renewal, the country was still busy with its own 'development' and transformation processes. The stakeholders, government and legislation were ill prepared to administer Aid, resulting in re-adaptation of old version of products-experts-technologies delivery in order to 'perform' as was required. However a shift to a new social and human development

³⁹ Upper House endorsement is pending.

⁴⁰ political parties, Parliament, President

programming was also not plausible due to the absence of any national body of alternative development theories, the academic development field only starting in 2004.

Re-establishing the donor's position was favoured by the Czech public and political community even less today than in the past due to its negative connotation during the Soviet period. This general apathy has also played a role during the institutionalization of Aid. The first key DC document, Principles (1995), reflected a strong role for several commercial sectors, giving them full responsibility for money execution without any clear identification of coordination and/or arbitration functions. Moreover in a newly adopted neo-liberal country agenda, profit driven activities were supported without questioning. It led to a fragmented and unsupervised situation establishing self-driven tactics and encouraging particular (private) interests within these. Familiarity with the former Aid framing along the lines of Czech product promotion in exchange for raw materials with 'third' world countries assumed a great deal of importance. Later, when the CR needed to comply with EU Aid effectiveness approaches, functioning sectors/ministries turned into *eight* 'comparative advantages', highly questionable in number and profile. Such an unsettled situation was gradually acknowledged, leading to institutional changes and the declaring of a Transformation period⁴¹. Yet it remains noticeable that the Ministries of Industry and Trade/Environment/Agriculture, occupying 78% of the CZBDC budget, still hold strong control as they negotiated only to hand over development project budgets by the end of 2010, in contrast to other ministries doing so in 2008-09 (MZV 2007a: 2).

When MoFA and NGDO interviewees were asked what they considered as appropriate knowledge or know-how to be offered to partner-countries, the majority agreed on: (i) sustainable environment, (ii) familiarity with former Soviet-union countries, (iii) transformation experience from a central economy to a market one, (iv) human rights and democracy and (v) good governance. To complement this view, development priorities emphasised during the EU CR Presidency⁴² included: (i) access to sustainable energy sources, (ii) democratic governance and the role of civil society and (iii) a focus on Eastern Europe (MoFA 2008: 1-2). So these re-visited comparative advantages seem to be in line with the EU, OECD and WB strategies.

Country selection processes provide further evidence of the transitional struggle between old and new approaches to Aid. Currently eight programme countries (*Yemen, Angola, Vietnam, Mongolia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Moldavia and Zambia*) remain after over a decade of decreasing the number from 40. While countries were meant to be selected according to official criteria, when assessed by them, another set of partner-countries were created (*Ethiopia, Yemen, Angola, Vietnam, Mongolia, Mali, Afghanistan and Burkina Faso*) with only four overlapping between the two groups (Jelínek in FoRS 2008: 18). This suggests a reflection of past established relationships, alignments with business connections and with in the Czechoslovakia educated local elite, and lastly, a translation of loans into debt relief (*Vietnam, Angola, Mongolia and Yemen*). It also indicates new national business and immigration prevention interests combined with preparation for the EU 'family' expansion to strengthen the CR's economic and political power (*Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Moldavia*). Zambia, a country without Czech Embassy

⁴¹ Appendix-3 provides expressed Transformation priorities.

⁴² January-June 2009

representation, suggests a manifestation of particular commercial interests cited in interviews as a ‘strong personal lobby’.

In summary, the CR is often presented as a country successfully accomplishing its transformation processes, yet CZBDC framing confirms the opposite. Using several examples, I have shown that CZ society and its political and development communities are still in transition, reflecting a mixture of former ‘connectedness’ and a newly wished ‘togetherness’, explained by Path dependence analysis. I have also proposed that a distinctive model of DC has been created favouring particular old-new interests while not allowing gender issues to manifest.

5.3. Collective and individual memories: gender by policy-drafters and implementers

During the research interviews it came apparent that the limited space ‘assigned’ to gender is not only due the CZBDC trends and government administration, but it is also due to the diversity of meanings attributed to the ‘term’ and its links to development. Although difficult to categorize such a vast range of opinions, I will endeavour to establish some major tendencies.

The struggle to ‘grasp’ or express the meaning of gender appeared in many ways. While contacting respondents before interviews, I received replies that ‘there is nothing to talk about’, ‘we do not *do* gender’ or ‘your research will be an empty paper’. Another phenomenon appearing during interviews was that ‘gender’ questions being redirected by respondents to other, ‘easier’ issues to talk about. Given these reactions, I understood that gender as a term and concept faces even deeper challenges than those reflected to date in this paper’s CZDC analysis. I therefore limited GAD based questions to those reflecting ‘what gender means for you’. A mix of opinions appeared across professional, sex, age and ‘institutional’ (NGDOs/MoFA) categories and within them. Scott’s gender and Path dependence concepts were used to analyze the data set, leading to a classification of basic perceptions, organized by *expressed frequencies*. Their grouping into ‘typology’ attempts to simplify and connect similar gender ‘definitions’ and motivations linked to old and new historic and future visions. The list of themes is not exhaustive; only the most prominent are given⁴³ showing the variance across interviewees.

5.3.1. *We reject feminism*

Although never directly asked for an opinion about feminism, almost invariably the first reaction on the gender question elicited statements such as ‘I am not feminist’ because ‘feminists are aggressive, ugly and unwanted women who hate men, and I have good relations with my husband’, ‘gender in the CR is often confused with radical feminism which is the problem’. These opinions were consistent across all categories but were most prevalent from women. While Smyth comments on the disconnection between these two linked disciplines as being a ‘silence on feminism’ in development (2007: 583), in the Czech environment it can be seen as ‘noise’ in development, mirrored from Czech society at many levels. General Czech public opinion evident

⁴³ Appendix-4 lists all expressions.

in internet blogs, web-sites and media articles could be summarized in the line ‘stop feminism because it takes away femininity’ or ‘feminists want justice among women and men but not the best way of co-existence’ (Hužvárová 2009). Parts of government hold this position as well, demonstrated by the example of the EU-Czech Fund’s application form, stating ‘projects...may not serve to promote any political or ideological goals, including the ideologies of feminism and *masculinism*’ (VČR 2009a). WOs’ attitudes are more mixed, some claiming proud feminist standpoints while many are more careful, only using the term gender because ‘when using feminism, no-one supports us’ (Sokačová and Wichterle 2009). What I found interesting was not only the effort to make a clear distinction from feminism, but also that it is framed along the lines of radicalism, suffragettes and fighting against men. It connects with the second wave of feminism (1960-80s) originating in the USA, when Czechoslovakia officially refused it as imperialistic and unwanted ‘for our women’. Later the nation was not ‘ready’ to accept such a concept as no time was allowed to discuss it. Identifying the reasons why feminism is such a widely ‘hated’ theme requires extended research, but its ideological framing-understanding is apparent.

5.3.2. *Gender is not our theme*

While the denial of feminism was basically shared by all women interviewed, the disconnection from gender was also frequently expressed across institutions, with some variation along sex and age lines. ‘Gender is not our/national issue, flagship, comparative advantage, it is not in our awareness, it cannot be a sector’ are statements reflecting insights on gender and its linkage to development. The underlying rationales for this could be seen on a personal level as (i) ‘we have been equal to men’, (ii) ‘we have not been equal, but nothing has been done about it’ or (iii) ‘we are equal and we do not believe in current trends’. When looking into gender ‘definitions’ there is a linkage to sex, accompanied by sex-roles, exemplified in the statement ‘gender is about different roles, some given to women to deliver and care for children’. Recent and current historical ‘baggage’ is prominent while future visioning features less.

The first perception of ‘being equal with men’ could be distinguished as false consciousness⁴⁴ about equality presented by older female-respondents referring to there being no need for the gender theme in the CR. While they experienced the communist egalitarian approach, allowing women’s employment, *crèches* for children and political participation, equality among people and between women and men was felt. And while they have continued being publically active, the ‘created’ sensation of an equal life has been upheld. Yet when I asked ‘How the work at home is divided between them and their husbands?’, the majority of the tasks are done by the women and men are considered as the main ‘breadwinner [who] sometimes helps at home’. In other words, the sex division of labour was accepted as given and right. Although during some interviews, a partial self-realization of the double burden was verbalized, it was mostly concluded with the statement ‘but I like my husband and I like to cook for him’. So in other words the ‘connectedness’ with men is rather profound while feminine and masculine roles remain unquestioned.

⁴⁴ I borrow the term from Karl Marx referring to the theory that capitalist processes mislead the proletariat leaving power relations unacknowledged.

The other groups' personifications with the theme were also historically bound and linked to the women's ages. However, while most intuitively felt unequally treated despite the former system's egalitarian aura and hindered by reproductive work, respondents often expressed the statement that 'women were bound to the kitchen'. Yet they accommodated to the situation because gendered roles went unrecognized.

If the former two groups were restricted to women, the last variation of denial was linked to younger respondents from both sexes. The 'imposed' idea of GE/Equal Opportunities, political quotas and positive discrimination/affirmative action were questioned and referred to as problematic or 'I'm not sure if I want it'. In other words, the care economy was not an issue for them because, as commented by older women-interviewees 'many young people treat each other differently than we do', and the issue was a mistrust of top-down, exogenous EU interventions.

Nevertheless, even though young women and men might have a more-just division of labour at home, false equal consciousness was noticeable. The NGDO sector is rather feminized, meaning that more women are employed in it because it is financially undervalued, but on a decision making level, men dominate. When I asked whether it is known how many women and men are on the NGDO's executive board, most answers were negative, showing a lack of necessity to know. Yet when researching organizations' web-sites, boards were male-prevalent. Government by its own character is gendered, with women occupying low positions. To illustrate this, the Czech Lower House's female representation is only 17% and the CR has the second lowest proportion of women in the EU Parliament (Prague Monitor 2009).

So for this group including development-practitioners and policy-drafters, gender is not only an alien word, but the notion of inequalities is culturally bound and created over history. It is therefore somewhat unrecognized or partially acknowledged but not 'protested'. Also, resistance to new equality trends is noticeable. Based on their recent or current personal experiences, gender is not 'their theme'. Unless this personal false consciousness is shifted or re-visited, little appreciation of gender can be expected to feature in development circles either.

5.3.3. They do gender

The second group interviewed, smaller in size, was more confident about 'doing gender'. Chapter-4 presented CZBDC implementation, evidencing NGDOs as the main implementer of 'gender' projects, designed using a largely WID approach and/or GRF. Both already inherit gender 'definitions' underpinned by the efficiency argument and sex roles. Confirming this, respondents referred to gender as 'supporting women who are vulnerable and disadvantaged', or reflecting gender 'whenever it is possible in project assessments by getting both women's and men's views'. Motivations for pursuing such activities come from an experienced female transnational sisterhood or 'learnt' solidarity by practitioners to facilitate women having a greater say. This group did not seem to carry many historical memories, yet the current national efficiency policy discourses have probably influenced their views on how to integrate women into the development agenda. While for the above group gender is absent as a term, for this group it is unfamiliar and not frequently used. Labelling NGDOs as 'doing gender projects' was expressed more by outsiders while for insiders it was understood more as an 'intuitive thing to do'. Their recognition of unbalanced access to resources is encouraging, but their recognition of gender as being a society-regulating controlling principle is limited. Coupled with the efficiency argument, this creates considerable challenges for a future gender shift. However, these practitioners are self-learners, having never received any gender training, so GA is an unknown concept for them. Notwithstanding this, they expressed an eagerness to gain more knowledge and resources to use the concept in their future work.

5.3.4. *We want/need to do gender but we are constrained*

Women and men of all ages from both institutions (although the majority belonged to NGDOs), showed a genuine interest in reflecting more on the gender theme, but feeling uneasy in translating this to action. The factors stimulating them were associated with understanding how to 'achieve more' and their acknowledging gender disparities. Achievement, in other words, aligning to GE norms experienced indirectly as 'pressured' from 'outside', were noted by the government staff, expressed as 'if we want to become a member of the OECD DAC'. The same was articulated by civil society as 'if the WB evaluates our programme again we need to have better gender'. Interestingly, such conditioned 'doing gender' was most of the time combined with an emerging understanding of inequalities between women and men based on education they had received abroad in development studies and also through influence from 'my gender friends' meaning women activists. The way they understood gender was through a mixture of general GE rhetoric of 'Equal Opportunities at work or in the political arena' but also from a deeper view of 'gender is everywhere' or 'is equality brought to a legal level, to structures and processes at work, in the family, and in the economy'. So the historical 'baggage' or non-acceptance of the EU gender framing was not an explicit issue for them, in contrast to other constraints.

Often time and 'space' were referred to as lacking and required to start any move forward. It could be seen as only a 'patriarchal' excuse for not doing so, but when comprehending the current CZBDC's unsettled situation, limited space for gender appears to be an issue. NGDOs might have more opportunities to begin serious and planned steps in taking the gender theme forward, yet given the diversity of views within these organizations and the response of not having the time may mean not having the support and organizational commitment to do so.

Other limitations often expressed included the unavailability of expertise, methodology, indicators, and other tools to 'grasp' the issue. These were attributed to the absence of gender expertise and the lack of *interest from WOs* to 'help'. Interestingly, often a reluctance to 'harm or go against the local culture and traditions' was expressed, suggesting several possible explanations. This could be the cultural relativism⁴⁵ position, contradicting the notion of universal human rights widely supported in Czech development circles. It can also be linked to their understanding of what gender is, entrenched with sex roles and patriarchy, although publically expressed as otherwise. Lastly, it might point to a self-experienced externally 'imposed' gender agenda, and therefore as not wanting to do the same somewhere else. However, the explanation of 'not to harm' requires further research to unearth its underlying rationale and true meaning.

Nevertheless this group, distinguishes itself by its standpoints on gender and how to 'do' it, and seems to accept gender as a concept. It suggests the possibility of opening up space to enhance communication with players from within this group and with those in support belonging to other groups. Although their gender definition does not constitute much of a shift from the efficiency philosophy that integrates *gender as a tool*, the genuine interest of this group's constituents might bring more depth to their dialogue in the future.

⁴⁵ The approach is that local culture should determine people's lives and their development in contrast to universal human rights.

5.3.5. *We understand gender but contradict ourselves to practise it*

Lastly, a group comprised of people with research backgrounds holds clear definitions of gender as a constitutive element of society, and possess a sincere motive to push for GE, manifested through activities further elaborated in the following sections. When discussing possible ways of engendering policy documents, i.e. the above mentioned Manual, this group alluded to the belief of having gender featured above others issues, although verbalized by granting the same importance to gender as to other project sustainability factors e.g. community participation or environment sustainability. Such contradictions point to the struggle in practically ‘writing gender into policy’ and implementation.

Overall, if only a few respondents directly noted the need for specific WE projects, the majority linked gender to development as a cross-cutting issue despite their varying perceptions of the concept. When asked how to ‘implement’ cross-cutting issues, many could express some sort of definition, but did not know in a practical sense how to initiate it. It suggests that GE framed as cross-cutting was adopted from the EU and/or OECD templates or some other external source. Given the small size of the CZ development community⁴⁶ and often-commented close relationship between NGOs and the MoFA, the cross-cutting GE concept has been spread around without any deep reflection on what it actually means and requires. It also probably explains why NGOs and MoFA actors hold similar views on *gender being an instrument*, combined with fact that the issue is ‘new’ and so developed standpoints do not yet exist.

To synthesize, as with the development field, gender issues appear to be in transition in the CR in general and in the development community in particular. This conclusion is supported by the fact that various gender ‘definitions’ arose from the group ranging from linking it to silence/not knowing, to sex, women, and as a social construct. For a large proportion of MoFA/NGOs interviewees, the word is alien and many personally rejected it based on historical memories, newly emerging trends or low consciousness of gendered social relations. Yet genuine interest and hesitation in ‘what to do with IT’, also emerged. Nevertheless, given the stage of the concept’s understanding, the state of personal motivation, and its dis/connection to development, together with the lack of dialog on the subject, not a great deal of space exists for gender to manifest in CZBDC.⁴⁷

5.4. Opening new spaces: women’s organizations and academics positioning

Voices from NGOs and some of those from the MoFA called for a need for gender knowledge and for WOs to get involved and push for a new GE agenda. Whether such a line of thinking is feasible and what particular standpoints WOs hold towards the theme is reviewed here. Moreover this section aims to identify *future research inquiry* options to be continued.

⁴⁶ NGOs, government, academics

⁴⁷ visualization-Figure-D/Appendix-6

The original research design was based in large part on the converging themes of a gender ‘constituency’ with a development one, but during first phone-conversations with WOs, little convergence of these themes was found, leading to a change in the research focus. Nevertheless, interview results led to a simple classification of WO’s positioning as: (i) without interest, or with interest in (ii) future implementation, (iii) present implementation, or (iv) present awareness building and policy development.

The first group (without interest) was the most prevalent among the organizations studied. For them the development field was distant and CZBDC was almost unknown, as were MDGs. Although an affinity with Global South women was somewhat present, it was not overwhelming or framed. Furthermore these WOs felt understaffed, underfunded and lacking topical knowledge. So when assessing this group, their interest in gender and development was linked to their self-national-experience.

For the second group (holding future implementation interest), embodying one organization in particular, their transnational solidarity was based on several factors. Some members have personal familiarity with the field of development and ‘experiencing the hardship’ of women. The normative stand manifested too through a ‘reciprocal responsibility feeling’ derived from the organization’s establishment via the ‘West’ funds in the 1990s, combined with their connection with a post-Soviet countries’ network. Countries like Moldavia, Ukraine and/or Vietnam were mentioned as possible future partners, reflecting some historical ties. Their concept of development was based on a reaction to local realities and the need for WE, rather than being proactive and based on a cross-cutting GE mainstreaming approach. While motivation was explicit, the readiness to embark upon implementation was not present due to the same challenges expressed by the uninterested group.

An *actual implementation* (third group) effort revealed by one interviewed organization, itself admirable for its female-founder’s motivation, was based in Afghanistan and Chechnya, both countries bound historically to the former Czechoslovakia regime. The organization’s management did not accept the ‘labelling’ of being a women’s, gender, developmental or multicultural organization, although its projects were income generating activities for war-affected women. Interestingly, the organization was also co-partnering a Czech NGDO in the above mentioned areas, corresponding with previous finding about CZBDC-WID’s framed implementation. While a deeper analysis is required to assess the impact of the implemented interventions on gender disparities and why such an explicit distinction was verbalized between gender and development, it can be assumed that current national gender discourses and development framing have impacted on this isolation stance.

The last group (interest in policy and awareness building) comprised two organizations showing systematic and somewhat more strategic involvements in gender themes in development. The initial move towards the development agenda for both was instigated by their participation in networks of former post-Soviet countries⁴⁸ combined with personal self-interest, but these were not based on experiences in the Global South.

While one of them recently joined a transnational project scheduled to start in 2010 focusing on awareness building of DC implementers and the media, conclusive outcomes cannot be drawn. The second organization has been involved for a year in diverse activities including (i) a

⁴⁸ Karat Coalition and Network of East-West Women

first critical report on CZBDC gender 'blindness'⁴⁹, (ii) a gender audit of programming and the internal affairs of an NGDO and (iii) undertaking the drafting of a gender policy brief and paper (*Draft*) for the CZ development community, MoFA included⁵⁰. Both organizations' international solidarity was verbalized as 'the CR is already a rich country and should *help* other countries with limited resources', seeing development as facilitation rather than 'exporting central European ideas'. One explicit standpoint expressed by the group was that only a dual track approach, meaning GE formulated as WE and implemented as crossing-cutting would be successful in the development agenda, although the latter is often 'missed out' in project implementation. The Draft, which has been designed in cooperation with IIR researchers, not only confirms the same combined notion, but also converges activists' with academics' interest in progressing the gender and development agendas.

In addition, other academic institutions, expected to embrace similar thinking to this last group, are rather new. Both Gender and Development studies have only existed since 2004 and are still in a self-identifying phase. While interviewees from both fields showed certain interest in undertaking a combination of the gender and development topics, Development Studies academics had a more concrete plan to do so, with a course being planned for the 2010 summer. But this remains in its early stages confirmed by the teaching staff's statement 'I am only starting to buy the books'.

In summary a brief outlook on how other civil society members, most of which were WOs, view the development topic shows a dominating inwards/national rather than an outward/international orientation. This can be explained by the non-existence of required knowledge pointing to its novelty, but also to a countrywide struggle over the acceptance of gender issues. Yet some emerging thoughts and activities have been observed reflecting ties with former Soviet countries providing potential for a converging of interests in gender issues in development. In contrast to the development community, elements of the gender and academic communities have expressed a need to advocate for a dual approach to GM.

⁴⁹ This report has stimulated my research.

⁵⁰ The latter two were unfinished at the time of this research.

6. Chapter – Concluding Reflections and Future Possibilities

This paper reveals that change is possible in CZBDC if the opportunity is seized. The CR has endorsed major international conventions promoting GE in policies and practices. It also officially conforms to key EU and OECD DC standards providing *formal* opportunities to address past and present constraints. With guidance from new theories on DC and gender it is possible to establish a framework for a dialogue among stakeholders and to strengthen gender and development within CZBDC through the MoFA partnership with NGDOs, with additional support from WOs and academics. But this will only be plausible when the current barriers to gender limited visibility identified in this research are understood and redressed by the development community.

A key problem occurs in CZBDC administration, reflecting the Path dependence patterns of conventional Aid, promoting national products and technology exports together with political benefits. Moreover, when CZDC policy documents and implementation practices are examined, the dialogue with partner-countries over their needs and interests has been and remains minimal. These limitations contribute to inadequate attention to social sectors, where GE promotion is often found. Such model was evident during the Soviet times and despite political changes, the new model, complying with the EU conceptualization, has not yet fully embraced these sectors. It is mostly due to a lack of capacity and cooperation among policy-formulation actors together with national priority setting reflecting domestic political-economic as opposed to humanitarian-GE interests.

Other prominent issues hindering adequate visibility includes the understanding of gender and its subsequent acceptance by policy-makers and implementers. Gender as an analytical concept has emerged just recently in the CR and is actively used among WOs and academia but not discussed elsewhere, including within CZBDC circles. Yet relationships among women and men have tended to be formed by top-down measures including the imposed egalitarian approach during communism and more recently instituted via the EU's Equal Opportunities prescriptions. Although argued differently, both are based on the efficiency premises, promoting women's integration into male-formed structures rather than through a transformation of unequal power-based relationships. As concluded from research interviews, such formal top-down regulations have been met with *distrust, hesitation and even fear*, together with a perception of existing *equality* on a personal level.

A lack of understanding, awareness, knowledge and commitment within professional circles combined with a fixation on seeing Aid as needing to enhance the CRs' political and economic interests has led to the CZBDC's key policy documents and budget being predominantly gender-blind. Notwithstanding the minimal appearance of gender as a cross-cutting target, international GM rhetoric has in fact influenced the CR development community's thinking. But because the concept is not practically understood, robust scholars' use of GM as a technocratic tool rather than to facilitate greater social justice hold sway, adding to policy-makers and implementers' 'confusion-rejection' of the GE as a DC intervention principle.

Moreover both the GE and development themes, burdened by the legacy of past paradigms and limited official communication, are not conducive to general public discussion on CZBDC's quality. Development as a field of considerations and interventions is not regarded as a priority by the national gender machinery and the women's/gender civil community, higher education included. Overall, the picture of CZBDC and gender thinking is hardly visible due to historical patterns and current societal experience.

Despite all the constraints of a society still in transition, an *emerging realization* of social and gender concerns is visible with particular *civil society actors*. NGDO practitioners have learnt that community-based programming facilitates more sustainable human development than emergency or conventional Aid practices. Such comprehension contributes to reflections on unequal access to resources by the sexes. This, in addition to and facilitated by national efficiency discourses on Equal Opportunities, has led to the implementation of WID-projects.

Accompanying this gradual field-based learning, an increasing interest by academics together with gender-informed ‘knowledge’ has also been noticeable. Separate, ad hoc activities in the past have been modified and indeed potentially strengthened by current mutual endeavours. While still at their beginnings, collaborations between the international relations researchers and WO representatives has led to a Draft⁵¹ of the first gender policy paper targeting the development community. Consequently other WOs interested in the development agenda are slowly emerging, mostly motivated by international/regional networking. A similar influence from abroad, gained from their participation in overseas Development Studies has been experienced by some CR actors, leading to a better understanding of development theories and feminists’ conceptualizations of the issues.

However modest in size, this signals an *emerging diversification of knowledge* and critical theoretical thinking from the programming field and from national gender practices. Whether this can gain more momentum and create a foundation for greater mutual exchange and a more prominent dialog on gender issues in the development arena remains to be seen. Moreover, the journey will not be straight forward, as the struggles over gender in planning have shown. While some constraints exist, they are accompanied by *opportunities* already foreseen in the Czech development and gender environments.

While the government might continue to adopt a *superficial approach to GE* in complying with EU norms and OECD DAC membership conditions, such a positioning should not go unquestioned as this creates an opportunity for the above actors to exercise leverage over the gender theme and its budget allocations. But given the current trends in administration, power relationships within DC, low capacity and the government’s gendered nature, it is unlikely that significant change towards improved and more direct gender programming will take place quickly. In addition, to ‘do gender’ requires thematic knowledge together with knowledge and experience in the related dimensions of applying development theory to practice. These are still rarely to be found throughout the CR in general and within government in particular. Moreover, in times of budget cuts and increasing EU multilateral channelling, investing extra effort and money in gender expertises may not yet be politically plausible.

What can be done however is to ensure through civil society’s advocacy and lobbying that the gender theme explicitly features in existing ‘budget lines’ for strengthening the internal capacity of implementers, or for outsourcing to those who have the competence and for sharing knowledge to build CZBDC gender conceptualization. The MoFA can play a stimulating role in the development arena, but this depends on what real results the current Transformation brings. Further research can investigate if and how the announced changes in administration, starting in 2011, create more space for not only for gender, but for effectively responding to partner-countries’ needs and their own human development agendas.

⁵¹ not yet publicly available during the research

What appears more feasible is building on NGDO's emerging consciousness and field-learned knowledge. Yet given the diverse ways of looking at gender and relations between women and men within organizations, promoting this might not be such an easy task, despite the good will of a few pioneers. Unless discussion starts to express all perceptions and hesitations on a individual, personal level and a more conducive gender-just environment is created for employees, organization's professional programming cannot seriously benefit from these promising early signs. To facilitate this, in-country gender 'expertise' and interested WOs can become directly involved in NGDO's debates on the theme. This could lead to co-designing institution-specific (internal and external) gender policies instead of a single general policy for the whole development community, another manifestation of a top-down GM approach in attempting to cover all stakeholders at once.

Nevertheless this co-designing of institution-specific gender policies requires not only determination but also commitment (to create the time that stakeholders report they lack) translated into budget. Given that gender issues are still not well-recognized on the national agenda, this might remain a priority that WOs have a 'part-time' interest in if they continue to lack the necessary human and financial resources. However, more research is required on what the gendered level of NGDOs currently is and how to motivate the internal shift towards more gender thinking in implementation. Though, it should be added here that development NGOs execute only a small amount of the CZBDC budget, so their overall bearing on the situation is unlikely to be prominent.

For this reason, additional scrutiny to investigate other CZBDC implementers' gender and development positions and practices, including and especially the commercial sector's, is recommended. Hence the most substantial research should be dedicated to the pioneering work of WOs and academic efforts to bring more insights into their GE definitions and the connections to development that they propose. Such inquiry would also assist in better understanding how to facilitate and maintain thematic discussions with NGDOs to extend their existing WID knowledge and their *instrumental* understanding of gender. Given practitioner's current gender-concept-comprehension, a more viable goal would appear to be deepening the WE approach and extend this to create intersections with other conceptual areas rather than aim for GE manifesting through cross-cutting implementation.

An interesting question might also be to examine how post-Soviet countries and specifically the Visegrad Group⁵², frame their ODA in terms of gender dimensions and the approaches taken by civil society. As signalled, the WO's regional networking has already stimulated some steps towards this. It can be assumed that historical alignments and shared similar past trajectories between political regimes and gender issues, together with their experiences of both receiving and giving Aid, could constitute new inquiries on gender and development to enrich current theorising.

In conclusion, one could question whether to continue CZBDC or instead redirect the budget to multilateral purposes. But based on the field research undertaken, the CR's DC re-framing is progressing, based upon NGDO and also MoFA representative's advocacy. Similarly in country, where gender is still an alien word, to anticipate the mainstreaming of all GE commitments

⁵² The 1991 regional formation comprising the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary and Poland

throughout CZBDC would be unrealistic. However, working with the emerging diverse consciousness and gradually developing *self-definitions* of more-just relations between women and men, could benefit the development community. This will be a *long journey*, but it may ultimately have a greater impact on partner-country programming including facilitating *local GE definitions*, based importantly upon their own experiences with the Path dependence model.

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Appendices

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Appendix-1: Czech Development Cooperation statistics

These data were compiled from a number of different sources including unpublished sources that have yet to receive acknowledgement as officially approved documents. They include:

- Czech Development Cooperation overview, 1999-2008
- Bilateral CZDC by Activity, 2007
- Bilateral CZDC by Region, 2008
- Bilateral CZDC by Sector, 2008
- Bilateral CZDC by Implementer, 2006-08

Table-1
Czech Development Cooperation overview

(total numbers are in CZ crown in billions)

year	all	% from GDP	bilateral	% of bilateral	multilateral	% of multilateral
2008	3,634	0,11	1,358	37	2,276	63
2007	3,631	0,11	1,643	46	1,988	54
2006	3,637	0,12	1,757	48	1,88	52
2005	3,236	0,11	1,542	48	1,694	52
2004	2,78	0,11	1,632	59	1,149	41
2003	2,556	0,1	2,268	89	0,288	11
2002	1,486	0,07	1,025	69	0,461	31
2001	1,007	0,05	0,568	56	0,439	44
2000		0,03				
1999		0,03				

Source: FoRS 2008, MZV 2009, Waisová 2005

Table-2
Bilateral CZDC by Activity, 2007

Activities	CZ crown in millions	%
Development projects	516	31
Scholarships	114	7
Projects implemented through international organizations	54	3
Humanitarian aid	109	7
Aid to refugees	188	11
Civilian and peace missions	291	18
Debt relief	230	14
University and municipality activities	45	3
Administrative costs	96	6

Source: MZV 2008b

Table-3
Bilateral CZDC by Region, 2008

Region	CZ crown billions	%
South-East, East Europe	200,05	36
East Asia and Pacific	139,89	25
Sub-Saharan Africa	76,957	14
Europe	41,802	7
South and Middle Asia	41,404	7
Middle East and North Africa	31,136	6
Latin America and Caribbean	30,266	5

Source: MZV 2009

Table-4
Bilateral CZDC by Sector, 2008

no.	Sector	Ministry	CZ crown billions	no. of projects	%	
1	Industrial development	Ministry of Industry and Trade	170,52	32	31,1	
2	Environment	Ministry of the Environment	113,39	30	20,7	
3	Agriculture	Ministry of Agriculture	89,14	32	16,3	
4	Education I.	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport	23,86	6	4,4	6,9
	Education II.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	13,78	5	2,5	
5	Health I.	Ministry of Health	33,33	4	6,1	6,3
	Health II.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1,30	1	0,2	
6	Social Development I.	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	21,96	8	4,0	4,5
	Social Development II.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2,50	2	0,5	
7	Migration, security, Good Governance	Ministry of the Interior	17,70	12	3,2	
8	Transport I.	Ministry of Transport	10,71	7	2,0	2,2
	Transport II.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1,17	1	0,2	
9	Public finance management	Ministry of Finance	0,98	1	0,2	
10	Development education of public and awareness raising	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	13,93	17	2,5	
11	NGOs capacity building	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	8,96	14	1,6	
12	Projects of regions	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1,02	2	0,3	
13	Projects by embassies	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	13,83	55	2,5	
14	Monitoring , evaluation	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2,28	0	0,4	
15	Coordination and administration	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	7,34	0	1,3	

Source: MZV 2009

Table-5
Bilateral CZDC by Implementer, 2006-2008

Implementer	2008			2007			2006		
	in CZ crown in billions	%	no. of projects	in CZ crown in billions	%	no. of projects	in CZ crown in billions	%	no. of projects
Private sector	318,8	44	93	291,3	45	73	227	54	72
NGDOs	157,2	22	150	157,1	24	98	83,7	20	51
State and contributory organizations	192,557	26	17	155,8	24	48	73,8	18	25
Universities	4,2	1	12	47,7	7	24	33	8	16
Territorial Self-government	54,3	7	30						

Source: MZV 2007b, 2008a, 2009

Appendix-2: Analysis of CZBDC Programme countries' documents 2006-10

Table-6
Analysis of CZBDC Programme countries' documents for 2006-10

S-sector of implementation, GE-gender equality, PRSP-Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, MDGs-Millennium Development Goals															
no.	country	PRSP	MDGs	Sectors								GE as Cross-cutting	framing' of gender equality	framing 'of women	
				Education	Industrial dev.	Environment	Social Affairs	Agriculture	Transport	Migration	Health				
1	Angola	no but national strategy	yes	S				S					yes	strengthening women's position overall, education specifically	illiterate, mothers
2	Bosnia and Herzegovina	yes	yes		S			S	S				yes	not detailed	group at risk
3	Moldova	yes	yes	S		S				S			yes	eradication of abuse se on women and children	unemployed or low paid if so, need of maternal health

4	Mongolia	yes	yes		S	S	S	S				yes	greater inclusion of women in decision-making processes in local authorities, addressing domestic violence (the victims are not only women), systematic improvement of women's position	group of unemployed but educated, typical gender role in official employment - health, education, no access to financial services (credit), high domestic violence, low political participation, high maternal mortality
					no	no	no	no						
5	Serbia	yes	yes		S	S	S		S		S	yes	not detailed	vulnerable group inclining to high poverty (monetary line), unemployed, more impoverished by intersections (Roma, rural, refugee), pregnant
					no	no	no		no		maternal care			
6	Vietnam	yes	yes		S	S	S	S				higher statues-sub-sector in social one, but cross cutting	assistance equal opportunities to men and women, family planning, assess to education, address domestic violence, combat prostitution and human trafficking	main workers in families
					no	no	yes, GE column	no						
7	Yemen	yes	yes		S			S				yes	not detailed	highly illiterate, unemployed, in need of better maternal health
					no			no						
8	Zambia										S	yes	access: land, opportunities in the economic and political structures, means of production, information, and the decision-making process	mothers and in need better maternal health
											maternal health			

Source: author's analysis

Appendix-3: Transformation period priorities by policy-makers and implementers

According to respondents from MoFA/NGDOs, the Transformation situation should reflect future CZBDC priorities and include: (i) sustaining the bilateral budget without a decrease instigated by the financial crisis or multilateral relocation, (ii) renewing official project evaluations (iii) assigning governmental endorsement of the Bill, (iv) drafting a New Concept based on a consultative process with all stakeholders, (v) bringing transparency to the awarding of financial grants, (vi) finishing the Transformation process on time, (vii) establishing multiannual project financing and (ix) resolving MoFA management role-confusion.

Appendix-4: Perceptions of gender by policy-makers and implementers

The following are expressions recorded during interviews and translated from Czech to English. The quantitative part (frequency of verbalized categories) is not reflected here but was used for analysis in Chapter-5.

a. MoFA – conceptualization and implementation unit

Gender ‘definition’

- is supporting women who are vulnerable and disadvantaged
- was a *fashionable and sexy topic* some years ago
- is not feminism
- is not in our awareness
- is *marginalized women*, but some women are more than other
- is about equality brought to the legal level, structures and processes at work, business, family, care and in the economy
- was not felt as extremely important as *during communism women were not discriminated against*, although this may be a problem when they want to achieve high positions
- is equal access to resources, services and more
- is that women have a harder life, *double work* including home and outside
- was not an issue *during communism*, but women were mostly ‘*in the kitchen*’

Gender in CZBDC

- The MoFA does not do any activity *only* NGDOs through social projects (education, health etc.)
- CZBDC is prevailingly technical and ‘hard’ development oriented
- gender could not have been reflected in policy documents as in the last five years no one has understood the word. Now it is known more as the pressure to do so comes from abroad.
- some projects reflect gender i.e. when a water well is built, women are involved in decision making on where it shall be situated
- *other issues* are currently *more important* than gender
- *no training* on gender at MoFA

- we were trained on many issues when we joined the EU, probably including gender as well
- the EU does not support gender in development
- gender project in Namibia – women were working at a workshop, men were outside drinking and the income went to men
- there is no concept of gender but when it is possible we try to ‘*smuggle it in*’
- gender cannot be separated as a theme or a sector itself
- *we already have gender experts in our team* (authors’ remark-two young women who never studied gender but have ‘progressive’ thinking)
- the department has some gender sensitivity as the majority are women
- gender is minor, more important is the general quality of the project
- The MoFA does not initiate any discussion on gender
- some people try to mainstream it in project impact assessments
- gender is *cross-cutting* and shall be monitored that way, but we have no personal capacity to do so
- management is not extremely willing to advocate for gender
- gender is only at the beginning of penetration
- gender is *not our flagship* but Scandinavian
- the CZBDC shall sooner or later *reflect gender if we want to become a member of OECD DAC*
- other cross-cutting themes are our flagship including the environment, good governance, transformation experience etc.
- gender shall be reflected in *upcoming documents* such as the New Concept, Manual, partner-countries’ Programmes

Gender and development

- is important and development is not possible without it
- is cross-cutting
- is not possible due to *culture barriers* (in Africa it is easier than in Muslim countries)
- *is not about our own visions*, but local realities, but often it is difficult to access women
- *established donors commonly reflect gender*
- women play an important role in the post-conflict stabilization of families
- is *not about changing traditions* but *bettering women’s situations*

b. NGDOs

Gender ‘definition’

- is *equal pay* for men and women
- is reduced to equal pay, glass ceiling, maternity leave in the CR
- *is social justice*
- *has a problem with language in the CR*
- is only one of many other important themes
- Women’s rights separated means that women are not human?

- *is not about positive discrimination, political quota systems or antidiscrimination laws (expressed strong disagreement)*
- is not to behave like men
- *is not feminism* because feminism is aggressive and about lonely women
- is the different roles of women and men in society
- is women's empowerment because *men dominate*
- is about different roles, some are given to women like to deliver and care for children
- *men do not share the care economy*
- is *not an issue* or problem, *women are equal to men in the CR*
- many good business managers are women
- is about different roles, functions in society
- is present everywhere
- is also about *domestic violence* and *both sexes* need to cooperate on eliminating it
- Czech people are afraid of the theme, it is *unknown* and *unsecured*
- is not feminism, but it is also about us, men
- is gender equality and *can be helped by a political quota system*
- is about the relations of women and men towards the natural and social environments determining their mutual lives and opportunities
- is gender equality
- is a *social construct* and about *unequal access to resources, education, power*
- *is often confused with radical feminism which is the problem in the CR*
- *I always thought gender was sex, only now I understand more*
- is *an imported theme from the EU*
- *only when I read gender analysis of our project do I understand what gender is about and how important is to get involved*
- *I never thought I would do gender but I do it now because I realize the issues*
- is a 'new' name for women's discrimination

Gender in CZBDC

- gender is derision
- *no space for gender, due to little wars*
- gender cannot stay separated from other issues
- more *important issues than gender are pending*
- gender as a cross-cutting theme is *only a formality*
- gender means better production machinery for working women in the Vietnam factory
- it is not a CZBDC theme because it *never* has been *our national theme*
- MoFA *does not know how to do it and does not have the tools* to do it (indicators, manual, guidelines etc.)
- The MoFA does not have someone to push for it
- The MoFA does *not* even hold any *discussions* on this theme

- some *NGDOs do gender but do not call it gender*
- the EU does not push for it

Gender and development

- country context is important
- shall be done both *top-down and bottom up*
- implementation depends on people
- we cannot be pushing our views on GE
- *women have their own agency* and the conditions shall help to manifest it
- it is complicated and *shall not go against the local culture and traditions*
- shall be a cross-cutting theme
- shall *be cross-cutting and seen in specific gender projects*
- the EU directives shall be used
- gender is about different roles and in different cultures is constituted differently and it is important to understand how roles have been created in order *not to harm*
- it *is difficult to get closer to women* in many societies especially in Muslim countries
- it *shall not be an imported idea*, but also there is no excuse in laziness from not doing it
- *gender is not an aim but an 'instrument'*
- is women's lack of access to different resources and that's why they are poorer
- *women need education* in order to stand up for their rights and educate their children
- gender is about project impact and not to discriminate on the basis of sex
- gender in the CR is very different from the Global South, here we can limit ourselves to unequal pay, but in the Global South it is sometimes just about woman's right to live
- more than gender is needed for family support, *I never saw a family with rich men and poor women*
- we *reflect gender whenever it is possible* in project assessments *getting women's and men's views* as men usually do not know women's needs
- *some projects* we have for men, some *only for women*

Appendix-5: List of interviewed organizations and institutions

The following is an overview of interviewed organizations and institutions. The respondents were chosen on the basis of key informants' suggestions and information from web-sites. An attempt was made to involve interviewees from a range of occupational groups including management positions, specialist groups and project coordinators, while controlling for sex, age group and length of time working in the development field. To facilitate information triangulation, where possible, more respondents were interviewed from one organization.

a. MoFA

Policy-conceptualization unit – Department of Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Assistance – at the time of the research this unit had thirteen people divided into two sub-units – bilateral (five people) and multilateral (five people), management and administration (three people). I interviewed *three* people from the bilateral sub-unit and one from management.

Programme-implementation' unit – Development Agency – at time of interviewing the unit had eleven staff divided into two sub-units – identification and realization (four people) and formulation (four people) of programmes together with three people in management and administration. Four respondents were interviewed, *one* came from management, *two* from identification and realization and *one* from formulation sub-units.

The Development Agency is new and reflects the fact that staff has been recently recruited mostly from younger people educated abroad or who are from the NGDO sector. The Department of Development Cooperation is mostly comprised of MoFA embassies people rotating every four years. During the Transformation period, communication and division of roles across both units remained unsettled.

The MoFA Gender Focal Point was interviewed to gain gender machinery views from within the ministry and its gender policy level.

In total *nine interviews* were held with MoFA employees.

b. Development community

The development community is organized into a platform encompassing thirty two members and fourteen observers (FoRS 2009). There are only several organizations implementing development projects abroad while others have a more diverse focus. The biggest implementing NGOs according to programme budgets and reach in Global South countries were interviewed, together with people from policy and research oriented institutes and university academics from Development Studies.

In total *15 interviews* were held. In addition an active observation during a group discussion on a gender theme and a two page survey disseminated during this event were used as supplementary sources of information from one NGDO.

<p><u>NGDOs:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adra, o.s. – two interviews - Člověk v tísni, o.p.s. – three interviews, <i>six returned surveys, one group-observation</i> - Development Worldwide, o.s. – one interview - Educon, o.s. – two interviews - Ekumenická akademie Praha, o.s. – one interview - Charita Česká Republika – two interviews
<p><u>NGDOs platform:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - České fórum pro rozvojovou spolupráci – one interview
<p><u>Policy and research oriented institutes:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, v.v.i. – <i>in English – Institute of International Relations (IIR) – one key informant, ongoing discussions</i> - Pražský institut pro globální politiku - Glopolis, o.p.s. – one interview
<p><u>Development Studies:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Universita Palackého Olomouc, Přírodovědecké fakulta, Katedra rozvojových studií – one interview

c. *Gender community*

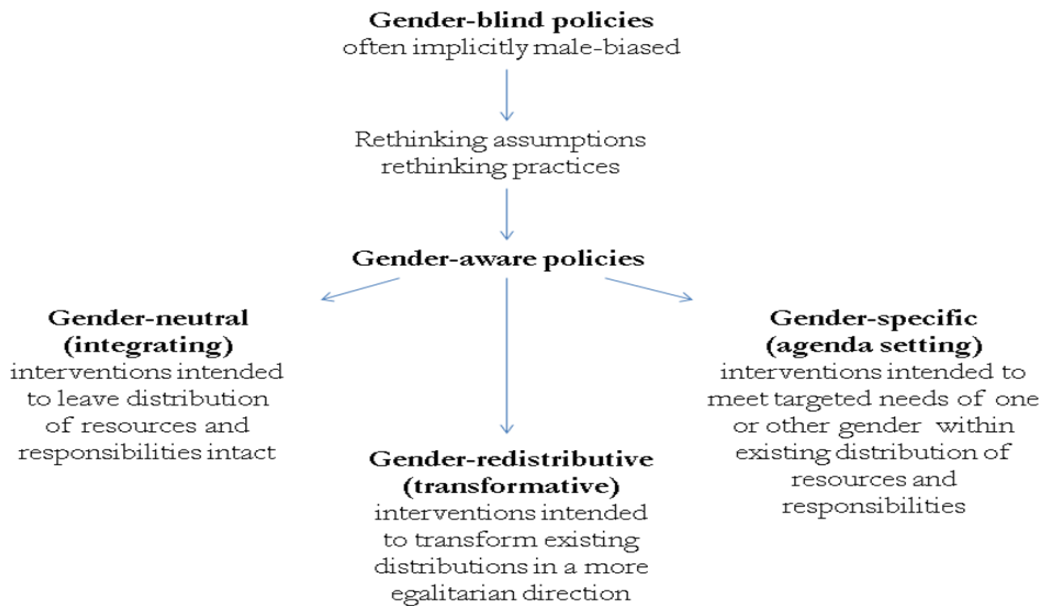
The gender community was comprised of women's organizations and university Gender Studies academics. The WOs were selected based on their interest in the development agenda and their representation on the development platform and in the Global Call to Action against Poverty campaign, known as the Česko pro chudobě campaign. In total, *eight interviews* were hold.

<p><u>Women's organizations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - La Strada, o.p.s. – one interview - Gender Studies, o.p.s. – one interview - Nadační fond Slovak-Czech Women's Fund – one interview - Fórum 50 %, o.s. – one interview - Evropská kontaktní skupina, o.s. – one interview - Berkart, o.s. – one interview - <i>Centrum Pro Equality, o.p.s. – one key informant – on going discussions</i>
<p><u>Gender Studies:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Karlova universita Praha, Fakulta humanitních studií, Katedra genderových studií - one interview

Appendix-6: Additional figures accompanying the main text

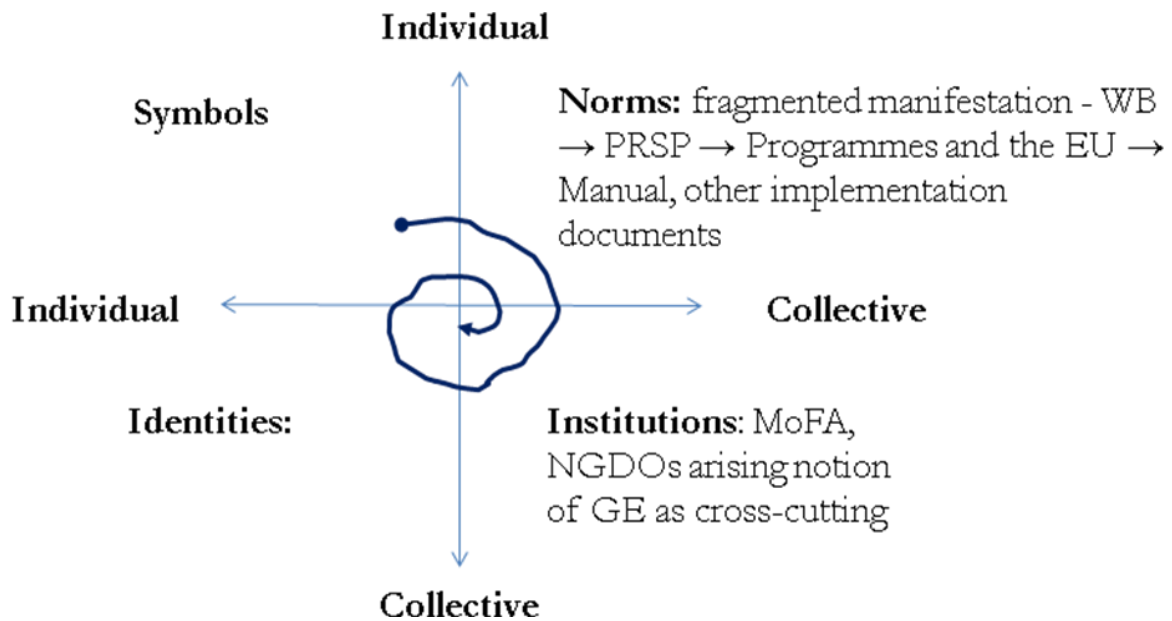
- List: Figure-A: Categories of gender policies
 Figure-B: Gender dimension of CZBDC policies
 Figure-C: Gender dimension of CZBDC implementation
 Figure-D: Gender framing of policy-drafters and implementers

Figure-A: Categories of gender policies



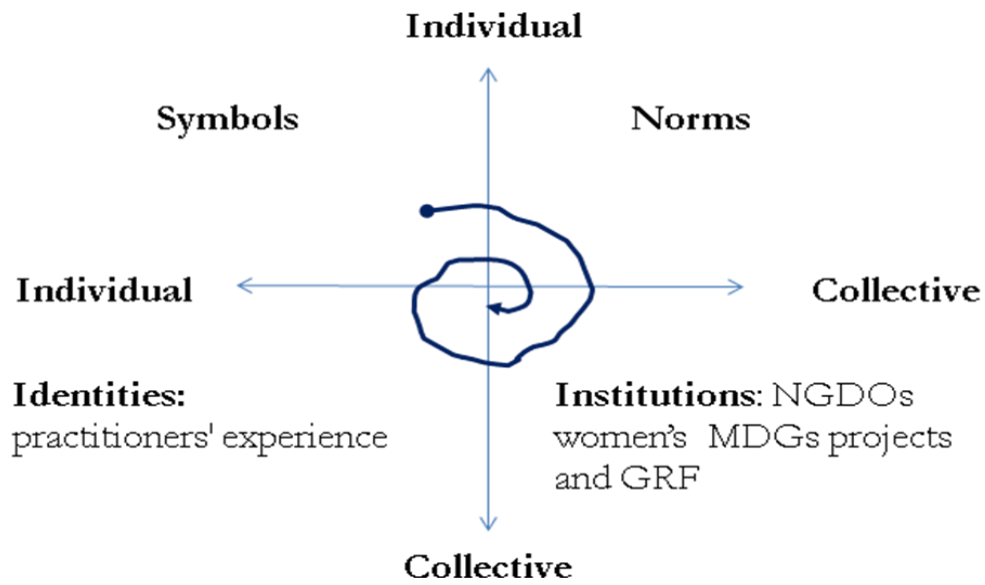
Source: adapted (Kabbeer and Subrahmanian 1996), extended by (Jahan 1995)

Figure-B: Gender dimension of CZBDC policies



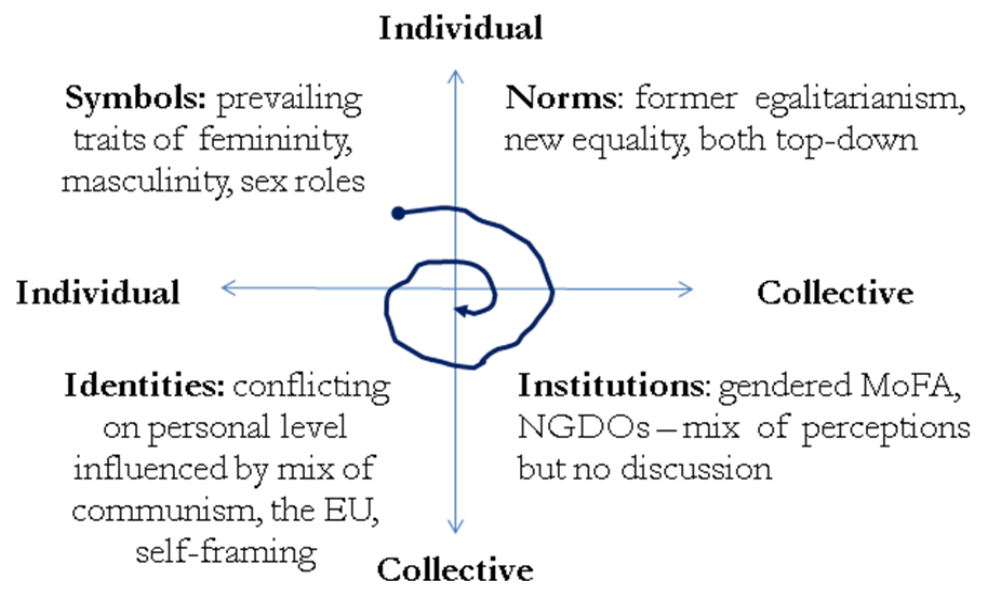
Source: author's analysis

Figure-C: Gender dimension of CZBDC implementation



Source: author's analysis

Figure-D: Gender framing by policy-drafters and implementers



Source: author's analysis