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Focus-on integrating gender into the politics
of development [Tecnical co-operation and
women's lives newsletter ,August 1995]

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UNRISD No.1, August, 1995

on integrating gender into the politics of development

With funding from the UNDP, UNRISD embarked in September 1992 on this action-research project, aimed at strengthening national efforts to bring women's concerns into the process of economic policy-making. The preliminary phase of the project looked at how public bureaucracies (in seven developing countries) and international agencies (bilateral and multilateral) have attempted to improve their accountability to women in the development process. In December 1994 a high-level advisory workshop was held at UNRISD, to critically assess the findings of this phase, some of which are now being published in the UNRISD/UNDP Occasional Paper Series for Beijing.



Konkon Awgarana, Chad

ILO, Geneva

By January 1995 the action-research component of the project (Phases 2 & 3) was under way in Bangladesh, Jamaica, Morocco, Uganda and Viet Nam. In each country, UNRISD is collaborating with a national counterpart (research institution) to undertake research and initiate dialogue between

gender researchers, policy makers and activists, aimed at making economic policies more accountable to women.

The national workshops which initiate this process of dialogue will take place in 1995. Reports documenting these national-level activities will be published.

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unrisd



Letter from Dharam Ghai

Director of UNRISD

The Technical Co-operation and Women's Lives Project is an important part of UNRISD's ongoing research programme. As the Institute's first large-scale activity to be exclusively concerned with gender issues, it presents a unique opportunity for a sustained analysis of the gender dimensions of development policy. In several respects the project reflects the Institute's approach and mode of operation: the focus on gender fits UNRISD's long-held philosophy that economic policies cannot be divorced from social considerations; on the operational side, the partnerships being built with national institutions through this project reflect the Institute's strong commitment to building research capacity in Third World countries.

This project also presents new challenges. First, it seeks to incorporate gender concerns in economic policies and programmes. This is a relatively new area for research and action. The project is thus faced with the task of assembling the existing body of knowledge in appropriate forms, generating new research in some critical areas of macro-economic policy and transmitting these to national researchers, policy makers and women's organizations. The second challenge is to initiate fruitful dialogue between policy makers, gender specialists and activists to ensure that research findings are reflected in economic policies and programmes. A key test of the project's success will thus be the extent to which this process is institutionalized and the economic policies become gender sensitive.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) is an autonomous agency that engages in multi-disciplinary research on the social dimensions of contemporary problems affecting development. Its work is guided by the conviction that, for effective development policies to be formulated, an understanding of the social and political context is crucial. The Institute attempts to provide governments, development agencies, grassroots organizations and scholars with a better understanding of how development policies and processes of economic, social and environmental change affect different social groups. Working through an extensive network of national research centres, UNRISD aims to promote original research and strengthen research capacity in developing countries.



Current research themes include: *Crisis, Adjustment and Social Change; Socio-Economic and Political Consequences of the International Trade in Illicit Drugs; Environment, Sustainable Development and Social Change; Integrating Gender into Development Policy; Participation and Changes in Property Relations in Communist and Post-Communist Societies; Political Violence and Social Movements, and The Challenge of Rebuilding War-torn Societies.* UNRISD research projects focused on the 1995 World Summit for Social Development included Rethinking Social Development in the 1990s; Economic Restructuring and Social Policy; Ethnic Diversity and Public Policies; and Social Integration at the Grassroots: The Urban Dimension.

Technical Co-operation and Women's Lives:

Integrating Gender into Development Policy

The past two decades have seen a proliferation of development activities which involve women as participants and beneficiaries. The United Nations World Conferences on Women have provided critical rallying points and the basis for an international women's movement through which feminists worldwide voice their demands.

Since the 1970s the women's movement has called upon governments and international development agencies for a greater attention to women's issues. An early response was the funding and/or execution of a variety of women's projects. By the end of the Women's Decade (1976-1985), with minimal improvements to women's status and well-being in evidence, the need for new strategies became apparent. There were calls for the integration of women's concerns into mainstream policies, programmes and projects of governments and development agencies – a mandate that became known as gender mainstreaming.

Women in Development (WID) units and divisions mushroomed across a wide

range of organizational contexts, their mandate being to integrate gender issues into all the activities undertaken by the organization.

Although some advances have been made in integrating women's concerns into projects and programmes, very rarely have women's components been adequately budgeted for, thereby preventing their satisfactory implementation. Moreover, while gender issues have made some inroads at the level of projects and programmes, they have not so far influenced macro-economic and sectoral-level policies in any significant way.

The need to scrutinize macro-economic policy from a gender perspective, in the context of developing countries at least, dates back to the late 1980s. Mounting evidence on the "social costs of adjustment" provided the initial impetus for many of these efforts. Prior to this date, feminist economics had concentrated its attention at the micro-economic level, with particular emphasis on the household. Similarly, the majority of practitioners working on women's issues had developed gender analytical skills that were suited to the project level

rather than to policy analysis. By the late 1980s, however, it had become clear that a gendered analysis was also needed at the sectoral and macro-economic levels which were impacting on women's lives in ways that were not adequately captured by other critical analyses.

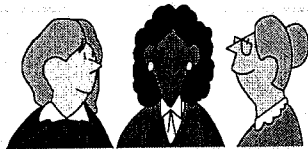
Feminist attempts to integrate gender concerns at the policy level have happened at a time when governments everywhere face severe constraints in regulating their macro-economic policies and assuming responsibilities in the social field. Other actors, from international financial agencies and multinational corporations to non-governmental organizations and community groups, are increasingly taking over the rights and responsibilities that had been the purview of the state.

In an effort to engender the macro-economic policy process, gender policy advocates must therefore think more systematically about who their interlocutors are, and identify the capabilities and the constraints that they face.

Technical Co-operation and Women's Lives
an
UNRISD/UNDP Policy-Oriented Research Project
INT/92/675/A/01

Project Objectives

The project aims to strengthen existing national capacity in selected countries to analyze mainstream development policies from a gender perspective, and to integrate gender concerns therein. To facilitate this process it seeks to initiate policy dialogues between mainline economic



ministries, researchers and organizations of civil society, supported (where and when necessary) by the international research community. The project hopes to help bridge the gap between gender researchers and policy makers by providing a forum for informed policy debates, drawing on research findings.

Phase 1 activities:

Looking at Institutions

October 1992 - December 1994

This preliminary phase consisted of a critical review of the experiences of several governments and international development agencies in dealing with gender issues in development.

National Level

At the national level, the purpose of the exercise was to examine the evolution of government approaches to women's issues, especially the attempts at integrating gender concerns into economic policies and planning processes. In each country a national researcher conducted interviews with senior civil servants, and with individuals in the research and NGO communities who had an "institutional memory" of government attempts in this field. Country reports were produced by national consultants based on interview material.

National consultants:

Nadira Barkallil, *Morocco*

Lalla Ben Barka, *Mali*

Mohsena Islam, *Bangladesh*

Joy Kwesiga, *Uganda*

Christine Marriot, *Jamaica*

Molly Pollack, *Chile*

Tran Thi Van Anh &

Nguyen Nhat Tuyen,

Viet Nam

In tracing the evolution of government approaches, a number of factors were highlighted: the influence of both internal and external factors, such as national women's movements and international development agencies; the skill deficiencies, institutional obstacles and political problems that have constrained progress; and the opportunities for further advances. Bangladesh, Chile, Jamaica, Mali, Morocco, Uganda and Viet Nam were included in this phase.

International Level

At the international level, consultants conducted interviews with a number of multilateral and bilateral development agencies. The multilateral agencies were ILO, UNDP, World Bank. The bilaterals included: BMZ (Germany), DGIS (The Netherlands), DANIDA (Denmark), NORAD (Norway), and SIDA (Sweden).

International consultants:

Ingrid Palmer

Radhika Jha

Annemarie Westendorp

Relevant publications in the Beijing Series:

- ◆ Anne Marie Goetz Occasional Paper no. 2 on the state
- ◆ Shahra Razavi & Carol Miller Occasional Paper no. 4 on multi-lateral agencies

Phase 2 activities:

Action-Research

March 1994 - November 1995

Two main activities are included in this phase: (i) at the country level, the setting up of national workshops; (ii) at the international level, the preparation of briefing papers.

National Workshops

The national workshops will initiate a process of policy dialogue between national researchers, senior policy makers and activists. On the basis of ongoing consultations with national and international researchers, project staff have identified a pertinent theme for each workshop. In each country a national researcher(s) has been commissioned to prepare a paper which will serve as the background document for workshop discussions. Although the selected theme will serve as an "entry point", it will be up to the workshop to confirm its relevance, or to suggest an alternative. The workshop

will also suggest possible ways of operationalizing the policy dialogues of Phase 3.

In each country a substantive and analytical report will be prepared at the end of the workshop, documenting the discussions at the workshop and making suggestions for Phase 3. The report will be discussed by the national steering committee, where decisions for Phase 3 will be taken. Five of the original countries have been selected for Phases 2 and 3: Bangladesh, Jamaica, Morocco, Uganda and Viet Nam.

Briefing Papers

A series of briefing papers are being prepared by senior researchers on the gender dimensions of economic policy-making. The briefing papers aim to bring together the available literature on the experiences of a range of developing countries (with particular

emphasis on the five project countries), to synthesize the findings and to draw out their policy implications. Themes of the papers include: industrialization; micro-enterprise development; agriculture; population policies; and social policy. Some of these papers are being published in the series of Occasional Papers for Beijing.

The immediate objective of this series is to contribute to the policy dialogues taking place in the five project countries. They will also be disseminated to research institutes, libraries, UNDP country offices and other interested parties.

Senior Advisers collaborating with UNRISD for Phase 2 & 3:

Ruth Pearson, *Jamaica*

ODG-DEV (Overseas Development Group, School of Development Studies), University of East Anglia, Norwich, U.K.

Naila Kabeer, *Bangladesh and Viet Nam*

IDS (Institute of Development Studies), University of Sussex, Brighton, U.K.

Susan Joeekes, *Morocco*

IDS (Institute of Development Studies), University of Sussex, Brighton, U.K.

Ann Whitehead and Matthew Lockwood, *Uganda*

School of African and Asian Studies (SAAS), University of Sussex, Brighton, U.K.

Phase 3 activities:

Policy Dialogues

August 1995 - October 1996

This phase consists of pilot demonstrations of how researchers, civil servants from selected mainline economic ministries and activists can contribute to a dialogue on the relevance and inclusion of gender in policy analysis and formulation.

The way in which the "policy dialogue" is operationalized will depend on the national setting: state-civil society relations and the degree of interest shown by civil servants in gender issues. The policy dialogue may take one of the following forms:

(a) Senior civil servants, the researchers and the activists may identify a common concern which merits research – one that can be feasibly undertaken in the lifetime of Phase 3. Civil servants identify what they seek to gain from the research and help plan its design with the researchers. They maintain a close association with the research, attending meetings at different stages and a seminar on the findings.

(b) A researcher may be seconded to a ministry with one or more specific policy

issues identified as the focus for policy analysis.

The dialogue may therefore be located in a ministry, out on a research site, or in seminar rooms. A small national steering committee (set up in Phase 2) supervises the process. An UNRISD consultant, with expertise in

analytical report documenting the Phase 3 activities.

At the end of Phase 3, a seminar will conclude the substantive part of the project with a critical and comparative assessment of the project's efforts in mainstreaming gender in the



From right to left: Dharam Ghai; and national consultant Tran Thi Van Anh; Vice Minister in the Ministry of Labour, Invalid and Social Affairs, Ms. Nguyen Thi Hang; and Professor Le Thi, Director of the Center for Family and Women Studies, National Workshop, Hanoi, Viet Nam, 25 July.

the specific subject area selected for the policy dialogue, will act as a resource person when appropriate. The effectiveness of the pilot projects in incorporating gender issues in the policy process will be reported on by the steering committee. At the end of this phase, the national researchers (with the UNRISD consultant) will prepare a substantive and

planning and policy formulation process. The seminar will also discuss alternative strategies for deepening and replicating the national projects. Participants will include national researchers and UNRISD consultants from Phases 2 and 3, staff members from the Gender in Development Programme (UNDP), and project staff from UNRISD.

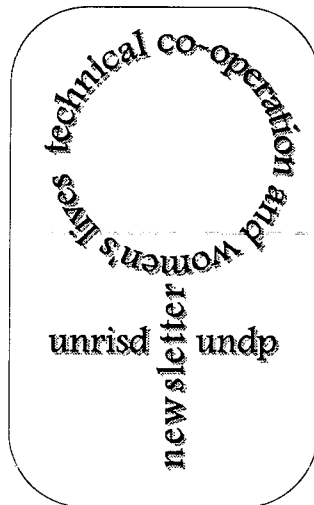
Institutions and discourses

An advisory workshop was held at UNRISD on 7-8 December 1994 to mark the end of Phase 1 of the project. The workshop brought together gender experts involved in research, policy-making and advocacy and had two principal aims: first, to provide a forum where the findings of Phase 1 interviews could be discussed (see page 4); and second, to provide an opportunity for UNRISD to seek the advice of gender experts for the operationalization of Phase 2 country-level workshops and Phase 3 policy dialogues.

Workshop plenary discussions concerning Phase 1 findings focused on the conceptual and institutional dimensions of "women and development". In relation to conceptual issues, the discussion focused on the extent to which the language and arguments used by WID/gender advocates change from context to context. Some participants emphasized that conceptual shifts in the women and development discourse reflect the changing development agenda. Others noted that discourses change in relation to the institutional context in which gender advocates operate. Participants emphasized that policy-making is more than a technical process; it is also a political process. As such, the changing discourses can be understood as political strategies. The importance

of seizing sustainable human development as an alternative to efficiency arguments was suggested by some participants as a way forward for WID/gender advocates.

Participants acknowledged that some progress had been made in institutionalizing gender



issues. Nonetheless, limited budgetary allocations, weak gender policy analysis skills, and weak constituencies to ensure gender accountability were cited as factors limiting response to gender concerns both in development agencies and at the national level. During the decades of crisis and adjustment, planning and policy-making institutions suffered a severe weakening in their capacity to function and this has also contributed to the unsatisfactory record of women's machineries in many of the countries studied. Participants also

pointed to some of the problems encountered in connection with "gender mainstreaming". In some contexts, mainstreaming has been used as an excuse to weaken or abolish WID units. Questions about the overall impact of gender training, often seen as a mainstreaming tool, were also raised. Some of these issues are addressed in Occasional Paper No.4 on multilateral agencies (August 1995).

The project was seen by participants as providing an opportunity to strengthen skills in gender policy analysis and formulation, by bringing together national researchers and policy makers, and providing some assistance where skills in gender policy analysis were weak.

Although participants discussed possible subjects for the policy dialogues (see reports of working groups on the following pages), much emphasis was placed on the importance of allowing the national workshops to identify the exact themes. This would help to ensure greater national ownership over the policy dialogue. Thus the guiding criterion for the selection of a theme should be its importance to policy makers, researchers and NGOs at the national level. See page 12 for an account of the first national workshop, held in Jamaica.

working group session:

Gender and Agriculture

Policy attempts to alleviate poverty among rural women have to begin by identifying who such women really are and what they do. Yet the criteria for their identification are far from straightforward, and standard poverty indicators, such as malnutrition, will not necessarily unravel the underlying mechanisms that create and sustain their poverty. The working group agreed that, as far as issues of poverty are concerned, "rural women" do not constitute a homogeneous category. It was also felt that female headship is not necessarily a useful indicator of poverty, given the differentiated coping strategies of these households (and, in particular, the varying importance of male remittances).

One of the indicators of poverty that has not been sufficiently emphasized in the gender-sensitive literature for the identification of poor rural women is the hiring out

of labour; wages are an important source of income for the most destitute rural women. The "invisibility" of women's contributions in the officially published labour force and production



Farmer in south-eastern Iran (Kerman province)

statistics has been a subject of concern for the past 20 years. Yet for a number of reasons, not enough emphasis has been placed on women's wage labour (casual, seasonal). It was pointed out, however, that by identifying poverty with wage labour, other invisible

categories of poor women are being excluded – such as older women.

There was considerable disagreement on the importance of land titles for rural women. The fact that rural women are barred from land ownership (even if legally stipulated) is considered to be a major infringement of their rights. It is also seen as a "market imperfection", which creates inefficiencies not only in the land market – but also in other interlinked markets such as that for credit, for example, where land very often acts as collateral. Despite these equity and efficiency considerations, some of the participants felt that in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, at least, land does not constitute the main constraint in agriculture. More generally, giving freehold titles to women can be dangerous in the context of highly

unequal power relations between women and men, and may undermine women's safety and well-being. Usufructory rights provide a more satisfactory alternative as they do not entail the same kinds of risks.

working group session:

Credit and Micro-Enterprises

In the past few years there has been a massive expansion in lending to poor women, combined with a number of noteworthy institutional changes that have reduced transaction costs and responded to women's lack of collateral.

A range of arguments are used to justify the targeting of women as credit beneficiaries – from increasing the productivity of home-based production to financial empowerment. It is also clear that the focus on credit fits in with the neo-liberal agenda to promote private initiative, self-employment and entrepreneurship.

Participants agreed on a number of key issues: first, credit programmes still reach only a small proportion of potential clients (only 5 per cent of women have access); attempts to "scale-up", on the other hand, give rise to a number of potentially serious problems, such as increasing preoccupation with rapid recovery, which exerts pressure on the field staff who sometimes pay out of their own pockets and later coerce women to reimburse them. Second, credit programmes for women, though important for smoothing consumption flows, are not particularly effective tools for reducing female poverty or increasing women's investments.

Credit should therefore not be seen as an easy alternative to employment creation for the poor, nor should credit schemes be considered substitutes for the state's responsibilities for welfare provisioning (e.g. basic domestic infrastructure, health, education). Third, credit programmes emphasize repayment rate as a measure of success; women borrowers do in fact have a very high rate of repayment but it may be at the cost of a great deal of tension within the household. Fourth, some participants felt that women's effective control of money should be the focus of attention (in evaluation), rather than simple access, given the high rate of male "appropriation" of these loans. The adequacy of this term was questioned by other attendees, as it overlooks negotiations that take place within the household.

Workshop participants

Beverley Anderson-Manley
National Consultant, Jamaica

Nadira Barkallil
National Consultant, Morocco

Azita Berar Awad
ILO, Geneva, Switzerland

Kirsti Floor
NGLS, Geneva, Switzerland

Anne Marie Goetz
IDS, University of Sussex, Brighton, U.K.

Ben Gurman
UNDP, New York, USA

Rounaq Jahan
Columbia University, New York, USA

Susan Joekes
IDS, University of Sussex, Brighton, U.K.

Naila Kabeer
IDS, University of Sussex, Brighton, U.K.

Nüket Kardam
Monterey Institute of International Studies, California, USA

Elizabeth Lwanga
UNDP, Sierra Leone

Henry Manyire
National Consultant, Uganda

Swasti Mitter
United Nations University
Maastricht, The Netherlands

Valentine Moghadam
UNU/WIDER, Helsinki, Finland

John Sender
School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, U.K.

Tran Thi Van Anh
Center for Family and Women Studies, Hanoi, Viet Nam

Ann Whitehead
School of African and Asian Studies (SAAS), University of Sussex, Brighton, U.K.

working group session:

Market integration and social policies

Participants considered social policy trends in connection with structural adjustment policies in developing countries and economic restructuring in former state socialist societies. The discussion focussed primarily on two issues related to the decline in public social expenditures in the name of fiscal constraint and the goal of market integration: the growing inequalities in access to social services and the implications of the withdrawal of state-subsidized childcare.

Participants were divided over the extent to which funds raised through taxation and insurance schemes are

being redistributed fairly. Some were of the opinion that only the most privileged groups of women working in the formal sector were benefitting and that targetting was necessary to reach the poorest groups. Others suggested that even formal sector workers are increasingly without benefits. There was some discussion on strategies to improve social provisions (e.g. maternity benefits and childcare facilities) for women working in small-scale enterprises. It was also stressed that foreign investors need to be convinced that social provisions will provide the right sort of environment for enhancing economic productivity. On the issue of

childcare, the implications for women's labour-force participation of the withdrawal of state subsidized childcare were discussed, as were the consequences of the shifting of childcare responsibilities to older female children or grandparents. There was some debate over the type of labour arrangements that would be most beneficial for women and participants were divided on the merits of part-time and flexible labour. Overall, there appeared to be consensus that responsibilities for social provisions need to be shared by the state and employers. Participants stressed that gender-fair outcomes in the long-run will depend on both economic performance of countries and the strength of national women's movements.



Women selling spices at the "bazari" of Tbilisi in the Republic of Georgia, Summer 1992



I.L.O. Geneva

Workers in a textile factory, Philippines

working group session:

Industrialization and international trade

The discussion touched on a number of broad trends that characterize the changing nature of women's work.

First, in the formal sector, with the exception of some newly industrialized countries in South-East Asia where the industrialization process has been "female-led", privatization and liberalization have tended to result in "labour shedding" policies at the lower end of the skills spectrum where female industrial workers tend to be found. In export processing zones, however, industrial employment for women appears to be growing. Second, the retrenchment and/or privatization of public sector services have affected women both as consumers (of education and health services) and as workers (as public sector employees).

The first and second trends have contributed to a third trend: the growth of women's entry into the informal sector and the blurring of the lines between the formal and the informal sectors. Demand for flexible, low-cost labour has led to an increase in precarious and non-standard employment (sub-contracting, casual workers, home-based workers, "self-employed").

A fourth trend, the rapid diffusion of new technology, appears to have implications for women's work across sectors; the growth of employment opportunities for women in the international traded service sector (e.g. offshore data processing and office administration) has received attention in recent years. In order to maximize the potential of the

above changes for women, and minimize the pitfalls, participants stressed that in all sectors monitoring would be needed in the areas of labour protection and health and safety standards; foreign firms and export processing zones should be required to adhere to such standards, and demand the same practice from the small enterprises to which they subcontract.

In addition, the special needs of women displaced from employment by these processes must be considered (e.g. credit, training, employment schemes). Similarly, measures need to be introduced to help women entrepreneurs reorient themselves to export opportunities (e.g. improved credit, marketing support, networks for business-women). The implications for women's employment of cutbacks in social provisioning also need critical attention.

Consultation on Gender and Industrial Policy: The National Challenge

"If it is important then you can measure it and deal with it" - this was the approach to integrating gender analysis into macro-policy taken by Omar Davies, Minister of Finance and Planning in the Jamaican government, when he addressed the forty-odd participants at the UNRISD workshop held at the Jamaica Pegasus Hotel, Kingston, on 7 April 1995.

Omar Davies was reflecting the widely held view that "gender" should not remain isolated from the technicalities and politics of government, but should be integrated at all levels of the policy process. The participants agreed.

Representatives from government, the academic community and NGOs came together at the workshop to discuss the gender implications of industrialization and export promotion - an area of strategic importance for this Caribbean country. A paper prepared by the national consultant, Leith Dunn, provided the background for discussion on the subject. By focusing attention on the heart of the country's economic strategy, a range of key gender issues emerged. For example, how do the economic models used to plan macro-policy strategies take into account the gender disaggregated reality of the economy? Do

these models consider the implications of having an export-led industrialization which is based on women workers, and if so why are factories producing in Jamaica importing labour from elsewhere? Why is there an apparent shortage of Jamaican women willing to work in exports, and how can the obstacles to increasing the supply of local labour be overcome?

These issues are closely connected with the organization of government ministries and planning bodies, and the staffing and training of personnel. Economists in Jamaica, as elsewhere, have little understanding of gender issues as economic issues, though there is clearly the need and desire to rectify this situation. Macro-economic planning could be improved by carrying out a gender audit of inter- and intra-sectoral expenditure and revenues, which could then feed into the budget planning exercise and into the parliamentary and other debates on the budget.

The responsibility for implementing gender issues in Jamaica is shared between the Women's Bureau and the Ministry of Labour, Social Welfare and Sport, which has responsibility for women's affairs. The well known problems of marginalization and under-funding of

government machineries were thoroughly aired.

The need for a "multi-sectoral location within government to discuss gender policy and research issues" emphasized by Portia Simpson, Minister of Labour, Social Welfare and Sport with the portfolio for women, is more likely to be met in the 1990s and men at the workshop indicated that the importance of gender as a policy issue was being more widely accepted.

The lively meeting of NGOs the following day comprised only women, but evidenced the innovative and exciting ways in which gender issues are becoming a prime concern of Jamaican organizations working in and with the community. As the UNRISD consultant, Ruth Pearson, told them, Jamaican organizations such as Sistren and Women's Inc. are held as an example in many parts of the world of how civil society organizations can meet the specific needs of different groups of women.

The next stage of the project will be aimed at encouraging collaboration and co-ordination between different participants in the policy process to integrate gender into various aspects of macro-policy.

From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse

by Shahra Razavi and Carol Miller



This paper traces some of the main trends in the way women's issues have been conceptualized in the development context. Part I of the paper explains the emergence of women in development (WID) in the early 1970s, highlighting in particular a dominant strand of thinking within WID that sought to make women's issues relevant to development by showing the positive synergy between investing in women and reaping benefits in terms of economic growth. The emphasis on women's productive contributions, it was hoped, would convince planners to alter development practice so as to direct scarce economic resources to women. Even though making efficiency-based arguments proved to be effective as a political strategy for having women's issues taken up by development agencies, it also entailed a number of controversial outcomes. An undue emphasis was placed on what women could contribute to development, while their demands from development for gender equity became secondary and conditional upon showing a positive growth synergy.

Part II of the paper looks at the analytical and intellectual underpinnings of the shift from WID to GAD (gender and development). Gender is being used by researchers and practitioners in a number of different ways. The theoretical underpinnings and policy implications of two prominent frameworks for gender analysis (and training) – the gender roles framework and social relations analysis – are discussed at some length. These frameworks are then linked to two relatively recent sets of literature on gender: the first on

gender and efficiency at the macro-economic level, which shares several premises with the gender roles framework, and the second on women's empowerment strategies, which can be seen as the action-oriented outgrowth of social relations analysis.

The authors highlight two main tensions that emerge from the different conceptualizations of gender. First, at the analytical level there are critical differences in the extent to which the "togetherness" or "social connectedness" of husband and wife is given weight; a pervasive feature of economic models of the household is to use models from elsewhere in the economic repertoire, which tend to miss some important dimensions of "togetherness" characteristic of husband/wife relations. Second, at the political level, the extent to which the goal of gender-aware development is to be linked to top-down or bottom-up strategies remains controversial. While women's NGOs and grassroots organizations have an important role to play to in creating space for women to politicize their demands, there are serious limits to what institutions of civil society can achieve. The state still remains responsible for regulating macro-level forces in a more gender-equitable manner. It is with this point in mind that the possible points of convergence between top-down and bottom-up strategies can be explored by women and development advocates.

Occasional Paper 1
for Beijing



The Politics of Integrating Gender to State Development Processes: Trends, Opportunities and Constraints in Bangladesh, Chile, Jamaica, Mali, Morocco and Uganda

by Anne Marie Goetz

This paper provides an assessment of efforts in a number of developing countries to improve public accountability to women in the development process. The paper begins with a brief theoretical discussion of feminist perspectives on the developmentalist state (Part I). It then goes on to provide an overview of some of the more prominent political, economic and social trends of the past two decades, against which efforts have been made to institutionalize gender in state development processes (Part II). In the main body of the paper (Part III), the author provides a historical and comparative analysis of efforts in the six case study countries to institutionalize gender concerns. The picture that emerges is one of extraordinarily fractured trajectories of institutionalization within public administration.

Most of the gender units within government bureaucracy that are studied here have a mandate to pursue their agenda across other government departments - a project that is sometimes called "mainstreaming". For this they have devised a range of policy instruments (e.g. gender guidelines, gender training) intended to bring about gender-sensitive institutional, policy and operational changes across the public sector in order to make responsiveness to women's interests a routine part of each sector's activities. Despite significant efforts, the attempts to routinize gender concerns have for the most part been ineffective because gender units have been unable to provide the necessary incentives

to encourage a positive reception in other departments.

Some of the critical areas for gender mainstreaming considered in the paper include the national development plan and budget which constitute important public statements expressing politically selected priorities for change and progress, and are based on a macro-economic framework designed to create the conditions under which this national vision can be realized. Efforts so far in the countries studied have failed to ensure a systematic connection between national policy commitments to the integration of gender in development and the budgetary allocations that are necessary to realize those commitments. The chronic short-staffing of gender administrative units, compounded by their weak analytical skills, has tended to contribute to this failure. Equally important, however, has been the political weakness of gender constituents outside the state. In the politics of policy-making a critical point of leverage on decision makers is popular pressure and public opinion - the presence of an active constituency.

The six case studies included in this paper are participating countries from Phase I of the project. The findings from the Viet Nam case study - the last country to join the project - will be included in a revised version of this paper.

Occasional Paper 2
for Beijing

From Vicious to Virtuous Circles?

Gender and Micro-Enterprise Development

by Linda Mayoux



This paper provides a critical overview of micro-enterprise development for women and is intended to serve as a resource for researchers, policy makers and activists. Since the early 1990s there has been a sudden surge of interest in micro-enterprise development for women and a rapid increase in funding. On the one hand, interest has come from the large multilateral and bilateral development agencies like the World Bank and USAID. These agencies are emphasizing the role of micro-enterprise development for women as part of the "human face" safety net solution to poverty. On the other hand, micro-enterprise development is receiving increased attention from NGOs and some large development agencies including the ILO, SIDA and the International Co-operative Alliance as part of a new "market realism". Here micro-enterprise development, with its connotations of increased efficiency, professionalism and market orientation, is seen as addressing some of the shortcomings of earlier income-generating projects for women.

The paper provides an assessment of some important components of micro-enterprise programmes for women: entrepreneurship training, credit, producer groups and co-operatives. Although there are some successes, the evidence indicates that the majority of programmes fail to make any significant impact

on women's incomes. Most programmes, including co-operatives, have on the whole benefited better-off women. They cannot be assumed to have a beneficial impact on gender inequalities, but may increase workloads without increasing women's effective control over production decisions and incomes. They also cannot be assumed to be of greater benefit than other types of employment programmes to women labourers; improvements in labour legislation and labour rights are likely to be more important to these women than micro-enterprise provision.

What is clear from this paper is that micro-enterprise development for women is unlikely to be an "all-win", "bottom-up" solution to a wide range of development problems, as much of the rhetoric would imply. It cannot be seen as a substitute for state responsibility for welfare provision, nor can it be a substitute for direct efforts to support labour and reduce gender inequality. Even in terms of increasing beneficiary incomes, micro-enterprise development is unlikely to succeed for the vast majority of poor women unless it is part of a much wider agenda for poverty alleviation and gender equality.

Occasional Paper 3
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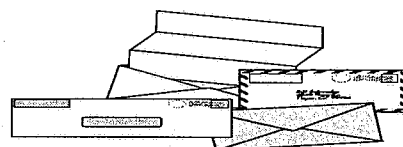
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