

WOMEN 2000

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WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

A brief report on the Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development, held at Vienna from 9 to 11 December 1991, and organized by the Division for the Advancement of Women, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations Office at Vienna, appeared in *Women News* Nos. 7 and 8, 1991. The current issue of

Women 2000 includes an abbreviated version of a paper submitted to the Seminar by Diane Elson, consultant to the Division for the Advancement of Women, the full text of the conclusions and recommendations adopted by the Seminar and submitted to the Commission on the Status of Women at its thirty-sixth session, held at Vienna from 11 to 20 March 1992, as well as the text of a resolution entitled "Women and development", adopted by the Commission during that session.

BASIC CONCEPTS*

There is a growing body of terminology as well as jargon associated with the field of 'women in development' (WID). The glossary below presents some general definitions of frequently encountered terms as a guide to your readings and discussions. Please keep in mind, however, that the precise definitions of many of these terms may vary from country to country or from agency to agency.

Data disaggregated by sex: The collection of information in surveys and the analysis of results on the basis of gender, e.g., data on the status and socio-economic roles of different groups of men and women.

Female-headed households: Either households in which no adult males are

*Reproduced from United Nations Population Fund, "Incorporating women into population and development".

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"Women in Development is concerned with:

- *Not just women but people and their gender;*
- *Women not just as beneficiaries. Women and men both need to be perceived as beneficiaries, participants and decision makers;*
- *WID not as an issue concerned only with the protection of a vulnerable group. Rather, WID is concerned with the use and expansion of women's (and men's) experience, skills and creativity;*
- *Women as representatives of half of the population, not a 'special interest' group."*

"Gender is an important factor for planning and implementing successful development projects and programmes. This statement reflects a shift in emphasis from incorporating 'women' into development activities to an emphasis on the incorporation of 'gender considerations' - issues relating to men's and women's roles and responsibilities."

"How to conduct a workshop to integrate gender considerations into development programming - a trainers' manual" (Silver Spring, MayaTech Corporation, 1991).

present (due to divorce, separation, migration, non-marriage, widowhood) or households in which men, although present, do not contribute to the household income (due to illness, alcoholism, drug addiction, etc.).

Gender: The socially constructed roles ascribed to males and females. These roles, which

are learned, change over time and vary widely within and between cultures.

Gender analysis: The systematic effort to document and understand the roles of men and women within a given context. Key issues include a) the division of labour for both productive and reproductive activities; b) access to and control over resources and benefits; and c) social, economic and environmental factors that influence both of the above.

Gender blindness: The inability to perceive that there are different gender roles and responsibilities and, consequent-

ly, the failure to realize that policies, programmes and projects can have different effects on women and men.

Gender-differentiated impact: Results of activities that are assessed to have had different effects on men's and women's lives.

Gender-sensitive planning: Planning that takes into consideration the impact of policies and plans on women and is sympathetic to women's needs.

Mainstreaming women in development: Strengthening women's active involvement in development by linking devel-

"'Mainstreaming' means different things to different people. ... Documents of the WID focal points of the United Nations system demonstrate the range of meanings and approaches to mainstreaming that are employed in the WID movement.

Uses and meanings of 'mainstreaming'

- *to ensure that issues of women are incorporated into policy-making machinery*
- *to influence the programming and policies of mainstream agencies*
- *to make it impossible for people or agencies to ignore, forget, overlook, fail to take account of women and women's issues*
- *to gain resource allocations directed toward women*
- *to enable women to acquire equitable shares in the control and management of development processes and outcomes*
- *to strengthen women's active involvement in development*
- *to catalyze other (mainstream) agencies, governments and non-governmental organizations to support activities to benefit women*
- *to incorporate WID dimensions into agency structures and programmes*
- *to integrate gender dimensions (or women/women's concerns) into development, development programming and planning, development models*
- *to incorporate women in decision-making at all levels*
- *to ensure that women are seen as clients in all development programming*
- *to get every department and division to use gender analysis in their work*
- *to ensure gender responsiveness in mainstream projects*
- *to devolve responsibility for ensuring gender-awareness to all sections and staff of the agency*
- *to ensure that all programmes serve to promote equality."*

Mary B. Anderson, The Collaborative for Development Action Inc.

opment women's capabilities and contributions with macro-development issues such as population, the environment, critical poverty, food scarcity, energy and urbanization. This link provides the rationale for drawing upon large-scale resources for development which have not hitherto articulated support or programmatic linkages to women.

National machinery: An entity, designated by the Government, that is responsible for coordinating and/or monitoring support to and initiatives on behalf of women nationally. Frequently, the national machinery is the Government's women's bureau or a large, national women's non-governmental organization.

"It is now increasingly recognized that development efforts will not succeed without the full participation of women in all aspects of national and international life. The purpose of the various programmes and strategies adopted by the multilateral agencies for WID has been:

- *To demonstrate and draw attention to the role of women;*
- *To include matters pertaining to women on the political agenda;*
- *To create political will to enhance the role of women;*
- *To find ways and means of achieving this;*
- *To apply these methods globally and nationally.*

... The main thrust should today and in the near future be on the implementation of programmes and decisions already adopted."

United Nations and the Advancement of Women, The Nordic United Nations Project Report No. 16, 1990.

"The speed with which WID 'took off' in the third world indicated that the ideas behind it corresponded to the needs and interests of a significant number of women (and men), and was not simply a 'foreign' imposition. The 'ease' and rapidity with which both the donor agencies and the African governments adopted WID as a development strategy is problematic. Presumably WID did not challenge the basic foundations of 'patriarchal' rule and male dominance at the national and global level, or official responses would have been different."

Marjorie Mbilinyi, University of Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania

WID: Acronym for 'women in development'. Early WID efforts focused on highlighting the important roles of women and on documenting women's inequitable position in society and in the development process. Gen-

"The whole issue of Women and Development is a process full of conflicts."

Jan Pronk, Minister for Development Cooperation, Netherlands

der analysis (see above) considers the activities and responsibilities of both women and men and the similar and/or different impacts that policies, programmes and project activities may have on each.

Women-specific projects: Projects in which women are the main target population and participants. Ideally, these projects also involve women in the project's design, management and decision-making roles, although this is not always the case.

Women's focal points: Individuals within an organization (e.g., in government branches, NGOs) who are responsible for women and development programmes.

Women's productive roles: A distinction is usually made between productive or economic activities and reproductive or human resources maintenance activities. Productive activities include all tasks that contribute

economically to the household and community, e.g., crop and livestock production, handicrafts production, marketing and wage employment.

Women's reproductive roles: A distinction is usually made between productive or economic activities and reproductive or human resources maintenance activities. Reproductive and human resources maintenance activities are those carried out to reproduce and care for the household and community, including fuel and water collection, food preparation, child care, education, health care and home maintenance. These activities, which are often viewed as non-economic, generally carry no monetary compensation and are usually excluded from the national income accounts.

"Empowerment cannot take place unless women's primary responsibility for reproduction of the family is either compensated for or shared equally with men. It is precisely the failure to understand that policies often have a different impact on women because of the nature of their relations with men (relationships where women usually lack power) that they can be described as male-biased."

Maureen O'Neil, The North-South Institute

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

WID emerged in the early 1970s as a response to the growing evidence that economic and social development efforts had not benefited women as much as men. WID was also associated with a certain disenchantment with the lack of development progress in general. It reflected a change in the way policy makers and researchers approached the issue of women. WID may actually be seen as a synonym for the recognition that women are not merely mothers, affected passively by development in general and by welfare and family planning programmes in particular. They are also economic agents, in charge of key aspects of production and economic development. Their contribution could be enhanced by more sensitive development programmes and projects. The focus is on the productive role of women, as opposed to previous approaches that insisted on the role and needs of women as mothers. This new emphasis was a powerful factor in convincing the international community that development programmes and projects had to target women.

The United Nations has taken a lead in establishing the institutional framework for WID. The Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace (1976-1985), highlighted by world conferences held at Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980) and

"Research on women has been dominated by women while the majority of male academics continue with their biases. Recently, however, a few institutions have started to address this issue by attempting to build in their research agenda a gender analysis. Gender analysis is supposed to be more holistic in its approach, it recognizes the differences between women and also appreciates some of the common problems. It seeks to address the relationship between men and women while acknowledging the importance of other variables which include class, race and ethnicity."

Ruth Meena, Sapes Trust

Nairobi (1985), focused attention on WID and mobilized activities and resources in countries around the world.

The definition and content of WID programmes differs, however. Three broad types of WID have been identified (see table, p.6). The first type is based on equity, human rights and welfare issues, and places emphasis on women in poverty. The second type focuses on efficiency and economic growth and stresses the economic contribution of women to development. Contributions to national development are improved by programmes and projects in training, education and employment.

"The WID movement has succeeded in bringing WID issues on the agenda but as a social movement, it has also been constrained in addressing some fundamental issues to achieve broader cooperation. The WID movement has been contractual rather than confrontational in its approach in order to stress that WID is for the 'common good' and achieve acceptance. But precisely because of that, imbalances of power between women and men have remained unaddressed and women's issues have been defined in relation to the current development approach."

Nüket Kardam

The third and more recent type emphasizes empowerment and includes considerations on global development goals and mechanisms determining the unequal situation of women. This approach should enable women to gain control over their own lives and assist in resolving conflicts between their productive and reproductive roles. Direct participation in development itself and in public life is both a consequence and a means of empowerment.

"There has been a gradual shift in how women are perceived within development models, from victim, passive object to independent actor."

Jan Pronk, Minister for Development Cooperation, Netherlands

These different approaches to WID have been formulated on the basis of the rights and actual roles of women, and on the ways these are structured by society. However, they have also emerged - and this is most true in the case of the efficiency and poverty-equity approach - as a response to development issues discussed at the international level, broadly referred to as the development agenda. The focus on poverty is linked to the World Bank switch from an emphasis

"It is no longer sufficient as we have done in the past to simply advocate that women's needs be the focus of development policies. We must perhaps move one step further and make women a primary index of development. ... WID is not just another theme or area of concentration. It required interdisciplinary thinking, self-reflection, as well as technical competence."

Marnia Lazreg, University of New York

on economic growth to a concern for absolute poverty. The efficiency approach corresponds to the period of economic stabilization and adjustment policies of the 1980s. The critical analysis of these types of WID within a context of gender analysis appears to have been at the origin of the empowerment type. Considerable attention is now being focused on theoretical issues.

Since the 1970s, when the term was first used, over 100 Governments have set up special units whose responsibility it is to promote and monitor the

"As those engaged in research on, and action with, women, collate their information and experience, they find that theories and strategies of development so far on the anvil are inconsistent with their findings. ... From their findings, they are able to construct specific plans, underlined with theory, and policy, with institutions and method which would not only bring the kind of economy and hopefully polity that would safeguard women's interest, but the interest of all - as well as the planet earth. ... The practices proposed range from an emphasis on method/process rather than goal/target to revealing 'alternatives' in every field of development. At the level of action most of the energy and time of women have been spent on resisting the kind of development fall-out that is being generated ..., and therefore there is a case for not integrating them into development but for reordering development so that it may be acceptable to women."

Devaki Jain, Institute of Social Studies Trust, Bangalore, India

"There is no question that the increasing burden of rural poverty falls most heavily upon women. At the same time, poverty cannot be eradicated without the contribution of women."

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General, statement to the Summit on Economic Advancement of Rural Women, held at Geneva from 25-26 February 1992

progress of WID. United Nations agencies have established WID focal points, and WID staff have been designated in many sub-units and regional and national offices.

In the early 1990s, WID is an important topic for development agencies. A dual goal is being pursued: the achievement of equality between women and men in general, and the furtherance of basic social and economic development. The institutionalization of WID includes the establishment of bureaux and the hiring of staff responsible for gathering information on women, developing new projects and programmes for women, and monitoring their impact on women. Furthermore, several large networks have been established between donor agencies, non-governmental organiza-

tions, recipient countries, research institutes and universities concerned with the issue of WID. The networks specialize in WID from different perspectives. For instance, within the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, an Expert Group on Women in Development has been set up and meets regularly to exchange views and coordinate activities. Another perspective is provided by the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). DAWN is a third world feminist network founded in 1984 by a group of researchers, activists and policy makers concerned with women's participation in the development process.

"The shift in policy approach toward women, from 'welfare' to 'equity' to 'anti-poverty', ... to the two other approaches categorized here as 'efficiency' and 'empowerment', has mirrored general shifts in third-world development policies ... While the different policy approaches, as summarized in the table (p.6), are described chronologically, it is recognized that the linear process is an oversimplification of reality."

C. Moser, "Gender planning in the third world: meeting practical and strategic gender needs", *World Development*, vol. 17, no.11 (1989)

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- The Plunkett Foundation is planning a one-month programme
- entitled Women's Groups for Rural Change, to be held at
- Oxford, United Kingdom, from 21 September to 16 October
- 1992. An integrated series of policy workshops and study
- visits for women and men involved in planning and developing
- women's empowerment, the programme is designed for people
- who already have some experience in promoting women's
- interests - through development work, training or membership
- of co-operatives - and enough professional authority to institute
- change and improve the status quo. Further information
- can be obtained from J. Elise Bailey, Study Programmes
- Adviser, Plunkett Foundation, 23 Hanborough Business Park,
- Long Hanborough, Oxford OX8 8LH, United Kingdom.
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Different policy approaches to third-world women: women-in-development (WID)

	Type I			Type II		Type III
	Welfare	Equity	Anti-poverty	Efficiency	Empowerment	
Issues	1950-1970: but still widely used	1975-1985: attempts to adopt it during and since Decade for Women	1970s onward: still limited popularity	Post- 1980s: now most popular approach	1975 onward: accelerated during 1980s, still limited popularity	
Period most popular						
Purpose	To bring women into development as better mothers: this is seen as their most important role in development	To gain equity for women in the development process: women being seen as active participants in development	To ensure that poor women increase their productivity: women's poverty being seen as problem of underdevelopment not of subordination	To ensure that development is more efficient and more effective, women's economic participation being seen as associated with equity	To empower women through greater self-reliance: women's subordination being seen not only as problem of men but also of colonial and neo-colonial oppression	
Needs of women met and roles recognized	To meet PGN in reproductive role, relating particularly to food aid, malnutrition and family planning	To meet SGN in terms of triple role - directly through state top-down intervention, giving political and economic autonomy by reducing inequality with men	To meet PGN in productive role, to earn an income, particularly in small-scale income generating projects	To meet PGN in context of declining social services by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time	To reach SGN in terms of triple role - indirectly through bottom-up mobilization around PGN - as means of confronting oppression	

Source: Caroline O.N. Moser, "Gender planning in the third world: meeting practical and strategic gender needs", *World Development*, vol. 17, No. 11 (1989).

Notes: PGN - Practical gender needs (those needs formulated from the concrete conditions women experience, in their engendered position within the sexual division of labour, and deriving out of this their practical gender interests for human survival).

SGN - Strategic gender needs (those needs formulated from the analysis of women's subordination to men, and deriving out of this the strategic gender interest identified for an alternative, more equal and satisfactory organization of society).

GENDER ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES*

A survey of gender issues in development strategies is presented below. It includes an assessment of the way in which the social, economic and political position of women in relation to that of men has been addressed in approaches to strategies for development, and of the implications of this for the advancement of women. The treatment of development issues in "official" approaches to the advancement of women, such as those put forward within the framework of the United Nations system, is also assessed, with the focus on their conceptual basis rather than their implementation. Finally, ways of integrating gender issues into development strategies are reviewed, drawing on the insights of theorists concerned with the empowerment of women in the South in order to meet the challenges of the 1990s.

Gender issues are generally not integrated into the discussion of development strategies, though there may well be a passing reference to the impact on women. The reasons for the lack of integration are related to the fact that discussion of development strategies focuses only on the work of production of goods and services, and ignores the work of reproduction, on a daily and generational basis, of human beings; that discussion of development strategies also treats households as unities, and fails to differentiate the costs and benefits to different household members. The lack of gender awareness limits both the selection of criteria by which to evaluate development strategies, and the analysis of how they work, or fail to work.

A discussion of development strategies first has to clarify what is meant by development. A widely adopted approach is to recognize the multidimensional character of development by a focus on growth of national income, plus improvements in social indicators such as decreases in infant mortality and increases in life expectancy and school enrolment. Frequently this is supplemented by a concern for income distribution between different categories of households and by the incidence of absolute poverty.

Many discussions of development and development strategies contain no reference to gender issues at all. Probably as a result of WID literature and activities, there is frequently some mention of women, but there is no integration of gender as a category of analysis or recognition of the notion that gender impinges on all aspects of economic life and may shape the design and outcome of development strategies.

The poor integration of gender issues stems from both the way in which development is conceptualized and public policy is analysed. Even broad concepts of development, which include the achievement of self-respect as well as growth of gross national product, remain rooted in the production of commodities. The process of human reproduction, the way in which children are raised, sick people nursed, old people cared for, undertaken without pay, is left out of account. Human-resource issues are addressed in terms of "human capital formation", in which inputs of health and edu-

cation services, and of food, are transformed by individuals into saleable assets like energy and skills. But this is only one dimension of human-resource formation, and it leaves out of account the nurture provided by mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, friends and neighbours, care that is not organized through the cash nexus, care that is central to human reproduction.

Though this care is not provided for direct material reward, it nevertheless entails work, and in feminist discourse is often called "reproductive work" or "domestic labour". As is well documented, there is a sexual division of labour in such work, with the bulk of it being undertaken by women. A critical issue for women is how reproductive work is articulated with access to an income. The articulation of reproductive work with obtaining an income takes different forms in different societies and changes significantly in the course of development. Generally, however, in spite of its variety, reproductive work does not carry with it an entitlement to an independent income, and those who bear the major responsibility for it must either undertake additional work to generate an income of their own, or become dependent for income transfers on those who are largely free from this responsibility. That dependence is organized through gender-ascriptive relations, and the terms of the dependence are all too often inimical to self-respect. Women are disadvantaged because if they try to free themselves from gender-ascriptive relations, to become individuals in the public sphere rather than daughters,

*Extracts from a paper submitted by Diane Elson, Professor of Economics, University of Manchester, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to the Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development.

wives and mothers, they are economically and socially vulnerable on that account. The result is the paradox that while the traditional relations of household life may be oppressive to women, they generally offer more security for women, and attempts at living free of them are risky.

Thus a concept of development adequate to the needs of everyone must address the process of human reproduction as well as the production of commodities, and explicitly reflect the way the two are integrated. It must also reflect relations within as well as between households. It is the absence of these issues that is the fundamental reason for the poor integration of a gender perspective. But beyond this, there is also a lack of understanding of how gender analysis can be integrated in a discourse that deals not with people but with abstracts. To integrate gender analysis at the macroeconomic and sectoral levels of the economy, it is necessary to consider how the abstract categories are related to the sexual division of labour and income, both inside and outside the household, and how relations that are not gender-ascriptive are nevertheless not gender-neutral.

"Women's empowerment now includes third-world women achieving control over their own lives by expanded choices. The policy recommendations that would flow from this view deal with ways of resolving conflicts between women's productive and reproductive roles, i.e. child care, men's share in the maintenance of the family, as well as women's participation overall in the redefinition of gender relations and the meaning of development itself."

Nüket Kardam, Pomona College, California

Development strategies are typically evaluated in the following terms: efficiency of resource utilization; savings, investment and growth; human capital formation; poverty and inequality; the role of the State; and participation, democracy and freedom. A gender-aware perspective would broaden the criteria of assessment, not by adding the "impact on women" as a further criterion, but by interpreting these criteria to show the limitations of their gender-blindness. The application of extended criteria would systematically explore the implications for development strategies of the fact that the emancipation of women is both a goal in itself and a way to achieve certain development goals. The conclusions they would lead to about which strategy is best for the advancement of women would not necessarily be unanimous. Indeed, it is unlikely that the same strategy would lead to the same advancement for all women. But a gender-aware analysis does open up some possibilities of more innovative thinking about development strategies.

The impetus for putting the advancement of women on the agenda of national and international governmental agencies concerned with development came in the early 1970s from women employed within the United Nations system, especially in connection with the Commission on the Status of Women. The original objectives of these groups of women were to influence government policies concerning women in order to secure more equal access for women to education and employment and greater legal equality.¹ The emphasis was on better opportunities for women through policies such as equal pay for equal work, affirmative action programmes and equal rights legislation. But women professionals working in the United Nations system and in-

"When women gain access to development resources, their productivity will rise and development will be spurred. When women sit on decision-making bodies and participate in the design of development programmes, these programmes will be more effective because they will incorporate women's perspectives. When women are educated, their children are healthier, population growth rates decline and increases in production lead to higher standards of living for everyone. Exclusion of women from development not only leaves women worse off, it impoverishes whole societies."

Mary B. Anderson, The Collaborative for Development Action

ternational development agencies also began to raise issues about women affected by the operations of their agencies. They feared that the operations of official development agencies were not improving, but even having an adverse effect on, the status of women.

Once the issue of greater equality for women was linked to women as a resource for development, "women in development" was rapidly taken up by international development agencies and, often in response to donor pressure, Governments in many developing countries set up WID programmes. Some of the key concepts underlying WID, besides that of integrating women into development programmes, are as follows: the unequal status of women, which is considered to be primarily determined by the marginalization of women from remunerative work; the increasing burden of unremunerated work by women; and the invisibility of work by women (paid and

unpaid). If paid and unpaid work by women were made visible to the planners, they would realize that women could be a resource for development, provided that projects and programmes were designed to enable women to increase their effectiveness as producers. Projects and programmes that integrated women into development would both give women a more equal status and enable women to make a greater contribution to development.

This conceptual framework led to an emphasis on documenting the work that women do in both generating income and maintaining and reproducing human resources. 1/ It also led to an emphasis on getting explicit recognition of women in programmes and projects, not only as mothers, addressed only in health, nutrition and welfare programmes as had previously been the case, but even more importantly as producers. 2/ Women-only projects, promoting such activities as sewing and knitting clothes for tourists, weaving jute bags, and crocheting, were the characteristic response of most donor agencies. Proponents of WID have noted and deplored a tendency for women-only income-generating projects to lack economic viability and become in fact welfare programmes. 3/ They have also recognized that women-only projects are generally small and underfunded, and have remained marginal projects outside the mainstream of national economic planning. 4/ Thus the approach to WID has been reassessed to emphasize the integration of

"... the development of the girl-child lies at the heart of sustainability of any autonomy women would achieve."

Thelma Awori, United Nations Development Fund for Women

women in sector-focused programmes in ways that address their double responsibilities of income generation and family care, and build women's interests into the original design of the programme.

The WID approach emerged as a project and programme-focused approach, essentially addressing priorities in public expenditure and the design of publicly funded projects and programmes, especially those funded by foreign aid. It did not address the implications for women of a whole range of other development policies - on trade, foreign investment, prices, credit or asset ownership. Nor did it distinguish between and assess overall development strategies, nor set priorities in seeking to influence the key ministries involved in the formulation of such strategies. Instead, the emphasis was on the spending ministries, such as rural development, health and education.

In the 1980s, the emphasis in the major aid agencies switched away from strategies of incremental redistribution to monetarist and open economy strategies, and to a new combination of these in the form of structural adjustment. This called for reductions in public spending and in the role of development planners, and emphasized the importance of markets and prices, and the private sector as the engine of development. Not surprisingly, the earliest responses tended to emphasize the vulnerability of poor women to cutbacks in public spending. 5/ But attempts were made to establish WID on the new terrain of efficiency in resource use to achieve balance-of-payments equilibrium and growth, rather than poverty alleviation and growth. Here the WID unit at the World Bank has played a leading role in arguing that women must be brought into the mainstream of economic policy, and that a focus on women helps

to raise returns on investment and improve the balance of payments. 6/ There are signs that other WID practitioners in other aid agencies are also trying to come to grips with macroeconomic strategies and to consider how WID can relate to development strategies at the national level. But there appears to have been, as yet, no WID

"The whole project of development has been cast into doubt because of the persistence, indeed, deepening, of global inequalities, ... When solvency rather than development is the password, when unemployment is regarded as a cure rather than a problem, and when there is a net capital transfer from South to North, then economic orthodoxy has to be challenged."

Valentine M. Moghadam, United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research

conditionality attached to any multilateral or bilateral loans for balance-of-payments support. WID conditionality would not in any case be seen as a step forward by the many women who have a concern for the self-empowerment of women.

From the outset of WID, many women from developing countries (the South), and also some from developed countries (the North), have been concerned at the relative lack of focus on the self-empowerment of women in the official approach. It is not that a concept of empowerment is altogether absent from the WID approach, but there has always been more emphasis on the static concept of status than on the dynamic concept of power. In so far as empowerment is present, it is a concept in which women are empowered by having income-earning work created for them by development agencies

and market forces; not a concept of self-empowerment in which women gain more autonomy and control over their lives and are agents of their own development, more able to exercise choices and set their own agendas. The casting of women in the passive role of recipients of projects and programmes in a process guided by experts (largely from the North) was quickly challenged by women researchers and activists from the South for its imperializing tendency. Objections were also raised to the homogenizing tendency of the WID approach, which ignored differences of interests between women of different classes, ethnic groups and countries.

In the 1980s, there emerged an alternative approach, called by some the empowerment approach ^{2/} and by others global feminism. ^{7/} It draws much of its strength from the work of committed activists in the South, many of them researchers working in conjunction with non-governmental organizations and linked by international networks, such as DAWN. Its analytical focus is not so much on women as on the social structures that constrain women, the social relations of gender, mediated by class, ethnicity and inequalities between countries. These social structures are contested at various points by many women's organizations. The emphasis of the self-empowerment approach is not so much on development agencies as on the agency of organized women. Political mobilization, consciousness-raising and popular education are emphasized as much as income-earning opportunities.

The self-empowerment approach has addressed the question of overall development strategy by attempts to set out alternative visions of development. It is evident that the empowerment approach places a great deal of emphasis on international as well as national con-

straints on the possibilities facing poor women. Many advocates of this approach have tended to argue for self-reliant development strategies to circumvent international constraints. More recently, an em-

"To have women in development policies emerge, women's movements must have access to information since they can push the issues, advocating them with the legislative and the executive. This way, women's machineries could begin to respond to women in development policies."

Neuma Aguiar, DAWN

phasis has emerged on the intervention of women's organizations in policy-making on international issues such as debt relief, and on increasing international cooperation between women's organizations. This is an approach that tries to change the operations of the international economy, albeit in small ways, rather than reduce contact with it.

It is now widely recognized that macroeconomic conditions have much more impact on the lives of women than WID projects, and that strategies for the advancement of women need to be linked to overall development strategies at national and international level. The last five years have seen a considerable amount of theoretical research on gender and macroeconomic policies in the context of structural adjustment programmes and important new initiatives by international development agencies. Lessons can be learned from examining some attempts to develop what might be called a gender-aware approach to structural adjustment.

Much of the literature discussing gender issues in the con-

text of structural adjustment has tried to intervene either in the debate about the impact of adjustment measures on vulnerable groups or in the debate about the effectiveness of adjustment policies in achieving the objective of restoring balance-of-payments equilibrium without sacrificing growth. Some have tried to intervene on both fronts.

The interventions in the debate about the impact of adjustment measures on different social groups might be termed the welfare approach. Here, the emphasis has been on illuminating the likely impact of adjustment measures on the well-being of various groups of women, especially rural and urban poor women. It has been argued that typical adjustment programmes tend to worsen the situation of many women in a variety of ways, and suggestions have been made of ways to mitigate these adverse impacts, often through retargeting public expenditure to poor women.

The interventions in the debate about the effectiveness of structural adjustment policies with respect to growth and the balance of payments might be termed the efficiency approach. Here the emphasis has been on illuminating the barriers which

"Many researchers and activists view environmental degradation as a way into critiquing the dominant economic model. The concept of sustainable development is emerging as a new buzz word. Women have begun to define it for themselves, and this could be an important entry into reconceptualizing development. This would correct the mistake we made at the outset of the Decade when we failed to question the concept of development."

Peggy Antrobus, DAWN

gender relations create to the operation of adjustment measures. These barriers have been analysed in terms of gender-based distortions in markets (a key source of which is "the reproduction tax"- women's work which is not valued by the market) that need to be removed to allow markets to operate efficiently. 8/ Public provision of child-care facilities and electricity and water supplies is an important way of reducing this reproduction tax and reducing market distortions.

These approaches are not mutually exclusive, and might both appropriately be used because policy makers do often have a concern for the human costs of adjustment as well as the achievement of the economic objectives. There is a danger of the welfare approach repeating the tendency of many WID initiatives to cast women in a passive role. The efficiency approach does have the merit of focusing on many of the barriers that constrain women and frustrate their initiatives, but there is a danger of seeing those barriers as lying wholly outside the market mechanism and not having any intrinsic relation to its operation. It must be remembered that no market mechanism operates purely through an impersonal cash nexus. Markets are social institutions in which social networks link buyers and sellers, and in which social norms play a large role in determining the bargains struck and deals made. With markets being inevitably social, the potential for bias against women is built into them.

From the writings of scholars and activists concerned with the interaction between the self-empowerment of women and macroeconomic policies, it is possible to draw some ideas for rethinking the concept of development strategy itself, rather than simply intervening in design and implementation of existing strategies. The starting-point in

any development strategy should be centrally concerned with reproduction as well as production, and with the way these activities are articulated with one another. The entitlements of those having prime responsibility for care of other family members need strengthening. That means not so much more opportunities for women to undertake more work, but more resources under the control of women. This will have a long-term pay-off for national development objectives, not just through increasing productivity but also through its impact on fertility.

"In a word, WID needs to continue to count women and push for the integration of women where women are underutilized or marginalized; it also needs to incorporate the concept of gender; and it needs to account for both stability and change in gender relations and the status of women."

Valentine M. Moghadam, United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research

This means rethinking notions of efficiency. Too often the idea of efficient use of resources refers only to resources used in paid production, and ignores unpaid resources used in reproduction. For instance, measures which transfer costs from paid activity to unpaid activity are often regarded as increasing the efficiency of the paid activities. It is usually women who have to shoulder these costs. Another deficiency of current notions of efficiency is a failure to take into account changes in the intensity of paid work, so that producing more output through increases in the intensity of work appears as an improvement in efficiency not as an increase in inputs. If work is intensified beyond a certain point, then human re-

sources are depleted - the health, strength and capacities of workers deteriorate. Human resource depletion no more forms an adequate basis for sustainable development than does depletion of natural resources. True improvements in efficiency in labour use come through increases in skills and improvements in technology and organization. To operationalize reformed concepts of efficiency, and to make reproduction as well as production central to development strategies, a wider set of targets and indicators will need to be used, and unpaid as well as paid labour will need to be monitored.

Policy instruments will also need reforming. All the strategies are implemented through some combination of market processes and State activities. Much of the debate has been about the appropriate balance between State and market, but

"The rise in standards of living in our societies has clearly been linked to the increasing involvement of women in political and economic life, coupled with still more equal opportunities as regards education and training, social services, legal rights and property. Our own experience shows that human resources development must, as one of its essential features, take fully into account the role of women. The more is invested in women and in the education of girls, the more development in particular, is enhanced."

Statement made by the representative of Finland, Hannele Tikanvaare, also speaking on behalf of the group of Nordic countries, to the Second Committee of the General Assembly, on 8 November 1991

there is a need to go beyond this and to restructure both State and market so as to make both more democratic and to facilitate the equal participation of women and men in these processes. Suggestions have been made on how the process of formulation, monitoring and implementation of development strategies could come more under the control of women, ^{9/} and on how women's organizations can give women workers more say in the operations of the labour market. ^{10/} Democratizing the resource allocation processes of market and State will have benefits for all citizens, and can also be expected to have pay-offs in terms of productivity and growth if people are more in charge of their own lives.

Democratization of resource allocation requires action at local, national and international levels and will be a long and uneven process. It can start to enter into the international dialogue in several ways: transparency and openness in the policy-making process; availability of alternative international sources of expertise in the design of strategies; tougher disclosure and accountability procedures, including social as well as financial aspects, for transnational corporations; recognition that interventions in markets need not be distortions but can be safeguards against the depletion of human resources; use of a wider range of indicators in judging the success or failure of a programme; and development of social regulation of markets by the interaction of the private sector with non-governmental organizations and with democratically elected public officials. There would be a vital role for WID agencies in equipping women to play a role in this process, developing skills in advocacy and auditing and promoting an understanding of economics, and in training officials of agencies concerned with development strategy to understand

and apply gender-aware approaches.

There is a growing recognition in those agencies that have done most to promote market-led structural adjustment of the limitations of these strategies even in terms of achieving the objectives of balance-of-payments equilibrium and growth. There is now a new emphasis on human-resource development and on poverty-focused strategies. There is also concern with issues of democratization and accountability. It seems important for agencies charged with the advancement of women to develop the capacity to intervene in discussions of these issues in order to promote a gender-aware approach that will address women's interests and lead to more effective development.

There is also a growing recognition that the international economy is entering a new phase. The former centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe will be seeking to enter into the international division of labour and to secure inflows of aid and investment, and they will be participating in international development agencies. At the same time, there is evidence of a global shortage of savings to finance development. There are also growing worries about a credit shortage that is limiting expansion in many of the major developed market economies, and many financial commentators expect stagnation or worse in those economies in the early 1990s.

Tactics for the future: a final note

In trying to have an impact on development strategies, organizations concerned with the advancement of women have two tactics at their disposal. One is to emphasize how a concern for the advancement of women can contribute to the achievement of goals on an agenda that has al-

ready been set by those who have no particular concern for the advancement of women. This is an important tactic because it is likely to have more short-term pay-off; and it is a tactic that official WID agencies can most easily adopt. Here, the emphasis will be on gender relations that are biased against women as barriers to the improvement of productivity and efficiency as already defined by those currently setting the agenda. But although this tactic is likely to produce quicker results, those results will be more circumscribed than the possibilities opened up by the second tactic.

The second tactic is to seek to change the development agenda, to broaden the objectives, to introduce different values and to give women much more of a role in setting the agenda in the first place. This is a tactic that WID agencies will find more difficult to adopt directly. It requires a mixture of critical argument to challenge established ways of thinking, creative proposals for alternatives, and political mobilization to change decision-making structures. Here, scholars and activists, working with non-governmental organizations, have a vital role to play. Official WID agencies must be prepared to make resources available to such scholars and activists, without too many strings attached, without trying to incorporate them, so that the capacity of women to affect the design as well as the implementation of development strategies can be enhanced.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SEMINAR ON THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development was intended to review the efforts undertaken to integrate women into the process of development, to assess the strategies evolved to achieve that goal and to consider future prospects in this area. The conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar, which were appended to the Secretary-General's report (E/CN.6/1992/8), are quoted below.

1. The participants at the Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development reviewed the experience acquired in the implementation of different women-in-development (WID) strategies and then discussed emerging issues that needed to be tackled in the 1990s and proposals for the future, in particular, proposals for the period leading up to the convening in 1995 of the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace.

I. WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT: EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS

2. WID was discussed from two perspectives: its conceptual framework and the experience acquired in its implementation.

A. Conceptual framework

Conclusions

Integration of women into development - what kind of integration, what kind of development?

3. A distinction was made between two possible approaches to WID: one was an attempt to add women's concerns to the development agenda already set by others; the other involved an attempt to transform development agendas on the basis of

women's analysis of what would both meet their basic needs and empower them.

4. It was agreed that the implementation of all aspects of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women ^{a/} required that women be present to share the task of determining what type of development should take place. The objective should be to transform the whole range of public policy so that women would gain more control over their own lives through, for example, better health, better income, better education, better access to skills and technology, entitlements to capital and land, legal equality, and control over their own bodies. The extent to which indicators of women's development improved should be a measure of policy success. That would then place women in the position of bringing their perspectives to bear on a whole range of national and international issues.

5. It was noted that donors and development agencies had an important role to play in the implementation of WID policies. At the same time, it was acknowledged that they were intermediaries of social change and that little could be achieved without the full involvement of all concerned at all levels.

Women and gender

6. The participants agreed that it was appropriate to use the concepts "women" and "gender" with an emphasis that would vary depending on different contexts.

^{a/} *Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Nairobi, 15-26 July 1985 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.85.IV.10), chap. I, sect. A.

Gender referred to socially constructed and culturally variable roles that women and men played in their daily lives. It referred to a structural relationship of inequality between men and women and was manifested in labour markets and in political structures, as well as in the household. It was reinforced by custom, law and specific development policies. In order to meet the objective of the advancement of women it was necessary to develop gender-based analysis and to integrate it into macro-economic and micro-economic policies. It was recognized that gender-based training, both in terms of concepts and in terms of skills in gender-based analysis and planning, was an important strategy for advancing the WID agenda.

The need to rethink development and concurrently refocus WID

7. It was agreed that there was a need to give the concept of WID a broader meaning and to refocus it within a new theoretical framework and a transformed development agenda.

8. Central to the refocusing of WID was an emphasis on the self-empowerment of women, a process in which women gained control over their own lives by knowing and claiming their rights at all levels of society: at the international, national and "household" levels. Self-empowerment meant that women gained autonomy, were able to set their own agendas, and were fully involved in economic, political and social decision-making processes. That would translate into everyday reality the principles of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 34/180.

9. The new theoretical framework should recognize the importance of global economic and political issues for the advancement of women and should provide an analysis of the gender dimensions of those issues. It should also incorporate a gender analysis that took into account race, ethnic origin and class and recognized the existence of gender-based hierarchies in the household, the community and other areas of society and their impact on women's access to power and resources. One central requirement for the self-empowerment of women was more time.

10. The participants saw the need to link democratization, human resource development and empowerment. Women could only participate in the process of democratization to the extent that their human rights were fully recognized, their human potential was developed and they were empowered. Those were necessary preconditions for women to create opportunities for themselves to participate. "Human development" and empowerment were essential for effective participation in democratic processes.

11. The participants redefined human resource development as "human development" in order to underline the fact that human development was a lifelong process that started at birth. It must focus on improving the quality of life and on enlarging people's choices by investing in programmes on the health of women and children, nutrition, housing, basic education etc.

Developing statistics, indicators and analysis for a fuller understanding of gender inequality

12. The participants recognized the efforts to develop gender-disaggregated data. Further work was necessary to provide a basis on which to build more effective

policies. Efforts were needed to demonstrate and illuminate:

(a) The gender dimension in all areas of social, economic and political life;

(b) The complex interrelationship between different dimensions of gender inequality.

13. Particular effort was necessary to produce concepts and measures that reflected the value of all work, paid and unpaid, and the link between the productive and reproductive roles of women. The extent to which unpaid work, both in the home and in the community, supported and underpinned general social and economic development needed to be better understood in order for the burden to be shared more equally between men and women.

14. The kind of gender-based analysis advocated was central to *The World's Women 1970-1990: Trends and Statistics*, b/ a second edition of which should be prepared prior to the Fourth World Conference on Women. National efforts at similar compilation and analysis should be developed further. Concepts and indicators developed to measure and illuminate gender inequality must be reflected in future editions of the Human Development Report, published by the United Nations Development Programme, the World Development Report, published by the World Bank, and other United Nations publications.

B. Implementation

Conclusions

National capacity for sustainability

15. The participants concluded that the experience of WID re-

b/ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.90.XVII.3.

vealed the need for a two-level approach to implementing national WID strategies; at the public-policy level and at the grass-roots level. The power granted to WID offices and national machinery within national administrations reflected the importance attached to having women's advancement on national political agendas.

16. The power of WID offices and national machinery, together with their sense of strategy, technical competence and political skills, would determine their influence on the policy debate and, hence, the extent to which economic and social policies favourable to women's advancement would be adopted as well as the nature of such policies. In addition, there was a need for commitments at the national level to incorporate a gender perspective in the policies and programmes of all ministries and to elaborate well-targeted strategies to close the gap for women in key sectors.

17. There could be no effective WID policy at the grass-roots level without basic human rights such as freedom to associate, freedom of speech and freedom to criticize government policy directions. The will and ability to form strategic alliances between, on the one hand, groups outside Governments (including academic, private-sector and community groups) that wanted progress for women and, on the other, public policy makers would significantly influence the likelihood that policies and programmes would emerge that were favourable to women. That applied to donor agencies and Governments in both developed and developing countries.

18. At the grass-roots level, a larger constituency for advancing the concerns of women had to be built with other social movements, such as the peace movement and the environmen-

tal movement. It was also important for women's advocacy groups to internationalize their concerns and to become more knowledgeable about the economic and political consequences of changes currently occurring worldwide.

Accountability

19. The participants agreed that another important lesson was the need to pay more attention to accountability. Binding procedures needed to be developed by donors and development agencies, as well as recipients, to ensure that WID activities could be monitored and evaluated by the constituency they were meant to serve. The links between, on the one hand, specific organizational structure, goals and procedure and, on the other, the extent and forms of accountability needed to be better understood and researched. Accountability also meant strengthening lobbying and advocacy skills among women's movements and non-governmental organizations in order to critically follow and question the work of institutions responsible for WID policy and implementation, such as development agencies and Governments.

Training

20. Agencies involved in gender-based training had concluded that there was a need to incorporate personal and political analysis into such training and to improve coordination of those programmes at the international level. It was proposed that materials and modules analysing macroeconomic trends from a gender perspective should be incorporated into gender-based training. It was vital to deal with the interface between the world economy, national development plans and the role of women. Gender-based analysis could also be usefully introduced at the level of project beneficiaries in order

to increase awareness of women's roles and contributions to development and to serve as a basis for programme improvement. It was recognized that there was already a capacity in that area in some developing countries, both within and outside of Governments, and that it was important for bilateral and multilateral agencies, as well as non-governmental organizations, to help develop that capacity and the sharing of those experiences in building similar capacities in other developing countries.

21. In addition to consultants and local research staff, training efforts had to include the staff of non-governmental organizations, government counterparts of donor agencies, as well as donor and development agencies.

The relationship between international agencies and local women's movements

22. It was important to recognize that over the preceding 10 years a number of women's organizations had launched programmes and networks at the national level in developing countries, as well as at the international level. There was a need for those initiatives to be recognized and for United Nations entities and bilateral organizations to involve them in project and programme development exercises where appropriate. Those organizations also needed to be supported and strengthened.

23. The limitations of working exclusively with women's bureaux needed to be recognized by bilateral organizations and United Nations specialized agencies, and efforts should be made where possible to encourage such bureaux to reach out and support the work of women's organizations in developing countries.

Coordination among agencies

24. It was felt that there was a need for better coordination of WID programmes at the international, regional and national levels among agencies in order to avoid unnecessary duplication and overlapping, and to increase the impact of programmes.

25. There was a need for the work involved in efforts to integrate gender issues to be shared more equally between countries. That would entail more consultation and coordination among donor agencies and recipients, within and outside of Governments.

II. IDENTIFICATION OF EMERGING ISSUES

A. Global trends

Conclusion

26. The participants agreed that little had been done to incorporate women into international strategies such as the International Development Strategies (IDS) and to analyse the gender dimensions of global economic and political restructuring and of emerging international environmental problems.

B. Democratization

Conclusion

27. Relationships between democratization, human rights, survival, violence and gender were important issues in their own right and in relation to linking global trends with local ones.

C. Marketization, privatization and deregulation

Conclusion

28. The participants, noting the widespread trends towards marketization, privatization and deregulation, agreed that it was

important to recognize that markets and the private sector might be no less biased against women than the State or the public sector. It was also vital to recognize the complementarity between the provision of public sector services for women and women's ability to take advantage of new opportunities.

D. Human resources and development

Conclusion

29. Concern was expressed about the deterioration of social sector services and labour market conditions in many countries in periods in which structural adjustment programmes were being carried out. In designing and implementing macroeconomic policies, both donors and recipients should include positive measures to ensure that the needs of women were fully taken into account, especially in terms of their access to social and public services and to better income opportunities.

Health and sanitation

30. Emerging issues in the area of health and sanitation included:

- (a) The impact of structural adjustment programmes on the quantity and quality of health services;
- (b) The acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) pandemic and the resurgence of cholera and other epidemic diseases;
- (c) The contamination of land, air and water;
- (d) Concerns about the environment and population growth that were used to reduce women's reproductive rights; promoting equal opportunity and giving women choice and control over their own fertility provided a more sustainable development path;

(e) The use of technology to undermine the survival of women (for example, to abort female fetuses), and other attitudes towards female children that discriminated against them.

Labour markets and employment

31. Deregulation policies, changes in ways of organizing production processes, changes in skill requirements, increased automation, and the relocation of production were threatening, in many countries, the quality of women's employment opportunities and working conditions. There was a need to design and introduce measures to improve the situation of women in home-based work.

32. The importance of overcoming barriers to the participation of disabled women in the process of development was emphasized.

33. Female education was perhaps the most important means of achieving the combined benefits of higher productivity (including access to and actual employment), lower infant mortality and lower fertility. It was, therefore, essential to increase female enrolment levels in primary and secondary education and to control the drop out rates for girls and young women. There was a need to give special attention to training, from literacy to vocational training, in order to improve women's access to employment and self-employment. There was also a need to promote female interest in scientific and technical education and training at the primary, secondary and higher levels and to encourage girls and young women to successfully complete such courses.

34. In the field of education and research, emphasis was placed on the importance of improving the quality of education and of paying attention to research

methods involving participatory action. The introduction of gender-sensitive education in curricula already at the primary level was considered an important vehicle in breaking down existing cultural barriers to the advancement of women. Academic institutions and women's organizations in developing countries should be encouraged to undertake gender studies and research.

III. PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE

A. Making Governments accountable

Recommendations

35. Governments must be held accountable for the effectiveness of WID programmes by actually committing adequate funds and resources to such programmes and by including WID personnel with sufficient authority in all policies and planning and programming priorities. Governments should identify quantitative and qualitative national targets (including timetables) that are appropriate to each national situation for the public and private sectors and should regularly report on that matter to the Commission on the Status of Women and to national forums. It is recommended that information on national WID programmes should be made available and accessible to groups and individuals and that people should be free to provide comments and input on the direction of those programmes.

B. Research for policy reformulation

Recommendations

36. The relationship between global trends and women's productive and reproductive roles should be systematically researched. Comparative research on the effects of development

strategies on women and on gender relations should be undertaken and the possibility of gender-aware alternative development strategies should be investigated. Such efforts should include the development of appropriate methodologies including modelling and country case-studies in order to strengthen the arguments used in the WID debate. The priority areas for investigation are described below.

Human development

37. There should be a critical evaluation of the emerging strategy, usually termed human resource development, paying particular attention to the treatment of the interrelationship of production and reproduction, and of paid and unpaid work. What are the implications of the "human capital" perspective for human development? What do women want from human development strategies? The needs of women in different age groups and situations vary; for instance, poor, young or adolescent women workers may have a lot to gain from minimum wage legislation, while professional women gain more from policies in favour of equal opportunities. What are the implications of inequality within households for human development strategies? What is the object of human development, to promote growth or to enhance the capabilities of individual women and men as well?

Democratization of development

38. A critical evaluation should be made of the emerging democratization of development, paying particular attention to gender bias in concepts of democratization. There should be research on the following:

(a) The kinds of democratization women want, and what is needed to facilitate their empowerment in the process of democratization;

(b) The way to extend democratization beyond periodic elections in order to give citizens real control over resource allocation in the public and private sectors;

(c) The identification of the barriers to women exercising such control and of ways in which the effectiveness of democratization could be increased once the barriers are reduced.

The international economy

39. There should be a review of the implications of emerging trade and investment patterns for different categories of women, for instance, what implications the entry of formerly centrally planned economies into the international market would have for women's employment in labour-intensive manufacturing. There should also be an evaluation of gender bias in the way that international trade and investment are organized; new ways of regulating international trade and investment in order to avoid this bias should be considered. The role that non-governmental organizations can play in constructing new types of international relations between women in different countries should be explored. There should be an evaluation of how the reduction of gender bias might improve the functioning of the international economy.

40. An international programme of work should be established to develop the recommendations made at the present Seminar for refocusing the conceptual framework of WID and their operationalization prior to the convening in 1995 of the Fourth World Conference on Women, in order to provide it with inputs to accelerate the implementation of the goals of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies. The programme of preparation should include input by practitioners, policy makers, commu-

nity leaders, academics and project participants. International assistance will be indispensable if such an effort is to be completed in time for the Fourth World Conference on Women.

C. Strengthening policy capacity

Recommendations

41. Within national machineries and WID offices, whether in national or multilateral agencies, staff should have strong skills in policy analysis - particularly, but not only, in economics. They should have a good understanding of gender bias in existing policies and an ability to communicate this understanding to colleagues in the relevant policy sectors. Training could strengthen the skills but appropriate recruitment is probably even more important. It is also important that the policy function of WID units be recognized and respected by their Governments and organizations so that their views are sought in making decisions on policy.

D. Enhancing strategic alliances

Recommendations

42. Those responsible for women's programmes within Governments and development institutions should strengthen alliances with groups outside of the Governments working for women's advancement:

(a) By funding joint meetings;

(b) By facilitating the establishment of women's support groups;

(c) By including women's support groups in the elaboration of policy;

(d) By supporting international networking of women's advocacy groups, be

they non-governmental organizations, academics, political and social movements or private sector associations.

43. The utilization of communications technology to facilitate such processes should be encouraged.

E. Programme planning

Recommendations

44. Current development programmes should be examined and existing resources should be reallocated in order to more effectively enhance women's contribution to national development.

Closing the gaps

45. The gaps between men's and women's development should be closed:

(a) By putting into broader practice what is known to work for women;

(b) By promoting technologies that have a proven record of meeting needs, and saving women time and labour, by reviewing new technologies to ensure that those appropriate are also accessible, and by directing programmes to disseminate information on technologies to girls and women;

(c) By ensuring that all education programmes have numerical targets for the enrolment of females at all levels and that they are reviewed from the point of view of the following:

- (i) Appropriateness of curriculum;
- (ii) Quality of teaching;
- (iii) Stereotyping of sectors;
- (iv) Social incentives for families, teachers and

communities to ensure that girls stay in school;

(d) By reviewing health and sanitation services for their accessibility and appropriateness to women. In particular, goals and targets should be set:

- (i) To reduce maternal mortality;
- (ii) To increase access to contraception;
- (iii) To increase the access of women to information on and the treatment of AIDS, cholera and other epidemic diseases;
- (iv) To improve sanitation;

(e) By encouraging:

- (i) States that have not done so to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women;
- (ii) Governments to review their laws in order to identify continuing discrimination against women, to implement changes provided for by law and to establish a specific time-frame to complete this work;
- (iii) The exploration of means of transforming customary laws that put women at a disadvantage and of educating women on their rights.

Reshaping the development agenda

46. The development agenda must be reshaped based on an analysis of how the reduction of gender bias might improve the functioning of the international economy. At the national level, such an analysis should be carried out by departments of fi-

"In any scenario for the future, the role of education will be crucial. ... Creativity and innovation will be essential aspects of such education. In it, women will have more options and will probably also be successful, since they come from private worlds in which these attributes are frequently found."

Miriam Krawczyk, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

nance and planning commissions. In addition, the research capacity of international financial institutions should be brought to bear.

47. WID units and national machinery should argue for reallocating budgetary resources to sectors that have been identified as key sectors for women.

48. In addition, a network of experts on the gender dimension of macroeconomic policy should be created and supported. Furthermore, mechanisms should be found to position experts with a gender perspective in forums crucial to reshaping the global agenda.

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 • NEW PUBLICATION •
 • A book based on the proceedings of the seminar on the interaction between the status of women and demographic phenomena in French-speaking Africa south of the Sahara (see *Women News* No. 38, 1990) has been published for the United Nations by the French Centre on Population and Development in collaboration with the United Nations Population Fund and the Demographic Research Unit of the University of Benin. • *Condition de la femme et population: le cas de l'Afrique francophone* is available in French only from the Division for the Advancement of Women. •
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RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

At its thirty-sixth session, the Commission on the Status of Women adopted, by 42 votes to 1, the following resolution sponsored by the Group of 77 (i.e. the developing countries), the European Community, Australia, New Zealand and Turkey.

Women and development

The Commission on the Status of Women,

Recalling Economic and Social Council resolution 1990/15, annex, of 24/May 1990 and Commission resolutions 34/3 of 8 March 1990 and 35/7 of 8 March 1991,

Reaffirming the principles contained in the Declaration on the Right to Development adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 41/128, annex, of 4 December 1986,

Convinced that the effective mobilization of women is an essential element in achieving the objectives of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women and the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade, adopted in General Assembly resolution 45/199, annex, of 21 December 1990,

Aware that the slow progress in the implementation of the Forward-looking Strategies as related to development necessitates urgent action to be taken by all parties concerned,

Aware also of the need to recognize the importance of gender in all areas of social, economic and political life in order to bridge the gap between the roles of men and women in development and to train planners, policy makers, decision makers and relevant staff in gender analysis,

Reaffirming that the full integration of women in development, both as agents and beneficiaries, should concern all sectors of society,

Convinced that improving the distribution between both sexes of the tasks related to productive and reproductive functions is an essential strategy for development and has to be reflected in the implementation of concrete economic and social policies,

Further convinced that international cooperation for development has a fundamental role in the creation of proper conditions that allow women to achieve full integration in development,

Deeply concerned about the worsening situation of women in developing countries, particularly in the least developed countries,

Expressing special concern about women living in extreme poverty, in rural as well as urban areas,

Expressing deep concern that, despite the fact that poor rural women contribute to all aspects of the well-being of rural families and account for more than half of the food production of developing countries, they are often the most vulnerable and disadvantaged group in society,

Aware of the need for women, as agents and beneficiaries of development, to be empowered to define their own means of development as well as of the need to guarantee them access to services, such as education, health, maternity and child care and credit, among others, in order to fully integrate women into the development process,

Keeping in mind that the impact of structural adjustments policies, adverse terms of trade and the growing foreign debt on developing countries, particularly the least developed countries, has had a

negative effect on efforts for the full integration of women in development,

1. *Takes note* of the report of the Secretary-General on development: integration of women in the process of development (E/CN.6/1992/8), which contains the conclusions of the Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development;

2. *Urges* Governments to foster women's full participation in the elaboration, planning, execution and evaluation of development policies and projects so that they can be agents and beneficiaries of development;

3. *Also urges* Governments to adopt policies to promote economic development that will ensure the full and explicit integration of women's needs and concerns;

4. *Further urges* Governments to include gender perspectives in the major guidelines for economic and social policies and to increase their capacities and capabilities in gender-responsive and gender-sensitive planning of development programmes;

5. *Urges* Governments to foster the access of women to income-generating activities as a means of stimulating economic independence, a basic requirement for women's self-sufficiency;

6. *Urges* Governments to identify their own quantitative and qualitative national targets in such fields as education and training, employment, income generation, health and women in public life with regard to the full integration of women in development and to commit adequate resources to women and development programmes;

7. *Recommends* that Governments create or strengthen national machinery for the advancement of women, placing it at the highest level, and ensure its greater involvement in the political, economic and social planning processes;

8. *Further recommends* Governments, international donors and non-governmental organizations to develop gender-oriented research in all development areas, particularly by the involvement of national research institutes, as well as to promote specific measures in the field of training in gender analysis programmes for development decision makers and the relevant staff involved in the policy and programme areas, in addition to implementation processes;

9. *Calls* upon Governments, international financial and other relevant institutions and non-governmental organizations to promote measures to stimulate the economies of developing countries and the full integration of women in the development process and to provide financial services on the basis of equal opportunity for women and men, while avoiding adverse effects on

their well-being, particularly that of vulnerable groups;

10. *Calls* upon donor Governments and international financial institutions to provide adequate and timely support for the efforts of the developing countries, particularly the least developed countries, in reducing the negative effects of the external debt burden, structural adjustment policies and adverse terms of trade with a view to integrating women in mainstream development;

11. *Appeals* to Governments, donor countries, international agencies and appropriate financial institutions to make greater efforts to support the establishment of co-operative rural banks and other development-related institutions to assist women, particularly those engaged in small- and medium-scale productive activities;

12. *Requests* Member States to make provision for specific training programmes for women in rural and urban areas aimed at developing their technical and management skills and to give financial support, fellowships or both for training

women, particularly those from developing countries, in science, technology, agriculture and management;

13. *Calls* upon Governments, donor countries and the relevant international agencies to take further coordinated measures to facilitate the access of women, particularly rural and urban poor women to basic education, health and child-care facilities;

14. *Requests* the Secretary-General in reporting on the implementation of the present resolution in his biennial monitoring report on the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to include policy and programme recommendations on the basis of gender analysis;

15. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that the issues of women and development and of the integration of women in development programmes are an integral part of the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade.

Notes

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2/ C. Moser, "Gender planning in the third world: meeting practical and strategic gender needs", *World Development*, vol 17, No. 11 (1989).

3/ M. Buvinic, "Projects for women in the third world: explaining their misbehaviour", *World Development*, vol. 14, No. 5 (1986).

4/ A. Carloni, *Women in Development: AID's Experience, 1973-1985*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., United States Agency for International Development, 1987).

5/ G. Cornia, R. Jolly and F. Stewart, eds., *Adjustment with a Human Face* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987).

6/ B. Herz, "Bringing women into the economic mainstream", *Finance and Development*, vol. 26, No. 4 (1989).

7/ C. Bunch and R. Carillo, "Feminist perspectives on women in development", in Tinker, op.cit.

8/ I. Palmer, *Gender and Population in the Adjustment of African Economies: Planning for Change* (Geneva, International Labour Organisation, 1991).

9/ P. Antrobus, "Strategies for change: design of programmes/plans", paper presented at the Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Meeting on Structural Adjustment, Economic Change and Women, held at Barbados, 21-23 May 1990.

10/ N. Heyzer, "Asian women wage-earners: their situation and possibilities for donor intervention", *World Development*, vol. 17, No. 7 (1989).