



THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES
ST. AUGUSTINE, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, WEST INDIES
THE CENTRE FOR GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

In collaboration with



- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Caribbean Office, Jamaica/FES
- Caribbean Policy Development Centre, Bridgetown, Barbados/CPDC.
- Canadian International Development Agency Canada Caribbean Gender Equality Program, Barbados /CIDA
- United Nations Development Fund For Women, Caribbean Office, Barbados/UNIFEM
- Ministry Of Community Development, Culture and Gender Affairs, Gender Affairs Division, Government of Trinidad And Tobago

COURSE PACKAGE

**INTENSIVE ONE WEEK GENDER POLICY
 TRAINING COURSE**

Chancellor Hotel, St. Ann's,
 Port of Spain, Trinidad
 19-25th March, 2006



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Acknowledgements

The Centre for Gender and Development (CGDS), St Augustine Campus Unit, of the University of the West Indies, has engaged since its inception in 1993 in training and policy development courses geared towards capacity building in gender and development specific to this area. Over the last two years these initiatives have accelerated due to an increasing demand for training and the in house capacity of the CGDS to provide tertiary and advanced level training to those directly engaged in the business of gender mainstreaming. We acknowledge the Funders of this One Week Intensive Training Course in Gender Policy Training which has allowed the course to be developed around a Regional Initiative. These are the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine; Judith Wedderburn, Director, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Caribbean Office, Jamaica; Cecilia Babb, Deputy Programme Co-ordinator, Caribbean Policy Development Centre, Barbados; Jeanette Bell and Phyllis Roett, Canadian International Development Agency, Canada Caribbean Gender Equality Program Fund, Barbados; Roberta Clarke, Regional Programme Director, Caribbean Office and Sandra Edwards, United Nations Development Fund for Women, Caribbean Office, Barbados and Monica Williams, Director, Gender Affairs Division, Ministry of Community Development, Culture and Gender Affairs, Trinidad and Tobago.

The CGDS also extends thanks to Professor Kum Kum Bhavnani, University of Santa Barbara, California, for the screening of the film she has directed, *The Shape of Water*, and providing the international dimension to this regional course.

In particular, we appreciate the opportunity to engage with the SANSEC project of the Community of Penal / Debe and thank Dr. Allan Sammy, the Chairman of the Penal / Debe Regional Corporation for his agreement with this component of the course and the Community Facilitators Catherine Ali and Sabrina Mowlah Baksh.

A list of resource persons who will fully contribute to the success of this course are included in the contents along with the list of participants who have also kindly agreed to participate.

We extend our thanks for your support.

Patricia Mohammed
Professor, Gender and Cultural Studies
Acting Head, Centre for Gender and Development Studies
UWI, St. Augustine

Objectives and Format

Overall Objective

- To provide a follow-up and intensive course on gender and development policy and practice for persons already exposed to fundamental gender training and gender sensitive policy work.
- To create a documentary film in different formats which may be usefully applied in a variety of gender training and sensitization fora.

Specific Objectives

1. To provide an advanced understanding and analyze how gender issues play a critical role in institutional, national and regional development and its place in policy development;
2. To be able to understand and analyze the principles and processes, as well as the dynamics and dilemmas, of feminist and participatory methods of organizing at the institutional, national and regional levels;
3. To be able to apply this understanding and analytical tool skills learnt in workshop facilitation, planning and implementation of gender methodologies to institutional strengthening and capacity building initiatives for bureaucracies and other organizations,
4. To build on previous training in gender policy development, critique, and gender training funded by FES/Jamaica and CPDC/Barbados.
5. To provide insights and guidance for a review of the 'Manual on gender sensitive policy-making', originally produced by the CGDS in collaboration with FES and CPDC.

Format and Methodologies

- A combined format of lecture, instruction and participatory approaches are employed in the delivery of this course.
- A course package including a detailed outline and required readings per session along with materials for working group sessions which include a copy of the FES/CPDC/CGDS Manual and Interactive CD-rom on Gender Sensitive Policy Making,
- Participants will be exposed to a number of presentations from practitioners in specific areas in the public and development sectors. Resource persons include local, regional and international expertise.
- The course takes the participants and resource persons into an actual community setting in which gender policy initiatives are taking place. In this course the community of Penal / Debe will be visited.
- The format will allow for a number of intense small group working sessions and large group plenaries in which participants are expected to process their ongoing projects with the gender tools of analysis provided and present their revised understanding of the project and its implementation.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

COUNTRY	NAME & TITLE	ADDRESS
Antigua and Barbuda	Ms. Shelia Roseau, Executive Director	Directorate of Gender Affairs, Lower High Street, St. John's sroseua@hotmail.com
Bahamas	Ms. Melvelyn Symonette	Bureau of Women's Affairs Ministry of Social Services and Community Development P.O.Box N-3206, Nassau, womenbureau@bahamas.gov.bs MELVELYNSYMONETTE.BAHAMAS.GOV.BS
Barbados	Ms. Patricia Hackett- Codrington	Bureau of Gender Affairs, 2 nd Floor National Insurance Building, Fairchild Street, St. Michael genderbureau@caribsurf.com
Dominica	Ms. Rosie Browne, Director,	Women's Bureau, Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, Government Headquarters, Roseau wbint@cwdom.dm
Grenada	Merle Walker	Ministry of Social Development 1 st Floor, Ministerial Complex, Botanical Gardens, Tanteen, St. Georges mhousing@hotmail.com
Jamaica	Ms. Faith Webster, Director	Bureau of Women's Affairs, 4 Ellesmere Road, Kingston 10 faithw.jbwa@cwjamaica.com
St. Kitts/Nevis	Ms. Celia Stapleton-Christopher, Senior Field Officer	Women's Affairs, Ministry of Community, Social Development & Gender Affairs, Church Street, Basseterre mwaskn@caribsurf.com
St. Lucia	Ms. Charms Gaspard, Gender Relations Officer	Division of Gender Relations, Ministry of Home Affairs & Gender Relations, Walcott Building, Jeremie Street, Castries womendiv@candw.lc
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	Ms. Miriam Roache Director	Gender Affairs, Ministry of Education, Culture & Gender Affairs, Government Headquarters, Kingstown corwoman@caribsurf.com

COUNTRY	NAME & TITLE	ADDRESS
Suriname	Mina Mangre	Gender Affairs, Ministry of Social Affairs & Housing Onafhankelykheidsplein 7, Paramaribo mina@surimaribo.com
	Lucy Lewis	Anton de Kom University, Leysweg no 6 Paramaribo, l.lewis@uvs.edu
Trinidad and Tobago	Dr. Innette Cambridge Coordinator, Social Policy	Dept. of Behavioural Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences The University of the West Indies, St.
	Ms. Catherine Ali, Consultant	San Francique Sports Education and Cultural Council, Penal
	Ms. Sabrina Mowlah-Baksh,	San Francique Sports Education and Cultural Council, Penal
	Ms. Hermian Smart-Findlay, Senior Officer & Co-ordinator, National Gender Policy	Gender Affairs Division, Ministry of Community Development, Culture & Gender Affairs, #8 Queen's Park East, Port of Spain
	Ms. Monica Williams, Director	Gender Affairs Division, Ministry of Community Development, Culture & Gender Affairs, #8 Queen's Park East, Port of Spain
	Ms. Aileen Clarke, General Manager Health Research, Planning and Development	North West Regional Health Authority, #39 Dundonald Street, Port of Spain
	Ms. Dona De Costa-Martinez, Executive Director	Trinidad and Tobago Family Planning Association 79 Oxford Street, Port of Spain fpattrep@ttfpa.org
	Ms. Melika James, Volunteer	CARE, 25 Norfolk Street, Belmont

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LIST OF RESOURCE PERSONS

NAME	TITLE	ADDRESS
Ms. Cecilia Babb	Programme Co-ordinator	Caribbean Policy Development Centre, Barbados ock@sunbeach.net
Professor Barbara Bailey	Regional Co-ordinator	Regional Co-ordinating Unit, Centre for Gender and Development Studies, The University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica barbara.bailey@uwimona.edu.jm
Ms. Rosalie Barclay	Consultant	#10 Gonzales Street Siparia
Professor Kum Kum Bhavnani	Scholar, Writer, Producer and Director	University of California, Santa Barbara, USA. bhavnani@soc.ucsb.edu
Ms. Roberta Clarke	Regional Programme Director	UNIFEM Caribbean Office, United Nations Development Fund for Women , UN House, Marine Gardens, Hastings, Christ Church Roberta.clarke@unifem.org
Ms. Gabrielle Hosein	Assistant Lecturer	Centre for Gender and Development Studies, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine ghosein@cgds.uwi.tt
Dr. Roger Hosein	Lecturer	Dept. of Economics, Faculty of Social Sciences, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine rhosein@fss.uwi.tt
Professor Patricia Mohammed	Ag. Head,	Centre for Gender and Development Studies, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine pamohammed@cgds.uwi.tt
Dr. Halima-Sa'adia Kassim	Deputy Programme Manager	Caribbean Community Development, Gender Affairs, CARICOM Secretariat, Guyana hkassim@caricom.org

NAME	TITLE	ADDRESS
Ms. Deborah Mc Fee	Graduate Research Assistant	Centre for Gender and Development Studies, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine dmcfee@cgds.uwi.tt
Ms. Gaietry Pargass	Attorney-at-Law & Consultant	La Baja, Maracas Valley, St. Joseph
Dr. Daphne Phillips	Lecturer	Dept. of Behavioural Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine dphillips@fss.uwi.tt
Ms. Sheila Stuart	Social Affairs Officer	UNECLAC, #1 Chancery Lane, Port of Spain Sheila.Stuart@eclac.org
Ms. Gemma Tang Nain	Ag. Head	Centre for Gender and Development Studies, The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus, Barbados gtang-nain@uwichill.edu.bb
Judith Wedderburn	Director	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Caribbean Office, 11¼ Ruthven Road, Kingston, Jamaica fes@cwjamaica.com
Mr. Lester Efebo Wilkinson	Permanent Secretary	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Knowsley Building, #1 Queens Park West, Port of Spain
Marie Therese Bernard	Rapporteur	Centre for Gender and Development Studies, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine
Candice Dickson	Rapporteur	Centre for Gender and Development Studies, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

COURSE OUTLINE
INTENSIVE ONE WEEK GENDER POLICY TRAINING COURSE
 Chancellor Hotel, St. Ann's, Port of Spain, Trinidad

SESSION NUMBER	TIME/DATE	SESSION/RESOURCE PERSON	DETAILS
	Sunday 19 th March,	Arrival of all participants and resource persons	Participants may collect course packages from reception desk on arrival
	Monday 20 th March	MAKING CONNECTIONS AND IDENTIFYING GAPS	
	8.30- 9.00 am	Registration	
	9.00 – 10.00 am	Patricia Mohammed Ag. Head, CGDS(Chair) Judith Wedderburn, Director, /FES/Jamaica Monica Williams, Director, Gender Affairs Division, T&T Cecilia Babb, Programme Co-ordinator, CPDC/Barbados	Welcome to Participants/Resource Persons Housekeeping, Introductions/Expectations Film Production crew present
	10.00 – 10.15	COFFEE BREAK	
Session 1	10. 15 – 12.30	Gemma Tang Nain Acting Head, (CGDS/Cave Hill)	Historicizing and Re-centring Gender in the Development Discourse Film Production crew present
	12.30 – 1.30	LUNCH	
Session 2	1.30 - 3.30 pm	PLENARY PANEL Dr. Halima Kassim (Women's Desk Officer, CARICOM/Guyana) Roberta Clarke Director, UNIFEM/Barbados	The relationship between the CARICOM Desk and the Bureaux. Gender in the UN System, the value of Conventions and Agreements, Gender and Human Rights
		Participants chauffeured to Club ZEN	
	5.30 – 6.00 pm	Chair: Prof. Patricia Mohammed Principal UWI designate Minister of Community Development, Culture and Gender Affairs (to be confirmed), Prof. Barbara Bailey, Regional Coordinator, CGDS Prof. Kum Kum Bhavnani – Professor, University of Santa Barbara, California, Director	Welcome Remarks Introduction of film

Session 3	6.00 - 7.30 pm	Film Premiere/Brief question session	The Shape of Water 70 mins Followed by brief discussion
	7.30 - 9.00 pm	COCKTAIL RECEPTION	
	Tuesday 21 st March	ANALYTICAL AND CRITICAL SKILLS TRANSMISSION	
Session 4	8.30 - 10.15 am	Kum Kum Bhavnani Additional Panel Support: Gemma Tang Nain Roberta Clarke	Discussion on gender and development issues including those raised in film session
	10.15 - 10.30 am	COFFEE BREAK	
Session 5	10.30 - 11.30	Deborah Mc Fee (Graduate Res. Asst, CGDS) Dr. Roger Hosein/Economist/UWI – Discussant Judith Wedderburn Halima Kassim - Discussant	Understanding economic structures and the hand of government in securing gender equity Implications of CSME for gender (Caricom Rep as discussant)
	12-30-1.30 pm	LUNCH	
Session 6	1.30 - 3.00 pm	Judith Wedderburn Dr. Roger Hosein/Economist/UWI – Discussant	Use of Labour Force statistics and indicators in Gender and Development
	3.00-3.15 pm	COFFEE BREAK	
Session 7	3.15-4.30 pm	Gaietry Pargass, Attorney at Law	Gender, The Law and Policy
	Wednesday 22 nd March	ANALYTICAL AND CRITICAL SKILLS TRANSMISSION	
Session 8	8.30 - 10.15 am	Patricia Mohammed Cecilia Babb	Using the FES/CPDC Manual Introduction to Policy Formulation
	10.15- 10.30 am	COFFEE BREAK	
	10.30 - 12.30	Patricia Mohammed Cecilia Babb	Session continues Using the FES/CPDC Manual Introducing other Policy resources to inform process
	12.30 - 1.30	LUNCH	
Session 9	1.30 - 3.00	Mr. Lester Efebo Wilkinson – Permanent Secretary, Min of Foreign Affairs, T&T	The Policy Environment, national, regional, global relevant tools for buy in at each level

	3.00 – 3.15	COFFEE BREAK	
Session 10	3.15- 4.30 pm	Policy WORKING GROUPS Four working groups, each group assigned a Facilitator from Resource Person Team	Participants divide into thematic groups and work through key needs, process and framework
	Thursday 23 rd March	POLICY FORMULATION and IMPLEMENTATION	
	8.30 - 10.15 am	WORKING GROUPS continue	Participants will continue to work with Resource Facilitator
	10.15- 10.30	COFFEE BREAK	
Session 11	10.30 – 12.30	Rosalie Barclay, Consultant	Action Plan Formulation Participants can remain in working groups but this exercise is a joint one
	12.30 – 1.30	BROWN BAG Lunch	Transportation to Penal/Debe Community venue <i>Film Production crew present</i>
Session 12	2.30 – 5.00	Community Facilitators: Gabrielle Hosein Asst Lecturer/CGDS Catherine Ali/Mediation Specialist & Sabrina Mowlah Baksh Community Activist Debe/Penal Regional Corporation	Community interaction dealing with specific case study of Penal/Debe Regional Corporation <i>Time provided for Coffee Break in interaction with Community</i> Film Production crew present
	5.00	Transportation provided for return to Hotel	
	Friday 24 th March	GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN PRACTICE APPLIED PROBLEM SOLVING	
	9.00 – 10.30 Includes Coffee break	Group Working Sessions continue	Participants tighten presentations <i>Film Production crew present</i>
	10.30 – 1.30	Participants make presentations Discussants: Sheila Stuart (ECLAC Social Affairs Officer) Dr. Daphne Phillips/UWI	Each group allowed 20 mins for presentations <i>Film Production crew present</i>
	1.30 – 2.30	LUNCH	
		Free time	
	Saturday 25 th March, 2006	Participants depart hotel	

SESSION 1

Historicizing and Re-Centering Gender in the Development Discourse

Place your message here. For maximum impact, use two or three sentences.

Presenter:

**Gemma Tang Nain
(CGDS Cave Hill)**

Gemma Tang Nain
Centre for Gender and Development Studies
Cave Hill Campus

SESSION 1 - 10.30 to 12.30: Monday 20th March

Unit Title: **Historicizing and Re-centring Gender in the Development Discourse**

Overview:

This unit will trace the history and evolution of the concept of gender in order to locate and explain its current usage, and attempt to bring clarity for its continued usage in advancing national and regional development.

Objectives:

- To trace the history of gender in feminist theorizing
- To locate gender within the explanatory frameworks for women's subordination
- To explain the evolution from WID to GAD
- To provide an explanation for the current misuse and abuse of the concept in the Caribbean.

Outcomes:

At the end of the unit, participants should be able:

- To explain how, why and when gender emerged in the feminist discourse
- To understand the evolution from WID to GAD
- To understand the current misuse and abuse of the concept so that appropriate responses can be facilitated.

Recommended Readings:

Barriteau, Eudine The Political Economy of Gender in the Twentieth-Century Caribbean, New York, Palgrave, 2001. (Chapters 2, 3 and 4).

Barriteau, Eudine 'Theorizing the Shift from "Woman" to "Gender" in Caribbean Feminist Discourse', in Eudine Barriteau (ed.) Confronting Power, Theorizing Gender: Interdisciplinary Perspectives in the Caribbean, Jamaica, University of the West Indies Press, 2003.

Connelly M. Patricia, et al "Feminism and Development: Theoretical Perspectives" in Parpart, L. Jane, Connelly M. Patricia and Barriteau V. Eudine. (eds.) Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development, Canada, International Development Research Centre, 2000.

A. Survey of Theoretical Debates

Introduces the field of women/gender and development, surveys theoretical debates, evolutionary trends and alternative theoretical perspectives.

2. THE MAKING OF A FIELD: ADVOCATES, PRACTITIONERS AND SCHOLARS

IRENE TINKER

Women in development, like any applied field, not only crosses disciplinary boundaries but establishes goals and priorities consonant with the constraints of those systems within which its practitioners work. Scholars commenting on the field too often confuse this art of the possible with their own more abstract view of the world and so criticize development programmes from an idealistic, if not ideological, perspective rather than from [that of] the realism of the practitioner. This confusion is exacerbated in the case of women in development by the existence of a strong international women's movement which first raised the issue and then continued to monitor its incorporation into development programmes. These advocates have their own agenda: equity between women and men. How this ultimate goal translates into action in particular circumstances is the subject of global debate among the advocates themselves and between the advocates and both practitioners and scholars who share the goals but not the perspectives.

ADVOCATES

The impetus for integrating women into development programmes arose out of two very different conglomerations of women, the UN Commission on the Status of Women¹ and the US women's movement. In the early 1970s, neither the staff and members of the women's commission nor the activists involved in the growing number of new women's organizations in the United States were particularly interested in economic development; rather, they drew on their suffragist heritage in their concern for equality before the law and greater access of women to education. In addition, the US women were increasingly demanding

the right to equal employment, which they saw as basic to equal status in a society that measures achievement by income or profession. The objective of both groups of women was to influence governmental policies concerning women.

Women-in-development advocates emerged from these two arenas quite separately and, conditioned by the different environments in which they operated, brought differing interests and priorities to the field. However, it was the conflation of these two groups during the UN Decade for Women that produced the remarkable expansion of the field.

ORIGINS OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Development was the more recent issue within the UN system, which had begun to shift toward this emphasis as the number of newly independent countries became the majority of UN member nations during the 1960s. The First Development Decade 1961-70 declaration did not mention women specifically, but in 1962 the General Assembly instructed the women's commission to prepare a report on the role of women in the social and economic development plans of member governments. At that time most governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) consulted assumed that economic and social development would bring about any desired changes for women, according to Margaret Bruce, who for many years served as head of the secretariat for the women's commission.

In 1970 the General Assembly included in the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade a phrase—later widely copied—which stated the importance of encouraging 'full integration of women in the total development effort'. In 1974 the SID/WID group produced a bibliography, a mere five pages long, and in the process 'discovered' Ester Boserup's *Woman's Role in Economic Development*.² Her book was instantly embraced because Boserup's theory legitimized efforts to influence development policy with a combined argument for justice and efficiency. This utilization of scholarly materials to bolster policy arguments was characteristic of the WID effort during its first decade as women advocates sought to influence and work within the development community at both national and international levels.

In the fall of 1973 the Department of State held a briefing on foreign affairs, including the proposed International Women's Conference. During an unprecedented early morning hearing, State Department officials listened to women's organizations present their ideas about the issues of the conference. The testimony of SID/WID was so persuasive that two State Department staff members, Clara Beyer and Mildred Marcy, determined to promote an amendment to the US Foreign

Assistance Act of 1973, then on the floor of the Senate. This amendment required that the US Agency for International Development administer its programmes 'so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort'. This amendment became known as the Percy Amendment after Senator Charles Percy.

THREE WORLD CONFERENCES ON WOMEN

Once the concept of women in development was articulated in economic as opposed to equality terms, it was swiftly incorporated into documents of the General Assembly and the various UN specialized agencies even before the World Conference for the International Women's Year, held in Mexico City in July 1975. Unlike many other issues raised in Mexico and repeated at the two other world conferences that punctuated the UN Decade for Women 1976-85—the explosive Mid-Decade Conference in Copenhagen in 1980 and the colossal Nairobi Conference in 1985—women in development was a popular concept to governments as well as women.³

The three official United Nations conferences were extremely important symbolically since such international meetings legitimized women's concerns in the eyes of national leaders and required them to address and then vote on statements that clearly deplored the devaluation of women's productive and reproductive roles and recorded women's continued inequality and growing poverty in most countries of the world.

The necessary documentation for each conference required member governments to submit sex disaggregated data on a multitude of basic indicators, which forced national planners to confront—often for the first time—the implications of their own development policies as they were differentially affecting women. These data have also provided researchers with a surfeit of macro-information useful to test against independent surveys and studies on particular issues such as women's health, education and employment in agriculture, industry and the informal sector.

Perhaps the most far-reaching impact of the conferences was the mobilization of women which they engendered. Although the official conferences provided the impetus and incentive to investigate global concerns of women, participation in UN conferences is necessarily limited.

Thus it was not the official conferences that provided a forum for free-flowing debates on all matter of issues relating to women. Rather it was the parallel non-governmental meetings, open to anyone for a modest registration fee, that engaged women's hearts and minds and provided a venue for global interchange. Part fair, part revival meeting, part open university, these meetings were a market-place for ideas and handicrafts,

a showcase for songs and movies and debates, a gigantic international party where women from every country in the world could meet women with similar interests to form friendships, networks and organizations. Attendees went from 6000 in Mexico to 14,000 in Nairobi, in addition to the 3000 women and men accredited to each of the official conferences.

By 1985 women in development had become synonymous with the processes of change that were affecting women in the developing countries. Instead of being seen as a programmatic concept utilized by development agencies to include women in their activities, its meaning had been enlarged to encompass the much broader goals of the advocates.

MEANINGS OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

From this brief history, it becomes clear that there are many strands of women's rights bound up in the term *women in development*. The new concept of ensuring women a fair stake in *economic development* carried with it the earlier ideas of legal *equality*, *education*, *employment* and *empowerment*. During the UN Decade for Women, various of these goals predominated at different times; policies and programmes were not always clear as to the intended objectives when working with women.

Equality before the law, as the focus of much of the effort of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, resulted in the passage in 1951 by the General Assembly of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. In subsequent years the scope of such conventions increased greatly until, in 1979, the General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

Education was understood by women both in the UN Women's Commission and in the US women's movement to be the prerequisite for improvement in women's status. At the United Nations the commission has repeatedly urged governments to increase the access of girls and women to formal education.

Employment of women professionals in the United States and in development agencies is advocated both as a right in itself and as a more effective way of ensuring that development programmes both reach and involve women.

Empowerment is a relatively new term, but the relationship between organization and influence has long been understood. Many international women's organizations were formed during the suffragist period; after World War II they rapidly expanded their membership to the newly independent countries. As NGOs in consultative status to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, they worked closely with the Women's Commission and lobbied their own governments to support the International Women's Year. As development issues took on added

importance, some of these organizations began to work with grassroots women's groups, funnelling information and funds to them. In contrast, most of the women's organizations actively lobbying the US government were newly formed groups representing the new wave of the women's movement. Consciousness-raising was a key element in this feminist organizing approach; when a few of these organizations turned to development work, they drew on this model for training women to recognize and change cultural stereotypes that limited women's leadership roles. But outright efforts at changing attitudes could not be accomplished within the confines of most international development agencies, since they maintained that foreigners had no business tampering with culture. Thus there arose a distinction between global feminism and women in development.

Economic development was the original primary focus of WID. In both the United Nations and the US Congress, the motivation to integrate women into development programming arose from the gender bias that had characterized previous attempts at economic development and so had ignored or undercut women's economic activities. The growing number of women who headed households were particularly disadvantaged, a trend encapsulated in the phrase 'the feminization of poverty'. National planners may have seen women as an unused labour force, but the thrust of the WID argument was that women were overworked and underproductive in their economic activities. Before being available for alternative work, women needed to be relieved of much of the drudgery characterizing their daily struggle to supply basic necessities to their families.

The documentation and valuation of women's work remained the dominant concern throughout the Decade for Women not only for the advocates but for practitioners and scholars as well.

PRACTITIONERS

Practitioners is the term used to describe those women and men working inside development agencies (or on contract to them) who must, by definition, be constrained by the policies and bureaucratic behaviour of those organizations. Failure to distinguish such constraints from the ambitious policy goals of advocates has led to unrealistic expectations of WID programming and consequent disappointment. For practitioners, the central question was *how* to fulfil the mandate to 'integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries'. The two major approaches used by development agencies in their programming for women since the mid-1970s were *welfare* and *efficiency*. Each approach emphasized only one part of a woman's life: as mother or as worker. Current debates revolve around ways to support women in their dual roles.

PROGRAMMING FOR WOMEN'S WELFARE

Early development programming had ignored women as economic actors and dealt with women only in their reproductive role, and then only as mothers, not as women. Health programmes, although called Maternal Child Health (MCH), in reality were child focused; no consideration was given to the fact that a healthy mother is the most important indicator for having a healthy child. Population programmes discussed women as 'targets' of family planning and were surprised that many women did not choose to become 'acceptors' of contraceptives. As the economic value of children to subsistence families was recognized, many population proponents began to support programming to reduce women's drudgery and increase their income.

The welfare ethic provides an easy approach for development agencies; it garners support at home, as it continues to do with pictures of famine in Africa; it takes less effort to give something away, such as food, than to organize local groups to earn it; and it does not threaten the status quo.

To the WID advocate, such programmes simply reinforce the stereotypes of weak and dependent women and their children. In contrast, WID proponents support income activities to help poor women since

Table 2.1: Viewpoints of Women-in-Development Proponents: Issues and Responses

Issues	Advocates	Proponents	
		Practitioners	Scholars
Economic development	Adverse impact Integrate women	Efficiency	Count women's economic activities Class/gender
Equality	Legal rights	Income as liberating	Patriarchy major constraint
Empowerment	Form women's organizations	Women-only projects	Global feminism Distinct values
Education	Access to professional schools	Non-formal education	Scientific and technical Revise content for sex bias
Employment	Affirmative action Basis for status	Micro-enterprise	Sexual division of labour
Welfare	Seen as dependency creating	Participation in health, population and housing programmes	Dual roles Female sphere
Efficiency	Integration	Sectoral programmes	Not feminist

they consider economic activity as the key to improving women's status. They are not alone: many NGOs that solicit contributions on a welfare basis—because that is what moves the public—have nonetheless instituted multifaceted community development programmes often featuring income activities for women.

The major problem with the welfare approach is not these frankly charitable programmes but the tendency of the welfare attitude to 'misbehave' by permeating and eventually dominating programmes theoretically designed to generate income for poor women (Buvinic, 1986).⁴ Three programmatic characteristics of these poverty-alleviation programmes predict this outcome. The first characteristic is the setting up of women-only programmes through intermediary organizations whose primary expertise is running welfare projects for women. Second, assumptions are made by these organizations about group membership and cooperation; these tend to exclude the poorest women, who were meant to be the beneficiaries of these programmes. Finally, a major drawback of early poverty-oriented women-focused programmes was that the organizations chosen to implement them were themselves outside the mainstream of development programming.

EFFICIENCY AS THE BASIS FOR WID PROGRAMMING

The original concept of WID was based on the adverse impact of inappropriate economic development programmes that undercut women's economic activities by treating them only as mothers. The solution to this inequity was to design programmes so that women were integrated into them; the result would be more successful programming for the poor. Thus efficiency became the primary argument used by practitioners as they tried to convince the development community that development projects would be more likely to attain their goals if women were an integral part of both design and implementation.

SCHOLARS

Scholars of women in development are a much more diverse group than either the advocates or the practitioners. Constrained neither by the existing governmental systems nor by agency bureaucracies, they are free to utilize ideologies or images of the future to test and judge contemporary issues. All are grounded in feminism; those writing within the two major economic persuasions of liberal and Marxist economics have provided valuable critiques of these theories.

Feminist scholars are clearly grounded in the current wave of the women's movement that has as its unifying principle its attack on the inequities in a world run by men for men.

Two sets of basic issues have dominated the field, one revolving around the counting and valuing of women's work, the other around the efforts of adapting or changing development theories to accommodate feminist thought.

DOCUMENTING WOMEN'S WORK

Women in development advocates, echoing the US feminists' emphasis on economic independence for women as the key to freeing women from male dominance, had argued that development was having a negative impact on women's traditional economic activities. This position set off a search of the scholarly literature for documentation of women's work that could be utilized in the writing of policy papers.

As WID practitioners began to design projects for women, their agencies became not only important consumers of data about women but funders of research as well.

ADAPTING DEVELOPMENT THEORY

Scholarly critiques of the development community in general and of women in development in particular have come primarily from three sources: Marxist feminists, women in the developing countries, and scholars identifying with the female-sphere approach.

Women as a category has been challenged by Marxist feminists, who argue that biological sex is turned into gender relationships between men and women through cultural, social, economic and political forces that vary by class; following the logic of class conflict, women across classes have no common interests. Feminists have pointed out that women of all classes, and in all societies including socialist nations, are disadvantaged; for them, patriarchy is the source of subordination. Both Marxist and mainstream feminists would alter the structures of oppression toward equality, but the female-sphere theorists would celebrate difference.

Two different perspectives, both emanating from the female-sphere approach, have questioned the pursuit of equality of work as the basis for an egalitarian society. The first is based on the tradition of women's autonomy within the private world, leaving the public world to men. The second perspective questioning male values comes from scholars such as Elise Boulding who argue that as a result of centuries of autonomy, women have developed a female culture geared to nurturing and survival.

Influenced by these arguments and perturbed by evidence that development projects supplying more resources may free women from patriarchal control but not from poverty or child care, more and more feminists are searching for alternative visions.

Macroeconomic policies and women has become a critical topic of research. The debt crisis has made obvious the connection between

global trends and women's poverty even when exact causality is difficult to establish. DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) chronicles the systemic crises that threaten both environment and economic activity—and hence women—at the local level but which are caused by policies that encourage exploitation of land and natural resources, open global capital markets and militarism.

The three women's conferences for the Decade for Women introduced large numbers of women to the formal UN process. Even more, these conferences fostered the internationalization of the women's movement; out of Nairobi emerged a variety of global networks based on Third World women to complement and balance the earlier American and European organizing efforts. There is widespread agreement among them that only through connecting women's views of human priorities to national and global issues can women gain access to meaningful resources. This move to consider the impact of macropolicies on women at the microlevel requires that women's groups bring this perspective into national politics, where little support now exists.

CONCLUSION

This series of commentaries on critical issues of women in development is meant to illustrate two trends. First, there is a growing similarity of ideas being proposed by women coming from various perspectives. Women's roles are multifaceted, women's identities are multilinked. There is strength in gender diversity; there is also strength in women's shared culture and values.

The second trend is toward greater awareness of political power and of the need to assess political institutions through a gender-sensitive lens. If two decades ago the emphasis was on economics as a path for women to attain greater equity, today the emphasis is on politics: local, national and global.

The Fourth UN World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in September 1995, advanced this political agenda by demanding that women's rights be recognized as human rights. Challenging the separation of family/traditional/customary law and civil/public law that has privileged male control of households, women demanded the same punishment for crimes of battering or murder within the family as outside. Control over their own fertility and rights to land and housing also flow from the recognition of women as equal citizens under law. This declaration of women's rights was supported by thousands of women's organizations around the world and was articulated at the parallel NGO Forum by many of the 23,000 women attending. Once again, the international networking among participants themselves and

with the 4500 delegates to the official conference strengthened both scholarship and action as women move with greater equality into the twenty-first century.



THE WOMEN
&
GENDER
DEVELOPMENT
READER

EDITED BY
NALINI VISVANATHAN (CO-ORDINATOR)
LYNN DUGGAN • LAURIE NISONOFF
AND NAN WIEGERSMA

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CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS RELEVANT TO GENDER SENSITIVE POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION

The Concept of Development

Development is a process by which the members of society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and equitably distributed improvements in their quality of life. Development here is not seen as limited to any one model but a process shaped by the lives and aspirations of the local population.

It should be borne in mind that, as a process, development can take many paths and that the path(s) to development is often determined by past legacies, the vision of the society, the availability of resources, and the agreement of their use.

Sex and Gender

In spite of increasing usage there still exists confusion over the term 'gender'. In modern times, gender is often used as another word for 'sex', but sex and gender are not interchangeable terms. 'Sex' refers to the biological (and physiological) differences between women and men i.e. being male or female. 'Gender' refers to the social organization of sexual difference.

The Concept of Gender

The term 'gender' entered the development debate from the mid 80's. It acknowledges that women's problems in society are not primarily due to their biological differences from men, but rather to socially determined meanings associated with masculinity and femininity. Gender is used to refer to the social roles, responsibilities, behaviours, attitudes and identities as men and women which are the result of social, cultural and historical factors as opposed to our biological differences. We may be born male and female with certain biological characteristics, but we *learn how* to become men and women through the social expectations of the gender category into which we are placed from birth. Gender is discussed in terms of our 'masculinity' and the 'femininity'.

Although equal as human beings, the social, economic and political possibilities available have historically differed for each sex. Central to the understanding of *gender* is the recognition of an inequity in existing male-female relations that are characterized by the subordination of women and the devaluation of anything or anyone defined as feminine. At the same time, *traditional* notions of masculinity and manhood can be a problem for men themselves, as well as for women. *Gender* is primarily used to analyze social experiences and lend support to policy interventions by making the different experiences that men and women have in society instrumental in the formulation of developmental goals. The word gender as it is used in this document therefore refers not simply to men and women, but to the power relationship between them. For instance, men and women may not earn equally although they may be doing similar jobs.

Gender Analysis is the systematic attempt to apply this understanding of sexual differences to social, political, economic, cultural and environmental contexts. This can be done, for example, by examining the differential impact of any given variable such as access to land or education on men, women, boys or girls. Gender analysis can help us understand why many people feel that men are supposed to dominate, why women are deemed to be the subordinate sex, why masculinity is perceived to be aggressive and femininity passive, why unequal power relations exist between women and men. Gender analysis can suggest ways in which we may create change in gender relations. Gender analysis therefore, examines the reality of both women's and men's lives.

Gender Equity (or fairness) and social justice are the long-term goals of gender analysis. It strives for an equitable distribution of social, cultural and economic resources, an improved quality of life, transformations of gender hierarchies, the empowerment of women, shared participation by men and women in decision-making activities in both households and in public life, and a gender-sensitive, people-oriented approach to social and economic policy and infrastructure development.

Gender Equality means that women and men enjoy the same status. Gender equality means that women and men have equal opportunities for realizing their full human rights and potential to contribute to political, economic, social and cultural development, locally, nationally and internationally, and to benefit from the results. Sameness of treatment and opportunity does not necessarily ensure equality because women and men differ in biological and other ways. Gender equality must be accompanied by equity.

Gender Mainstreaming means integrating a gender equality and equity perspective into all the mainstream activities of an organization or institution at the policy, programme and project levels. Gender mainstreaming can have two approaches, one 'integrationist', which merely seeks to integrate women's concerns into the existing developmental activities without changing the agenda, or the other 'agenda setting' which seeks to transform the thrust of development policy by incorporating gender concerns - that is the perspective and challenges of differential female and male populations - and changing the mainstream by setting new agendas.

Gender Sensitivity refers to the awareness and understanding of the many and varied ways in which ideas of women's and men's place (gender ideologies and practices) contribute to inequitable gender relations, including unequal access to and control of resources.

Practical gender needs emanate from the actual conditions women experience due to the roles ascribed to them by society. Often, these needs are related to women's roles as mothers, homemakers and providers of basic needs. Projects can meet the practical gender needs of both men and women without necessarily changing their relative position in society.

Examples of actions that address practical gender needs:

- ◆ reducing women's workload, e.g., the convenient location of stand-pipes and hand-pumps, providing grinding mills, developing fuel-efficient stoves;
- ◆ improving health, e.g., primary health centres, clean water supply, child spacing/family planning advice;
- ◆ improving services, e.g., primary schools, housing infrastructure, transport facilities;
- ◆ increasing income, e.g., skills training, credit initiatives, access to markets.

Strategic gender needs are what is required to overcome the subordinate position of women to men in society and relate to women's empowerment. Such needs vary according to the economic, political, social and cultural context. Most governments now acknowledge the need to create opportunities which enable women to address their strategic needs.

Examples of actions that address strategic gender needs:

- ◆ improving education opportunities, e.g., adult literacy classes, female teachers provided as role models, gender-aware textbooks;
- ◆ improving access to productive assets, e.g., legal status on land ownership, rights to common property, bank accounts;
- ◆ enabling women to take part in decision-making, e.g., participation in elections; representation at the local, provincial and national levels; establishing and supporting women's groups;
- ◆ promoting equal opportunities for employment, e.g., equal pay for comparative jobs (even if there is a gender division of labour), increasing women's access to jobs traditionally done by men.

Gender-neutral policies are those that are seen as having no significant gender dimension. However, government policies seldom if ever have the same effect on women as they do on men, even if at first sight they may appear to exist in a context where gender is irrelevant. Thus policies which may appear to be 'genderneutral' are often in fact 'gender-blind', and are biased in favour of males because they presuppose that those involved in and affected by the policy are males, with male needs and interests. Example: a policy to extend credit to small enterprises which does not address constraints women face in obtaining such credit.

Gender-specific policies take into account gender differentials, and target women or men specifically, but leave the current distribution of resources and responsibilities intact. Example: a micro-credit scheme that targets women.

Gender-aware/redistributive/transformative policies seek to transform existing gender relations by changing the distribution of resources and responsibilities to make it more equitable. These policies are the most politically challenging, because they involve altering the existing balance of power between men and women, but they also go the furthest towards addressing not only practical gender needs but strategic gender interests as well (adapted from Kabeer, 1994).

SESSION 2

Plenary Panel:

- ♦ **The Relationship between the CARICOM Desk and the Bureaux**
- ♦ **Gender in the UN System, the Value of Conventions and Agreements, Gender and Human Rights**

Presenters:

**Halima Kassim
(CARICOM)**

**Roberta Clarke
(UNIFEM)**

SESSION 5

- ♦ **Understanding Economic Structures and the Hand of Government in Securing Gender Equity**
- ♦ **Implications of CSME for Gender**

PRESENTERS:

**Deborah Mc Fee
(CGDS)**

Judith Wedderburn (FES)

**Halima Kassim
(CARICOM)
Discussant**

Halima-Sa'adia Kassim
Deputy Programme Manager
Caribbean Community Development
Gender Affairs
CARICOM Secretariat
Guyana

SESSION 2 : 1.30 - 3.30 pm Monday 20th March, 2006

Unit Title: The relationship between the CARICOM Gender and Development Programme and the Bureaux

Overview:

This paper reflects on the relationship between the CARICOM Gender and Development sub-programme and the Bureaux. In that regard, it examines (a) the historical development of the programme within the CARICOM Secretariat that itself was influenced by the development of the Bureaux, (b) the relationship based upon the legal framework particularly with respect to the *Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas* and (c) the present structures in place to facilitate the functional and technical relationship.

Recommended Readings:

B. Bailey and G. Tang Nain, (ed) Gender Equality in the Caribbean: Reality or Illusion
Kingston: IRP, 2004.

CARICOM Plan of Action: A Framework for mainstreaming gender in key CARICOM Programmes (2002)

Report of the Gender and Development Roundtable (2001)

Reports of Coordinators/Directors of Women's/Gender Affairs Bureaux

The Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas Establishing the Caribbean Community, Including the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

SESSION 3

**Opening Ceremony
& Film Screening: 'The Shape of Water'**

**Club Zen
Keate & Frederick
Streets
Port of Spain**

Professor Kum-Kum Bhavnani
University of Santa Barbara,
California
USA

SESSION 3: 6.00 - 7.30 pm Monday 20th March, 2006

THE SHAPE OF WATER

Documentary Film - 70 mins

Directed by Kum Kum Bhavnani

Narrated by Susan Sarandon

Introductory Narration written by Edwidge Danticat and John Foran

Director's Statement

I have made this film because I wanted to offer fresh insights into the lives of Third World women. I have done this by revealing their complex and inspirational stories as they create a more just world. *THE SHAPE OF WATER* offers a new angle on globalization, human rights, and social justice because it reveals how these ideas affect people's everyday lives.

Four years ago I realised I had to make this film. I had conducted research, taught about the work done by women around the globe, written about women in scholarly articles yet I felt in my heart that their lives should be known by a wider audience. And it is important to me that their realities are understood as the realities of those who are actively creating a new world, not those who are victims. That is why I have spent the last few years struggling to make this documentary.

My documentary weaves together the stories of five very different women – Khady, Bilkusben, Oraiza, Vandana and Gila – who, through candor and humor, infuse their communities with a passion for change. The women are abandoning female genital mutilation (Senegal), tapping for rubber to protect the rainforest (Brazil), protecting the biodiversity of the planet (India) and opposing military occupations (Jerusalem).

THE SHAPE OF WATER was edited from 74 hours of original footage shot in Senegal, Brazil, India, and Jerusalem. The film (overall budget approximately \$120,000) was financially supported by seed monies from UCSB as well as grants from the Fund for Santa Barbara, the LEF Foundation, a private donors Gift Fund set up by individuals in Santa Barbara, and a \$50,000 grant from the Ford Foundation.

As part of my commitment to create opportunities for more dialogue amongst women living in the Third World, *THE SHAPE OF WATER* will be sent to organizations and foundations such as Development Alternatives for Women in a New Era (DAWN), the Global Fund for Women, the Ford Foundation, and the MacArthur Foundation. I am currently in the process of raising funds to send over 100 DVDs or VHS copies to a wide range of grassroots organization in the Third World, including the organizations addressed in the film.

SESSION 4

**Discussion on Gender and Development Issues
(Including those raised in Film Session)**

PRESENTERS:

**Kum Kum Bhavnani
(University of California—
Santa Barbara)**

**Support:
Gemma Tang Nain, (CGDS)**

Kum-Kum Bhavnani
Professor
University of Santa Barbara, California
United States

SESSION 4: 8.30 – 10.15 am Tuesday 21st March 2006

Unit Title: Gender and development issues including those raised in *The Shape of Water*

Unit Discussants:

Gemma Tang Nain – Acting Head, CGDS, Cave Hill
Roberta Clarke - Regional Programme Director, UNIFEM

Overview:

Drawing from the screening of *The Shape Of Water*, this workshop will consider how a Women, Culture, Development approach might affect current approaches in development.

Development has failed the Third World. This failure — exacerbated by the end of the Cold War and the rise of projects of globalization — has meant that poverty has become increasingly feminized, environmental degradation continues at an alarming pace, and conditions for peace and security remain elusive. While a number of arguments exist to explain this failure, it is widely accepted that a misplaced emphasis on modernization strategies for over two decades, a lack of attention to women's contributions and a disregard for culture have contributed to this failure.

It is for these reasons, amongst others, that I wish to discuss the implications of a Women, Culture, Development (WCD) for development policy. A WCD approach re-articulates development by centering women and culture in order to suggest alternatives for social change and social transformation in the Third World. The WCD approach argues that although economic, political, and social structures are crucial in shaping people's lives, it is simultaneously necessary to focus on the relationship between production and reproduction so that the lives of all people, including women and children, may be comprehended in a more full way. Thus, WCD argues that development cannot be successful unless it incorporates a grounded approach towards the cultures. WCD draws on culture not as static customs or traditions that are obstacles to development but as lived experiences which not only shape people's behaviours and relationships but which are also shaped by those very behaviours and relationships. In other words, WCD emphasises the need for development/Third World studies to attend to the agency/cultures of all people through the lens of gender. I suggest this could lead to more grounded policies of development which engage the interconnections of ethnicity/indigeneity, gender, nation, and class in the context of history and political economy.

Thus, a WCD approach offers the prospect of shifting the paradigms and policies of development by dis-privileging the top-down approach to development that often dominates prevailing practices.

It is these issues that I hope we can discuss in the workshop.

Deborah Mc Fee
Centre for Gender and Development Studies
UWI, St Augustine

SESSION 5 A - 10.30 – 11.30 Tuesday 21st March, 2006

Unit Title: Understanding economic structures and the hand of government in securing gender equity

Overview:

Persons working in Gender and Development are often asked what and why do you need gender divisions and units devoted to the gender equity and equality. This question can be daunting, particularly when posed within the context of regions like the Caribbean where equality based on sex is written into national constitutions. This and other factors combine to create a space where Gender Machineries are constantly called upon to justify their existence within the framework of Government.

Economics continues to be the central theme which gives life to our national and regional development path. In the development dialogue today, neo-classical economics is the dominant school of thought. The unhindered operation of neo-classical economics would not produce gender equity and equality. The theoretical underpinnings of neo-classical economics and the value neutral basis of these policies gives life to the critical need for the direct intervention of Governments in the work of ensuring gender equity and equality is effectively integrated into development.

Recommended Readings

Sparr, Pamela (ed) 1994,. "Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, pp 13-39

Arthur MacEwan, 1999, 'The Bases of a Democratic Alternative: Definitions and Context' in Neo-Liberalism or Democracy? Economic Strategy, Markets and Alternatives for the 21st Century, London and New York, Zed Books, pp. 145 – 159.

UNRISD, 1997, Working Towards a More Gender Equitable Macro- Economic Agenda, Report of the UNRISD/CPD Workshop, 26-28 November 1196 Geneva pp 1 – 23

Toye, John, 1994, "Structural Adjustment: Context, Assumptions, Origins and Diversity" in Structural Adjustment and Beyond in Sub-Saharan Africa: Research Policy Issues edited by Rolph van der Hoeven and Fred van der Kraij, The Hague Ministry of Foreign Affairs in association with London, James Currey and Portsmouth (N.H) Heinemann pp 18-35

Reading:

UNRISD, 1997, Working towards a more gender equitable macro-economic agenda, Report of the UNRISD/CPD workshop, 26-28 November 1996 Geneva, pp.1-23.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) is an autonomous agency engaging 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 programmes include: Business Responsibility for Sustainable Development; Crisis, Adjustment and Social Change; Culture and Development; Emerging Mass Tourism in the South; Gender, Poverty and Well-Being; Globalization and Citizenship; Grassroots Initiatives and Knowledge Networks for Land Reform in Developing Countries; New Information and Communication Technologies; Public Sector Reform and Crisis-Ridden States; Social Policy, Institutional Reform and Globalization; Technical Co-operation and Women's Lives: Integrating Gender into Development Policy; Volunteer Action and Local Democracy: A Partnership for a Better Urban Future; and the War-torn Societies Project. Recent research programmes have included: Environment, Sustainable Development and Social Change; Ethnic Conflict and Development; Participation and Changes in Property Relations in Communist and Post-Communist Societies; Political Violence and Social Movements; and Socio-Economic and Political Consequences of the International Trade in Illicit Drugs. UNRISD research projects focused on the 1995 World Summit for Social Development included: Economic Restructuring and Social Policy; Ethnic Diversity and Public Policies; Rethinking Social Development in the 1990s; and Social Integration at the Grassroots: The Urban Dimension.

A list of the Institute's free and priced publications can be obtained by contacting the Reference Centre at the address or e-mail below.

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
Palais des Nations
1211 Geneva 10
Switzerland

☎ (41 22) 798 84 00/798 58 50

Fax (41 22) 740 07 91

Telex 41.29.62 UNO CH

e-mail: info@unrisd.org

World Wide Web Site: <http://www.unrisd.org>

introduction 1

Since the late 1980s a growing body of scholarship by feminist economists has been demonstrating the complex ways in which gender relations mediate and impact on the objectives sought by macro economists through economic restructuring. Whether the aim is to increase foreign exchange earnings through agricultural reforms, or to facilitate the orientation of industrial production towards export markets, or indeed to reduce public expenditure outlays on health, education and infrastructure, according to feminist economists, the nature of conjugal contracts and householding arrangements — along with other social and power relations that constitute the social settings in which reform programmes are being applied — will have a decisive impact on policy outcomes. Yet, despite this shared conviction that gender relations mediate the achievement of macro-economic objectives, what has emerged is not a single approach to "gender and macro-economics" but a variety of perspectives that diverge at several fundamental junctures. Some of these contentious points are represented in this report.

Notwithstanding their different conceptual underpinnings, there is a degree of consensus among the various contributors to this debate on the need for public policy to play a more active supervisory role vis-à-vis the market if women and men are to be given equitable opportunities to seize the benefits from the reform process and to be able to withstand its inevitable risks and costs. This in turn means that the state itself has to become more accountable to its female citizens — a process requiring public action from a variety of civil society groups and a cohesive gender constituency.

intellectual antecedents 2

Gender insights into macro economics do indeed constitute a novel development in the history of feminist thought. The field that has become known as gender and development (GAD) was until recently predominantly concerned with the micro-economic foundations of development. Here analyses of an anthropological and sociological nature shed new light on the household as a locus of competing interests, needs, rights, obligations and resources, which involve household members in bargaining, negotiation, co-operation and conflict (Folbre, 1986; Sen, 1990). Feminist theoretical insights based on concrete micro-level research questioned many of the

assumptions of conventional micro-economics, both neo-classical and Marxist, which invoked a unitary model of the household.

Similarly, early gender critiques of development practice were confined to analyses of development projects — why they "misbehaved" and why they consistently failed to deliver resources to women. A point made repeatedly in the early WID (women in development) evaluations of development projects was the inability of agricultural innovation practices and extension services to meet their own objectives of increasing rural productivity and incomes, because the relevant policy-making institutions systematically overlooked women's roles in the production process (Staudt, 1978, Dey, 1981).

But the focus of feminist research did shift quite significantly in response to the globalization of stabilization and structural adjustment policies. The preoccupation with short-term efficiency goals that characterized the first decade of adjustment clearly revealed the extent to which progress in gender equity depended on a conducive macro policy environment. It thus galvanized feminist researchers to focus on the macro-economic arena. Similarly, for gender practitioners it signalled the need to extend their critical insights beyond discrete micro-level projects, to macro-economic policy agendas that were becoming the main target of gender activists worldwide. The outcome of this effort has been a rich and diverse literature, which includes concrete empirical research and theoretical analyses, both providing critical policy insights. It has also reinforced useful patterns of collaboration between feminist scholars and policy advocates.

The empirical literature on the "burdens of adjustment", which is relatively well known, documents the predominantly negative outcomes that macro-economic policies have unleashed at the micro level: cutting back on women's leisure time, intensifying their reproductive work, pushing them into segments of the labour market that pay at or below subsistence and offer little or no protection (Benería and Roldan, 1987; Moser, 1996). Less visible and more isolated are studies that document favourable policy outcomes for women: less time spent queuing for consumer goods, more choice within the labour market and a more diversified livelihood strategy.

The theoretical insights, heavily influenced by the writings of Diane Elson, Ingrid Palmer and Paul Collier, attempt to go beyond the analyses of the gendered effects of adjustment at the micro level to demonstrate the relevance

of gender as a set of relations that impact on the achievement of macro-economic objectives. As Ingrid Palmer puts it:

"... if it can be argued that gender issues impact on adjustment at every turn then it might be easier to persuade policy makers to review gender issues at the earliest stage of planning, before options on overall adjustment strategies are closed off and certainly before policy packages are detailed".
(Palmer, 1992: 70, emphasis in original)

These frameworks, which were critically reviewed in Naila Kabeer's opening remarks, provided a useful backdrop for the discussions at the workshop and were constantly drawn upon by other speakers. In order to provide greater clarity in this report, they are briefly outlined below (section 4). However, before we do so, a few words on contending macro-economic models are necessary.

macro-economic models: neo-classical, keynesian and other contenders

3

In the 1980s macro-economic policy became increasingly focused on cutting back aggregate public expenditure and the money supply in order to reduce deficits and curb inflation, in conjunction with a series of changes at the meso level to remove "distortions" and promote market efficiency. In the industrialized countries of the North the main thrust of macro-economic policy has been to reduce aggregate demand through credit restrictions, increased real interest rates and restraints on public expenditure, with negative repercussions for many developing regions (Ghai and Hewitt de Alcântara, 1991). In many countries of the South the reforms have been initiated under pressure from international creditors and in a context where "cross-conditionality" have significantly weakened national processes of decision-making to shape macro-economic policy. In practice these orthodox policy prescriptions have rarely produced the desired results; in some cases, such as in the countries of the Southern Cone of Latin America, they have caused long-term damage and an escalation of debt. But even where the specific mechanisms of conditionality have not directly impacted on policy design, the

logic of global markets has forced governments of many developing countries

According to this [neo-liberal] model, the goal of public policy should be to eliminate economic distortions, rigidities and deficits; roll back the state; beat back the power of "big union battalions"; and allow the market to determine the dynamics of economic activity.

Yusuf Bangura, UNRISD, Geneva, Switzerland

to initiate broadly similar macro-economic reforms, even though such "heterodox" policy reforms have been more sensitive to local conditions and generally more successful in meeting their aims (UNRISD, 1995).

Absent from this macro-economic policy agenda and the micro-economic model of utility maximization upon which it is based are any direct references to human well-being and social equity — whether of gender, class or race. The model assumes that once market distortions have been removed, supply and demand will be brought into balance (since the economy tends towards general equilibrium), and Pareto optimality¹ will be restored. However, even when equilibrium is restored this does not necessarily mean that the basic needs of the population are met; nor does it mean that a desired degree of social equity is achieved. Pareto optimality is consistent with a very unequal income distribution as well as a very equal distribution of income; it may coincide with poor social indicators as well as an outstanding human development record (Elson, 1993).

Given this indifference to social issues, a pertinent question, raised at the workshop by Nasreen Khundker, was whether a concern for gender equity could nevertheless be introduced into the dominant macro-economic paradigm using neo-classical tools of analysis. Section 4 will attempt to answer this question, drawing on the writings of feminist economists and the discussions at the workshop. As a background to that discussion, this section will briefly look at some of the developments within neo-classical thinking that seem to provide openings for introducing both social issues and gender concerns. A related question, raised by Simeen Mahmud, was whether there were alternative macro-economic frameworks that directly addressed human development and social equity. Are these alternative frameworks, in fact, more gender-friendly? And, finally, can these socially sensitive frameworks replace the dominant neo-classical paradigm? These questions will be briefly explored here.

1. Pareto optimality is the situation where no one can be made better off without somebody else being made worse off.

Along with other non-orthodox economists, some feminist economists have been very wary of the "fetishism" of mathematical formalism that characterizes mainstream economics (Ferber and Nelson, 1993). They question the presumed "rigour" of neo-classical economics, which is very often associated with its reliance on abstract models, and stress the need for a variety of approaches to producing knowledge. Neo-classical economists claim simplicity and hence prediction, parsimony and elegance for their approach. Yet, because of their insistence on a relatively simple underlying model of human behaviour, the more rigidly deductive elements of their models tend to discard the complex processes of economic and social change and to homogenize the highly diverse social arrangements, cultural constructions and institutional set-ups that characterize human society. The inability of neo-classical economics to capture social, institutional and political complexities very often leads policy advisers to work with "idealized" visions of society and to come up with standard policy packages that inevitably produce poor results (UNRISD, 1995).

However, it was clear from the discussions at the workshop that some of the shortcomings of the neo-liberal model, which have become apparent during the process of economic reform, are obliging macro-economic thinking to evolve beyond the "hands-off" stylized market liberalization strategy. Some of these developments provide entry points for raising social development concerns and gender issues. One significant area is research on "human capital" development.

I wouldn't take it for granted that neo-classical economics has been particularly successful in explaining the world ... economists make predictions but very often they don't come true ... Unfortunately, because the rest of us do not necessarily believe in abstract quantitative models, we don't come up with predictions; we seek to explain the world.

Naila Kabeer, IDS, Sussex, United Kingdom

Recent estimates suggest that natural and physical capital can account for less than half of the observed rate of growth, while more than half of growth arises from human sources (UNDP, 1996). It is therefore being argued that investment in human capital — expansion of labour power, expenditures on health and nutrition, investments in education, training and research — is the single most effective route to growth (Griffin, 1997). This finding has significant implications for macro-economic theory and policy. The distinction between investment and consumption, for example, loses much of its significance because many items classified as "consumption", such as current outlays on health and education, should be understood as a form of human capital expenditure. Inequitable patterns of growth marked by high rates of unemployment, which result in a process of de-skilling (depreciation of human capital), also jeopardize a country's prospects for continued growth.

In recent years ideas like these have been gradually percolating into mainstream policy-making organizations. Under pressure from numerous quarters, towards the late 1980s the World Bank was beginning to acknowledge that early adjustment packages had given insufficient attention to social dimensions. At about the same time that interest grew in exploring the impacts of adjustment on the poor, calculations made of the economic benefits attributable to a healthy and well-trained workforce, such as those cited above, helped to generate concern that "human capital" not be allowed to "depreciate" during the adjustment period (Vivian, 1995), thereby justifying long-run public investments in health and education. As the following section will make clear, the emphasis on human capital is one of the main entry points that gender advocates have used to put forward their demands for gender-sensitive social expenditures — commonly referred to under the euphemism "investing in women".

Another related development in the field of economics has been the effort under way to correct the weak institutional foundations of the neo-classical

Neo-classical economics is changing in some very important ways, and what we have today is a far cry from what was being taught in economic textbooks of the 1970s ... institutional economics attempts to go beyond the under-socialized atomistic model of neo-classical economics by introducing notions like "social norms", "networks" and "trust" ... while these may seem quite simplistic concepts, they nevertheless indicate a sea-change in neo-classical thinking.

Naila Kabeer, IDS, Sussex, United Kingdom

paradigm through work that looks at how institutions develop to solve efficiency problems arising from imperfect information and high transaction costs (North, 1990). Institutional economists question the validity of some of the fundamental assumptions of mainstream economics — that information is perfectly available to economic agents, that transactions are costless, and that norms and culture do not matter. The main

thrust of their argument is that social institutions and arrangements that were previously thought to be irrelevant to economic performance are, in fact, the efficient solution to certain economic problems, such as imperfect information, uncertainty, malfeasance and mistrust.

By bringing into focus aspects of the economic and social structure that have conventionally been treated as "given" (i.e. exogenous), the institutional perspective provides the possibility for taking into account social relations and their impact on market forces — issues that have not hitherto been of concern to economists. As we will see below, the work of Paul Collier, which constitutes one of the main approaches to integrating gender concerns within macro-economic thinking, uses elements of institutional economics such as "role copying", "information costs" and incentive problems ("principal-agent") to argue that gender relations impact on the responsiveness of agricultural production to market incentives, acting as a constraint on adjustment, effectively reducing agricultural supply response. At a more general level, it seems that the problems of market reform — "the micro-level details of imperfectly competitive markets" (Granovetter, 1985:59) — have focused policy attention on institutional constraints, alerting macro economists of the need to be informed by an awareness of what goes on at the meso and micro levels.

The neo-institutional perspective has, however, been criticized for its functionalism, for making the *a priori* assumption that the institutions that survive are necessarily the ones that provide the most efficient economic arrangements. These assumptions, critics have argued, ignore the fact that dysfunctional, economically inefficient and socially undesirable institutions may persist if individuals are motivated by power and personal aggrandizement rather than efficiency (Granovetter, 1985; Bardhan, 1989).² Some of the carry-over assumptions from the neo-classical analytical model — in particular its choice-theoretic framework — which have disallowed institutional economists from taking into account ideological and power aspects in explaining economic behaviour, have also hindered a more satisfactory analysis of the interaction and tensions between social institutions, gender relations and economic performance (Evans, 1993). This point will become clearer in the following section, where some of the shortcomings of Collier's model are discussed.

... with the macro economists it was very hard to even start a discussion about gender because they are all trained in neo-classical economics ... but we also had some advantages and one was that at that time [late 1980s] we started having a discussion about the macro-meso-micro levels, so that gave us the chance to bring in gender issues ...

Marjan Kroon, DGIS,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands

2. The persistence of inefficient institutions can also be explained in neo-classical terms by resorting to the notion of "path dependence" (Bardhan, 1989:9) whereby lumpy costs and increasing returns "lock in" certain sub-optimal technologies or institutions.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned innovations within neo-classical economics, which have opened the way for analysing the impact of social issues on market behaviour, it is important to recognize that the macro-economic agenda has not always been silent about human well-being. In Keynesian macro economics, which underpinned policy debates for much of the post-war era, the concern for human well-being was a central feature — expressed in terms of full employment. The argument in essence was that money constrained human development principally by being kept in short supply so that there was not enough effective demand to generate full employment, and the shortage was made worse by governments giving priority to balanced budgets and "sound finance". The solution was to create more money in the form of an international currency, so that governments could deal with balance-of-payments problems through expansionary rather than deflationary policies, investing in the infrastructure and industries required to generate full employment (Elson, 1994).

It could, of course, be argued that Keynesian macro economics largely overlooked gender issues. It defined employment in terms of paid, full-time, long-term jobs for male breadwinners, and effectively excluded the large numbers of women who were over-represented in the "informal sector". It also ignored the unpaid labour of women in caring and reproduction tasks and the contribution of these to aggregate levels of economic activity and human development. Moreover, the corporatist arrangements that emerged under Keynesian macro economics for the most part excluded women's voices since trade unions very often failed to represent the specific interests of women workers. Yet in spite of these weaknesses, two important contributions of Keynesian macro-economics stand out.

First, as far as gender is concerned, there is evidence that policy agendas informed by Keynesian thinking, though not explicitly concerned with gender issues, may nevertheless go a long way in meeting gender equity. Cross-country comparisons show that, in countries where labour markets have been more regulated with more centralized wage bargaining systems, gender gaps in wages have been smaller (Cagatay, 1996; Standing, 1992).

We [in Australia] have had centralized wage fixing, and once the principle of equal pay for work of equal value was adopted it meant that we could narrow the earnings gap between full-time men and women workers to a point not too far behind Sweden.

Marian Sawer, ANU, Canberra, Australia

Moreover, comparative analyses of the Scandinavian countries and the United States suggest that in the former set of countries, where labour unions have been strong and the macro-economic discourse for bargaining has been sensitive to equity issues, women have registered more significant gains across a wide range of social and economic indicators, even though the women's movement has not been as strong as in the United States (Bangura, 1997).³ Similarly, while the women's movement in socialist countries (such as Viet Nam) has not been as strong as those in many pluralist democracies of South Asia, the commitment to social development and equity, which characterized socialist policies, has nevertheless facilitated significant social gains for women in the former set of countries.⁴

The second outstanding feature of Keynesianism was the idea of an international financial system and national macro-economic policies explicitly geared to promoting social equity and human well-being. In contrast, the absence of policy attention to social issues, many would argue, has been the Achilles heel of the neo-liberal framework. With mounting dissatisfaction and concern about social inequalities between and within countries, "the pendulum is beginning to swing away from the Washington Consensus, although not necessarily directly back to a new Keynesian Consensus" (Singer, 1997:295).

One country may have a high level of activism, a high degree of scholarship and conceptualization, but women may still be burned to death because they don't bring home a dowry. Another country may not even have a theoretical paper on what feminism and gender are, but there women are not burned to death or subjected to violence. I would regard the second country as having made a greater advance in the conditions of women.

Rehman Sobhan, CPD,
Dhaka, Bangladesh

One emerging candidate that seeks to replace the neo-liberal framework is the human development paradigm, which situates human well-being and "capabilities" at the centre stage of development, as a means of displacing the emphasis on commodities and utilities in mainstream economic thinking and policy. Human development is defined broadly to include the formation of a wide range of "capabilities" — such as improved health, education and skills — and the use people make of their acquired capabilities for leisure, productive purposes or being active in cultural and political affairs (UNDP,

3. The comparison looked at the GDI and the GEM. The Gender-related Development Index (GDI) measures achievement in the same basic capabilities as the Human Development Index (longevity, education, GNP), but takes note of inequality in achievement between women and men. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) concentrates on women's participation in economic, political and professional life (UNDP, 1996).

4. While state socialism and welfare capitalism (informed by Keynesian macro economics) are distinct models, they nevertheless share a number of significant features, among them employment and income security.

1990:10). Capabilities are far more extensive than "human capital"; they go beyond the usual list of well-being indicators that are often included under "human capital" (e.g. education, nutrition, health) to include aspects of human agency — such as autonomy, civil and political liberty, self-respect and the ability to participate in decisions that affect one's life (Sen, 1985). Capabilities have intrinsic value, even though their instrumental role in promoting economic growth and development may be recognized (Sen, 1987). At the macro level, the human development paradigm sees growth merely as a means to the end of human development. In other words, "growth is to be valued only insofar as it contributes to human development and not in its own right" (Griffin, 1997:4). Moreover, the human development paradigm casts a shadow of doubt over the "great trade-off" in economic thought between efficiency and equity (or growth and equality) by highlighting the long-term costs of social inequality and discrimination, and the significant economic and social pay-offs to widely dispersed social investments (Griffin, 1997).

The human development paradigm, which has been popularized by the annual **Human Development Report** of UNDP, affirms that development should be equitable, gender-balanced, participatory and sustainable, and that it should also respect human diversity. These five values constitute the main axes for the reform of the current world system. The human development paradigm is thus the only paradigm that explicitly identifies gender equity as one of the main conceptual pillars for transforming the way the current world system operates.

It is important for us to link what we are doing to human development; the high levels of social disintegration taking place in all our countries should be a convincing reason for looking at models that combine growth with equity.

Beverley Anderson-Manley, Kingston, Jamaica

Yet, despite its persuasive critique of dominant growth-oriented development and its holistic and multi-disciplinary treatment of development issues, the human development paradigm may be criticized for failing to provide an alternative theory of development with a rigorous analytical framework that can explain the dynamics of world society (Bangura, 1997). The argument that, in the long-run, the interests of different social groups converge — both within and between North and South — takes the idea of synergy beyond the expression of interactions and interdependencies, effectively precluding any consideration of politics, which is, by definition, about short-term

conflicts of interest. The human development paradigm has thus been criticized for being "largely politics-blind" (Bangura, 1997:18).

However, while there may be conceptual blind-spots in some of the alternative paradigms, these are not serious enough to undermine the soundness of some of the proposals for policy reform that have been made by their proponents, such as the 20:20 compact (20 per cent of donors' aid and 20 per cent of developing countries' budgets for basic human development goals); the "Tobin tax" on international foreign exchange transactions (to reduce speculative opportunities and "put sand in the wheels of international financial markets"); and various suggestions for global institutional reform. After all, the neo-liberal revolution was not won by the intrinsic truth of neo-classical theory; rather the decisive factors at that juncture appear to have been the pressures for globalization, mounting debt, and the coming to power of conservative/neo-liberal administrations in Britain and the United States (Bangura, 1997). The dominant neo-liberal paradigm continues to enjoy the support of powerful states, transnational corporations and international financial institutions — powerful actors whose decisions structure global markets in ways that seriously restrict policy options for less powerful actors. In these circumstances support for the implementation of many of the proposals for national and global reform has not been strong enough to transform the way the world system operates.

... there are certainly the beginnings of an alternative economic paradigm but there is very little institutional space for it ... it is not given the same serious treatment in the media and certainly not given the same credibility in the prime minister's private office or the treasurer's.

Marian Sawyer, ANU,
Canberra, Australia

feminist insights into 4 macro economics

Feminist writings on macro economics suggest that it is possible to integrate a gender perspective into most macro-economic models.⁵ Some models, however, may be more conducive than others to the incorporation of social concerns and gender issues. Within neo-classical economics the work of Ingrid Palmer and Paul Collier deserves special mention since they provide innovative

5. The World Development issue on Gender, Adjustment and Macro-Economics (Vol. 23, No. 11, November 1995) provides illustrations of how gender issues can be integrated into both neo-classical and Keynesian macro-economic models.

ways of integrating gender within macro-economic frameworks, drawing on elements of institutional economics (Palmer, 1991; Collier, 1989) and new growth theory (Palmer, 1995). This section highlights three distinct ways of introducing gender into macro-economic frameworks. It should be noted, however, that most writers use a combination of approaches, rather than rigidly confining themselves to a single approach. This is also true of the country level research programmes discussed in sections 5 and 6 of this report.

First, "the gender disaggregation method" has been used by Paul Collier to model the reallocation of labour during structural adjustment.⁶ What distinguishes this genre of writing from some of the other commentaries on gender and adjustment is that, rather than focusing on how structural adjustment policies have affected the welfare of women and children, their aim is to show how gender biases and rigidities affect adjustment policies and can ultimately frustrate them. Ingrid Palmer, for example, accepts the concerns of policy makers about price distortions and their negative impact on Pareto efficiency, but then goes on to criticize the existing adjustment policies for not going far enough to remove "gender-based market distortions", which are also causing allocative inefficiency.

Adjustment, neo-classical economists would agree, is essentially about inducing the inter-sectoral flow of resources (especially labour and credit) from non-tradables to tradables in order to alter what are seen as original misallocations of resources between sectors. If, however, resources are not mobile between sectors, raising prices of tradables is not likely to bring about the desired flow. Collier's model combines the disaggregation of economic agents by gender with a sectoral disaggregation of activities (tradables and non-tradables, marketed and non-marketed output). It is argued that gender is significant in disaggregating economic agents if men and women are initially allocated to different sectors and have different capacities to move between sectors because they face different constraints. The thrust of Collier's argument is to show that resources, especially female labour, may be allocated between sectors in a skewed and inefficient manner due to various constraints arising from gender roles and inequitable gender relations. Moreover, the same constraints may reduce the mobility of resources between sectors, and leave them stuck in the production of non-tradables, thereby reducing the desired

6. Many of the points raised here may be found in the writings of both Palmer (1991) and Collier (1989). For a thorough discussion of Collier's model see Lockwood (1992) and Elson (1995).

supply response. An important part of the explanation offered for why gender identities produce low mobility and bias in labour allocation lies with information costs and role copying — notions drawn from institutional economics.

Collier locates four distinct processes for understanding why women face differential constraints upon economic activity — processes based on underlying "social conventions". The first is discrimination outside the household — in labour markets and in credit markets. The second is that role models (in production) are gender-specific — so that girls copy women while boys copy men. The third is that within the household there are asymmetric rights and obligations between husband and wife, such that women have little incentive to increase their labour input — the "principal-agent" problem. The final element is the "burden of reproduction" — with its attendant demands on women's health and time.

The policy implication of Collier's model is that public policy should target women with measures that reduce barriers to their incorporation into the tradable sector (e.g. through extension service, credit, marketing channels). There is no mention, however, of the food security risks (at the household and national levels) involved in relying on export crop production, nor is there any recognition of the long-term price risks if agricultural export strategies are pursued in many countries simultaneously — two of the fundamental criticisms that have been levelled at structural adjustment policies.

While this model provides a number of useful conceptual tools for integrating gender issues within macro-economic policy — many of which have been used by the Ugandan research team (see section 6) — it may be criticized on a number of fronts, as recognized by participants at the workshop. One of the most problematic features of the model is its emphasis on "role copying" and information costs as the explanation for gender segmentation in the labour market. By explaining segmentation as a voluntaristic process determined by individual preferences, it provides a misleading picture of the social mechanisms through which gender-differentiated roles (and segments of the labour market) are created and maintained. There is no mention of the ways in which the more powerful agents construct and maintain the boundaries between male and female sectors — sometimes using brute force. As a result, the responsibility for gender inequality is essentially placed on women themselves who adopt less remunerative activities. The choice-

theoretic approach underpinning this model thus "begs all the important questions about how 'choosing subjects' are constituted and choice sets constrained. Herein lies its particular male bias" (Elson, n.d.:7).

Also problematic is the model's representation of conjugal conflict over women's labour as an instance of the "principal-agent" problem. The model suggests that asymmetric rights and obligations within the household result in a weak incentive for women in male-headed households to spend more time and effort in the production of cash crops. By implication, the incentive problem may be resolved if women are not autonomous enough to refuse their husbands' labour demands — not a desirable state of affairs if the concern for gender equity is taken seriously.⁷ Moreover, where husbands are powerful enough to bring about such a transfer of labour this may not necessarily be a cause for celebration since it may jeopardize other important objectives such as household food security and well-being.

A more fundamental problem with the model, as Naila Kabeer argued at the workshop, is that it presents "an iceberg view of the economy": what is visible is actually only a very small part of what goes on in the economy, i.e. the goods and services that enter the market. What remains largely invisible in this model is the entire array of activities that keep this first set of activities going: activities for one's own consumption and one's own use and, above

all, the "care economy" (the activities that look after human resources and thereby reproduce the labour force).

The only way that these activities figure in the model is as "burdens of reproduction", i.e. a key constraint preventing women from conforming to a well-behaved supply function. However, as feminist economists have demonstrated, gender bias in macro economics lies precisely in the way macro-economic models overlook and suppress any recognition of the care

It is extraordinary how things that might matter in everyday life appear always as a cost in these models. From women's point of view — and men who are fathers — the idea of childbearing and rearing as a burden is not one that will hold much water. I think that from their perspective it is macro-economic policy that is a burden, and the people who make these policies in a way that impedes their ability to carry out activities that they value very highly.

Naila Kabeer, IDS, Sussex, United Kingdom

economy and the intrinsic value that women (and men) attach to childbearing and rearing.

7. As Granovetter (1985) observes, institutional economists tend to appeal to authority relations in order to tame incentive problems.

By raising fundamental questions about the objectives of macro-economic policy, feminist economists have opened the way for the formulation of an alternative macro-economic agenda that gives priority to the care/unpaid economy and to human well-being — a point that is altogether missing in Collier's model.

The second body of literature to consider is a paradigm that has recently emerged in economics, commonly referred to as "feminist economics" (Cagatay, Elson and Grown, 1995). Conventional macro economics is all about monetary aggregates — the output of human effort that money can mobilize and is counted in the gross national product, in savings and investments, in exports and imports, and in public expenditure and public revenue. Absent from this picture, as Diane Elson and other feminist economists have argued, is the whole area of production referred to as the reproductive economy — the unpaid production of human resources that underpins the paid economy and is, in turn, dependent on it. Thus the second strategy for introducing gender into macro-economic policy is to make visible the unpaid reproductive work that is predominantly assigned to women, and to highlight the close interdependence between the marketed output that macro analysis does take into account and the non-monetized services that are critical for human resource production but that nevertheless remain outside the purview of macro analysis. Unlike Collier's model, which introduces gender by disaggregating activities, for feminist economists gender analysis highlights the interconnections between sectors — in particular those between the paid economy and the reproductive economy. These have been eloquently described by Gita Sen:

"A gender perspective means recognizing that women stand at the crossroads between production and reproduction, between economic activity and the care of human beings, and therefore between economic growth and human development. They are workers in both spheres — those most responsible and therefore with most at stake, those who suffer the most when the two spheres meet at cross purposes, and those most sensitive to the need to better integration between the two." (cited in Elson, 1995:1863)

This alternative feminist strategy thus entails a critique and an extension of the gender-disaggregation model, thereby reshaping our understanding of the

conditions necessary for the functioning of the paid economy — the traditional domain of macro-economic analysis.

The suggestion that macro economics is all about monetary aggregates I think misses the point of what we are saying has to take place as a result of gender analysis and gender integration ... We are saying that we have to shift the boundaries of what macro economics is about and change its objectives ... monetary aggregates have to become the instrument, the means, for improving society and well-being ... the ultimate focus of economics has to be on human and social well-being.

Rosina Wiltshire, UNDP, New York, USA

It is this understanding of macro economics that underpins current efforts by women's machineries in both North and South to better incorporate unpaid work into national income accounts. As was illustrated in the presentations by Zeynep Karman and Marian Sawyer on the efforts by the Canadian and Australian women's

machineries to better measure and include women's unpaid work within national accounts — through so-called "satellite accounts" — it is now widely appreciated that the failure to take account of reproductive labour renders much of women's work invisible.⁸ Having identified the critical importance of reproductive work and quantified it, the challenge now is to move beyond measurement issues and to ensure that there are appropriate policy responses to the phenomenon of unpaid work. In this context a number of strategic policy implications may be identified.

As far as intra-household relations are concerned, the recognition of women's reproductive work increases awareness of the "double load" and highlights the need to restructure intra-household relations and renegotiate domestic workloads. This is an area where feminist groups can play a potentially useful role — in helping women see their subordinate status and confront and transform the aspects of family life that oppress them. Public policy can also direct attention to the need for men and women to share domestic work and reproductive responsibilities (as in Cuba). As for employment policies, the recognition of women's reproductive work alerts employers to the impact of family responsibilities on employees and the need for those to be accommodated in the design of paid work. Similarly, it strengthens the

8. The attempt to make women's work more visible — both theoretically and empirically — dates back to the 1970s, even though its implications for macro-economic policy were not always explicitly recognized or theorized.

arguments for parental and family leave as well as workplace flexibility to enable men to take up a greater share of family responsibilities. And, finally, it increases the visibility of the contribution that unpaid work makes to the economy and hence strengthens the case for increased public expenditure on infrastructure to support it. The last point is one that comes through very clearly from Ingrid Palmer's (1995) gender-sensitive reading of "new growth theory". Rooted within a neo-classical framework, Palmer (like Collier) highlights the important role that adjustments in public finance can play in raising the productivity of women's non-marketed work (which is used "lavishly and thus inefficiently"), thereby releasing their labour for incorporation into the market economy and correcting a massive distortion in the labour market (Palmer, 1991:164).

The prospect of long-term growth in the transitional economies of Asia may be seriously hampered if public investment in infrastructure and labour saving technology does not reduce the inefficient application of unpaid female labour to social reproduction.

Patricia Alexander, ADB, Manila, the Philippines

While this is not the place to discuss the nuanced differences between the approaches advocated by Ingrid Palmer and Diane Elson, a brief clarification is useful. Despite the significant similarities in their arguments, the fundamental difference between the two lies in their diverging interpretations of markets. According to Palmer markets can provide "a proper costing of resources" and can be relied upon to provide a "proper valuation" of women's labour.⁹ For Elson, markets are inevitably social institutions contingent on social norms and power relations; hence markets can only provide a "proper costing" if they are socially regulated through "public action".¹⁰ Related to this first point, Palmer suggests that the non-biological elements of women's reproductive work be subjected to market forces. Like Collier, she sees reproduction as a "burden" women bear that prevents them from contributing labour to the market economy; this leads her to liken reproduction to a "reproductive labour tax" (or overhead) that women have to pay before they can engage in market activities.¹¹ Elson, however, questions the possibility and desirability of complete commercialization of reproduction given the intrinsic value that some

9. The analogue here is environmental economics; the argument is that costs and benefits need to be internalized.

10. The term "public action" is used in the sense developed by Drèze and Sen (1989) to refer not only to action undertaken by the state for the public, but also — and more importantly — to action undertaken by the public itself through non-state organizations.

11. However, it could be argued that in Palmer's work greater analytical weight is attached to women's reproductive work, while Collier sees it as one of four constraints on the mobility of women's labour between different economic sectors.

reproductive tasks, like child rearing, may have for women (and for men). In addition to infrastructural support via public expenditure, Elson thus identifies a more equal sharing of domestic responsibilities as a critical component of the feminist response to reproductive work. Adopting a wide definition of the "policy process", she sees an important role for women's groups in bringing about these changes.¹²

The policy implications that emerge from recognizing the interdependence between production and reproduction — a fundamental premise shared by both approaches — are now being highlighted by women's machineries and women's groups in their efforts to influence public expenditure patterns and public revenue systems. This constitutes one important way of integrating gender within macro-economic policy. The most obvious example is the need for transfer payments to support maternity leave and child care facilities, the revenues for which could come from an employment tax on all enterprises (Palmer, 1991). Other examples may be cited from government capital expenditure on physical infrastructure. It has been argued that public investment in rural infrastructure and in labour saving technologies that help reduce the time women contribute to the self-provisioning of the essentials of life (water, fuel, food, etc.) will improve their health status and increase overall economic efficiency (Palmer, 1995). Similarly, in the area of urban transport infrastructure, it is increasingly recognized that men and women have different transport needs due to different travel patterns; women, for example, undertake far greater non-employment-related trips during off-peak periods to meet household needs when transport services tend to be irregular. The problem is that levels of service in peak and off-peak periods are calculated on the basis of cost-benefit principles that do not include the value of women's domestic-related trips (Levy, 1992). Recognizing the value of women's reproductive work can shift investment patterns significantly.

In the context of raising public revenues, it is now widely recognized that while at the aggregate level of total revenue raised through taxation there are no obvious gender differentials, once taxes are decomposed into direct (income) and indirect (consumption, value-added), several gender effects become visible. Indirect taxes tend to have more of an impact on women because of their universal role as managers of the household consumption budget, while direct income taxes fall more on men because of their greater

12. Again, the analogy would be with environmental economics versus ecological economics.

access to employment and higher incomes (OECD, 1985, cited in Bakker, 1994). Thus the general trend in the 1980s towards value-added taxes has been criticized not just from a social equity perspective (since it impacts disproportionately on the poor), but also from a gender perspective for being gender-regressive and having negative implications for the well-being of children. Women's groups in Canada, for example, argued very strongly against the introduction of a value-added tax in 1989 (MacDonald, 1995).

In sum, according to the feminist critique discussed here, "male bias" at the macro-economic level stems from the way the macro economy is conceptualized and the activities and values that are left out. Recognizing these "invisible" activities — and their contribution to the productive sphere — has profound policy implications. But, as argued by participants at the workshop, their omission is not simply due to the complexities of measurement. It is also a reflection of some of the assumptions that are built into the neo-classical model, which have serious implications for the way macro-economic policies are formulated.

One of the most dangerous assumptions implicit in the neo-classical view of the macro economy is that the reproductive economy will continue to function irrespective of the changes in the rest of the economy. In other words, it is assumed that women will continue to supply all the labour that is needed to ensure the satisfactory reproduction of human beings, compensating for all the shortfalls in purchased inputs required to sustain human resources. However, as some of the empirical studies on the social impacts of adjustment have documented, women's labour is not infinitely elastic; a breaking point might be reached where the household is no longer able to reproduce itself: daughters may be withdrawn from school, and parents may no longer be able to supervise children because fathers have migrated and mothers are out in the market-place while young boys are being exposed to drugs and street gangs. The implications of this breakdown may be serious for the paid economy too.

One study of economic policy reform in Zambia, for example, documents that cutbacks in health expenditure have hampered women farmers who were spending far more time looking after sick family members and less time farming (Evans and Young, 1988). If daughters are withdrawn from school or if women are unable to contribute labour to their paid activities because of the urgent need to attend sick children, this is likely to have a negative effect on

the balance of payments — through shortfalls in human skills and through the diversion of public resources to the tasks of policing and repairing the damaged fabric of society. As the presentations by Patricia Alexander on Laos, and Naila Kabeer and Van Anh Tran Thi on Viet Nam highlighted, a backslide in human skills, especially in female education, is one of the dangers currently confronting many transitional economies. Feminist economists thus warn that, while the costs of economic change may not show up immediately and may be difficult to measure, in the long run they will hamper development.

The third feminist insight relevant to macro economics comes through a "worm's eye" perspective that sees the entire macro economy as being gendered via the meso-level institutions — households, markets, firms, states — through which economic agents operate. As was noted above (section 2), while much of the focus of the early gender and development literature was on domestic institutions where gender relations are most explicit, since the mid-1980s increasing attention has been directed to the ways familial and gender norms are drawn upon to construct the terms on which women and men enter, and participate, in public life and in the market-place. The burden of this new genre of feminist analysis has been to demonstrate the extent to which gender operates as a pervasive organizational principle across "impersonal" institutional arenas. In modern industrial firms and in agribusiness ventures, for example, definitions of "skill" and of tasks tend to institutionalize a hierarchical and gendered labour force whereby each gender has its own areas of work, wages, patterns of employment and promotion prospects (Humphrey, 1987; Mackintosh, 1989). Similarly, gender operates across a wide range of rural markets, very often in ways that constrain women's economic agency (Agarwal, 1994).

This feminist insight draws on and shares several features with the work of socio-economists (Granovetter, 1985) and those who have explored the interface between policy prescription, on the one hand, and "real markets", on the other (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1993; Mackintosh, 1990). In response to the standard policy packages prescribed by the international financial institutions, these critics highlight the notion of "embeddedness" — that institutions and economic actions are rooted in complex social relations. The key question posed by this approach with regard to macro-economic policy is whether policy makers — and the theory that underpins their thinking and actions — are paying sufficient attention to the social relations

and institutional arrangements that will inevitably shape the economic outcomes of macro policy initiatives.

Critical feminist institutional analysis entails recognizing that the matrix of gender relations is an intervening variable in all economic activities, so that institutions (e.g. markets) and social relations (e.g. buyer-seller, employer-employee) that are not themselves gendered nevertheless become "bearers of gender" (Elson, 1995).¹³ In other words, even though women and men do not enter market institutions and the public realm as "wives" or "husbands", they nevertheless have very different experiences as workers, farmers, entrepreneurs and users of public service because of the social norms and familial ideologies that are drawn upon and reproduced within those "impersonal" institutional arenas. This approach, which was referred to by several participants at the workshop, thus modifies the pre-existing vision of the macro economy by introducing the idea that gender relations, like class relations, affect the functioning of the market economy from within.

The Ugandan case study brought out an example of this approach. Although the government is keen to see an expansion in the supply of non-traditional export crops (NTEC), whether there will be a supply response will depend, as Deborah Kasente put it, on what goes on at the micro and meso levels — whether women farmers will get access to land, credit and other inputs on the same basis as men, and whether conjugal and kinship relations will facilitate their economic activities. If patriarchal systems of land tenure are biased against women farmers, if state extension services reinforce rather than subvert class and gender hierarchies, and if women's responsibility for feeding the household acts as a constraint on their ability to grow NTEC, then the realities of women's lives meet at cross purposes with macro-economic objectives.

To put it briefly, this approach demands that orthodox macro-economic policy prescriptions be tempered by further analysis of the complex processes of social and economic change that form the "real world" of macro-economic adjustment and restructuring (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1993). At the theoretical level, unlike the neo-institutional approach, it makes no *a priori* assumption about the allocative efficiency of surviving institutions; nor does it

13. The distinction between social relations that are intrinsically gendered (e.g. kin, conjugal) and those that become "bearers of gender" (e.g. employee-employer, buyer-seller) was first made by Ann Whitehead (1979).

assume that economic choices and preferences are made voluntarily. In other words, it takes the coercive nature of power inequalities and ideologies seriously (rather than reducing them to "information problems") and recognizes the extent to which they shape economic behaviour. At the more practical level, it avoids making standard policy prescriptions; instead it argues that policy reform will have to be worked out pragmatically, on the ground, taking into account the complex and idiosyncratic social and institutional arrangements that mediate policy outcomes.

If research in Uganda suggests that the expansion of NTEC, mediated through these micro-level realities, accentuates women's work loads and jeopardizes household food security, then macro economists may wish to rethink their policy priorities, exploring alternative ways of raising foreign exchange from the agricultural sector (e.g. encouraging agro-processing for the export market¹⁴). However, even if a concern for gender equity and food security prompts policy makers to rethink their policy priorities, this does not necessarily mean that the most effective way of bringing about the desired change is through manipulation of macro-economic levers, such as the exchange rate. Macro-economic levers impact on a wide range of sectors (not just the agricultural sector) and lack the precision that is needed to bring about the desired policy change — in this case encouraging agro-processing. Rather, what may be needed in this hypothetical example is a wide range of sectoral and micro policies, such as tax and subsidy packages to encourage investment in agro-processing plants, and investments in rural infrastructure to facilitate their access to export markets.

This section has attempted to provide an overview and a categorization of some of the conceptual insights that gender analysis provides into the macro-economic domain. To bring gender concerns into macro-economic policy does not necessarily require that macro-economic levers be used. As all of the above models illustrate, gender advocates very often highlight the need to alter public revenue and expenditure priorities — agricultural budgets, social budgets, infrastructure spending, tax regimes. At a more general level they demand that the institutional set-ups, "the rules of the game", that define the terms on which women and men enter and participate in the market arena and in public life be restructured in ways that can accommodate their social differences, thereby allowing them to participate on an equitable basis. It

14. It cannot be assumed, however, that agro-processing will be more gender equitable. It is simply an example to illustrate the need to explore other options for raising foreign exchange.

needs to be recognized, however, that redistributing resources between women and men will involve conflict, losses for some and gains for others, attempts by the more powerful to subvert the redistributive attempts in some instances, while in other instances women may be able to renegotiate the terms of the conjugal contract in ways that are more favourable to them.

As we will see in sections 5 and 6 of this report, the country level research activities, which have focused on specific items on the governments' macro-economic agendas, have tended to draw on a combination of insights rather than limiting themselves to a single approach. The themes selected in the project countries fall under two broad headings: labour-intensive, export-oriented industrialization in Bangladesh and Morocco, and rural/agricultural growth strategies in Uganda and Viet Nam.

labour-intensive industrialization and female employment

5

While developing country governments have been implementing quite diverse industrialization strategies, in recent years there has been a degree of convergence in their industrial policies marked by a significant shift away from import-substituting industrialization and towards greater openness. The shift to an export-oriented strategy — very often under pressure from international creditors — has been put into effect using a wide array of policy instruments that have typically included privatization, devaluation of the local currency, lower tariffs on imported materials and components, and improvements in the administrative treatment of exporters (such as "fast track" provisioning of operating permits and special tax holidays).¹⁵

Coinciding with these micro- and macro-economic policy changes has been a significant transformation in the gender composition of the manufacturing labour force. The rise in women's share of manufacturing employment — which has been most marked in South-East Asia but is also evident in Latin America, Africa and the rest of Asia — has been explained in a variety of ways. Joeques (1987, 1995) and Elson (1995) have argued that the rise in

15. While developing countries have shifted their domestic policies in favour of openness to trade, there remain numerous restraints and discriminatory provisions in world trade regulations that impact very negatively on developing country exports, one of the most pernicious being the Multifibre Arrangement.

CRISIS OF STRUCTURAL REFORM ANALYSIS AND ALTERNATIVES

Coordinator: Rachel Kurian

No of Units: 5

Term: II

Session 9 and 10: Engendering Market Reforms: A feminist Perspective
Lecturer: Rachel Kurian

Reading:

Daines, Victoria and Seddon, David, 1994, "Fighting For Survival: Women's Responses to Austerity Programs" in: *Free Markets & Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment* edited by John Walton and David Seddon, Oxford UK & Cambridge USA, Blackwell, pp.57-96.

GENDER, TRADE LIBERALIZATION AND THE CARICOM SINGLE MARKET AND ECONOMY

By

Judith Wedderburn
Director
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean

The Current Conjuncture: In Summary Form

A brief overview of some of the important features of the current conjuncture which demonstrates the interconnectedness between global and hemispheric trade regimes and the regional integration process is a useful way to begin this discussion on Women, Trade Liberalization and the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

During the 1980s, the overall economic policy environment in the Caribbean was characterized by economic reforms which moved through stabilization to structural adjustment programmes. The IDB (1998:1) notes that

"in countries such as Jamaica and Guyana, the acute economic situation required comprehensive adjustment strategies which involved harsh austerity measures, supported by loans from the IMF and World Bank. Other countries such as Grenada and Suriname, designed their own home grown adjustment programmes. By the early 1990s, Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Trinidad and Tobago were pursuing various types of structural adjustment programmes". The Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) undertaken in the region included trade liberalization, tax reform, privatization, reduced government involvement in economic activities, as well as reduced budgetary support for critical social services and infrastructure.

As the globalization process intensified, and global trade policy was increasingly determined by a complex of multilateral trade agreements, the room for manoeuvre with respect to policy options available to Caribbean countries was increasingly restricted. "By 1992, the countries of the Caribbean Basin had already taken the first step towards free trade by signing Framework Agreements on Trade and Investment, with the United States. The groundwork for this step had already been prepared, as noted above, as many countries had begun a process of trade liberalization in the mid to late 1980s largely as part of policy conditionalities linked to structural adjustment agreements with multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund." (Wedderburn 1998:24). The economic reform process with trade liberalization as a major focus, proceeded more rapidly, more comprehensively under the WTO after 1995. With limited policy options, their small size, limited resource base and productive capacity, and in some cases, a debt burden, among other problems, a trade and investment agreement with the United States was presented as an attractive option. Any other option, as attempted,

even partially by Jamaica, Grenada and Guyana was viewed with much disquiet and suspicion by the United States, the major trading and donor partner of several CARICOM countries.

In 1995, despite this background, CARICOM governments like most others of the world, signed on to the Beijing Platform of Action. With this act, they committed to improving the conditions of life and opportunities for women in several clear, specific areas. Some are relevant to multilateral and regional trading agreements. Specifically, paragraph 165 (k) reads the governments: seek to ensure that national policies related to international and regional trade agreements do not have an adverse impact on women's new and traditional activities". Ten years later, there is a growing recognition that little progress has been made in most countries towards fulfilling these commitments. Instead, extremes of poverty and wealth are now more evident. In CARICOM countries, fiscal policy as part of the economic reforms impacted social policy, and the resulting redistribution of the budgetary resources associated with these reforms seriously affected the resources available for health, education and critical subsidies for various social programmes.

Gender is an Issue

In this discussion, gender refers to the socially constructed differences attached to masculinity and femininity, or to ideas about what it means to be a woman or a man in society. It is on the basis of one's biological sex that society has certain expectations of women and men, as feminine and masculine gender. By extension, gender relations, that is the relations of power between men and women and the roles ascribed to women and men in productive and reproductive roles are also socially constructed. This approach allows for the identification of a gender-based division of labour, and gender biases in respect of access to resources, such as credit and land.

Women in CARICOM countries, like women worldwide, continue to be under-represented at the centres of power where the most important economic and political decisions are made. Simultaneously, women are over-represented amongst the poor and unemployed, have the lowest paying jobs, and support larger households than men.¹ The systemic gender biases persist as the gendered reality that women face continues to be shaped by their gender roles as care-givers and nurturers, but with decreasing support from public education and health services. Given these socially defined roles, women end up being 'de facto' providers of those social services no longer supplied by the public sector, and as heads of households, they are over represented among people living in poverty. At the same time, there is concern that increasing numbers of young men in CARICOM countries are dropping out of school, tending to gravitate to informal and sometimes illegitimate economic activities as the preferred route to wealth and social acceptability. However, they also have to contend with socially defined gender roles and expectations as breadwinners and providers for their families.

Increasingly, research is indicating that changes in trade policy cannot be separated from other aspects of men's and women's lives, hence the claim of many NGOs and women's groups who are involved in research and advocacy campaigns on gender and trade, that

trade issues are bread and butter issues. A trade-related policy change in the services or agricultural sector, for example, can set into motion a series of changes to economic and social activities that directly affect the livelihoods and well-being of women, men and their families. The effects of these changes will be experienced differently by women and men, because of their distinct roles in society, their differential access to productive assets and opportunities, and most importantly, because of the distinct ways in which they participate in the main economic, social, political and cultural decisions of their countries. While it is not possible to directly link every trade policy with a particular effect on women or men, it is possible to examine the correlation between trade policy and prices, employment, consumption, household composition and responsibilities and poverty patterns. This approach would provide a framework for understanding trade from a gender and development perspective.

CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME)

The current phase of integration of the economies of those countries which comprise the Commonwealth Caribbean is the latest in a process which spans some 38 years, beginning with establishment of the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) in 1968. This process has seen the deepening of the integration process with the 1973 Treaty of Chaguaramas, which had provisions for the formation of a Common Market. In the two decades following, the economic reforms which were implemented by several CARICOM countries included commitments in economic, financial and trade liberalization that far exceeded those in the Treaty of Chaguaramas. In addition, by the end of the 1980s, economic globalization was proceeding apace, with trade and financial liberalization reshaping economies of the North and South, accelerating the free movement of market forces and capital flows, and promoting export-led growth and global competitiveness. The Treaty of Chaguaramas had to be revisited to confront the challenges to these small, island economies which these global developments represented. A decision was therefore taken by the CARICOM Heads of Government in 1989 to transform what was in fact a limited Common Market into a full Single Market and Single Economy. As embodied in the 2002 Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, it is intended that:

“The respective economies of the Caribbean should be reconstituted through the removal of existing barriers, as a Single market space in which not only goods, but services, capital technology and skilled persons should freely circulate, and Caribbean citizens should enjoy new and unfettered rights of establishment of enterprise anywhere in their region. The provisions relating to such market liberalization have been drafted to enable Caribbean countries to confer on each other faster, broader and deeper market access in relation to capital flows, the provision of services, and the like that it has, hitherto, or is prepared to confer on any other region to which it relates”²

Intended originally only to involve the English-speaking islands of the Caribbean, the scope of this integration process was considerably broadened with the accession of Haiti in 1995, and Suriname in 2002, to the CARICOM Community.

The language and presumably the intent of the CARICOM SME, as reflected in the above statement raises questions, from a gender perspective, about the assumptions that informed the crafting of the CSME. The CSME seeks to deepen and expand the liberalization process within and between its members in an environment which is shaped and driven by current global and hemispheric economic and trade liberalization regimes. Not surprisingly, three general objectives of the CARICOM SME can be identified: promote economic development, facilitate the transition to global markets, and provide a common approach to the external trade negotiations. With respect to economic development, specific objectives of the integration process include "enhanced levels of international competitiveness" and "increased productivity", using the CSME as the mechanism to achieve these goals. It is anticipated that an enlarged regional market and pool of resources would offset some of the constraints associated with small national markets, therefore, liberalizing the national restrictions to the trade in goods and services is critical. Further, it is also anticipated that the freedom of movement of the factors of production would lead to an expansion of intra-regional trade, the attainment of economies of scale and increased flows of private investment.³

Chapter III of the Revised Treaty provides CARICOM nationals with the right to establish businesses, provide services and move capital any where in CARICOM, except for a few areas where restrictions still apply. The free movement of people is permitted once they fall into one of the approved categories of workers, which include wage earners such a university graduates, musicians, sports persons and media persons. Non-wage earners such as self-employed persons, service providers and persons who are establishing commercial presence would also benefit. However, many women and men at the low end of the services market who do not belong to the approved categories of workers would not be able to take advantage of this provision. A gender of analysis of the labour market in the services sector, in the Jamaican case, for example, indicates the dominance of women as care-givers, health practitioners, educational and community service providers, household workers, caterers, cosmetologists, and informal commercial traders. Generally, the lower social and economic status of women compared to men limits their access to such opportunities as may be available from "freedom of movement provisions". Additionally, given the similarities in the gender roles and expectations across CARICOM countries, women who are able to move within the region, are likely to face greater challenges than men, in accessing decent wages and living conditions, and social services at affordable prices.

Being an agreement which focuses on liberalization, the CSME will have a multiplicity of implications for the lives of men and women. At the same time, it is designed primarily for the integration of economies and of enterprises within these economies, as a response to the challenges of globalization. There is a view that this arrangement treats people as mere factors of production, and that for the time being, this factor is afforded the least mobility in the arrangements for free movement.

A gender informed perspective of the CSME would recognize from the outset, that being male or female affects one's capacity to take either take advantage of opportunities that arise, or overcome challenges presented by any particular policy or programme. With the

advent of the CSME, there is a need for some reflection on the implications of this development, from a gender perspective. Some issues and questions that may be considered include:

- The prioritization of certain categories of persons for free movement across CARICOM, especially when part of the reshaping of CARICOM economies is designed to encourage and take advantage of the shift to services globally. Which categories of women and men will be affected by this move? And, if they don't belong to the approved categories (a situation which refers to the majority of women and men), what changes at the national policy level are necessary so they can benefit from this provision?
- The situation of migrant and undocumented workers who are not usually unionized and many times are women. These women can be further exploited by local and foreign businesses, when national laws designed to protect rights and freedoms come under pressure through lowering of labour standards and the presence of a reserve pool of labour.
- Businesses within the CSME will compete with each other for market share in the region and will exploit the "cheap" labour of their women to retain competitiveness. Through cheap female labour, the contribution of women to the economy will continue to be lower than that of men. The implications of this for efforts to eradicate poverty given the woman's multiple roles in the economic as well as social and reproductive spheres need to be considered.
- What policy prescriptions will be necessary to provide higher levels of technical and professional training for women and men, as increasingly open CARICOM markets will attract extra-regional investments seeking highly skilled labour, but also entitled to national treatment?

An analysis of the articles of the CSME carried out by the Caribbean Policy Development Centre (CPDC) suggests that a range of potential advantages does exist for women, and they could create new opportunities for women's advancement if implemented with a focus on gender equality and gender equity. For the purposes of this limited discussion, references to agriculture and services are instructive.

The analysis⁴ points out that under Article 34 (f), non-discrimination in ensuring access of non-nationals to land, buildings and other property could be of benefit to women. In addition, agricultural policy, article 57-1(f) recognizes that access to and ownership of land is still a major issue for women in agriculture. Proper implementation of this policy could increase the property base of women, and improve their access to credit for establishing and maintaining sustainable agricultural enterprises. With respect to services, specifically education, it is now well-established that at the University of the West Indies, over seventy percent of the graduates are women. However, what is frequently overlooked is that this performance over many years has not been matched by a recognizable increase of women in the leadership of any of the main economic, social, financial or political institutions of the region. In some countries, like Jamaica, women have increased their presence marginally in a few professional categories, but overall, the balance of power remains firmly with the men. As a result of pursuing these higher levels

of education, it is possible that appropriately qualified women could move throughout the region and respond to the need for service providers in the regional market. The CPDC analysis points out that gender sensitive implementation of Article 35-1 would make an important contribution to enhancing the human resource capacity of the region by facilitating employment and non-wage earning activities in the Community. Ways in which gender equity and gender equality can be implemented through the Articles of the CSME with respect to industrial policy, agriculture, higglering and shipping, and access to financial and technical services should be explored.

Final Comments

As the harmonization of laws and regulations advances between countries, and the economic integration process deepens, the CSME will affect the economy of each country, in terms of balance of payments, consumption, employment, production, taxation, the environment and levels of poverty. As research generally has demonstrated, and the life experiences of women and men, the benefits of trade may be both positive and negative, since its impact on economic activity produces both winners and losers. Research has also demonstrated the predominance of labour market segmentation and segregation in production by gender,⁵ therefore, it is reasonable to assume that trade policy and changes in trade policy will have differential impacts on the lives of women and men, that is, differential impact by gender.

New manifestations of globalization and the increasing push towards more rapid trade liberalization, though they may present new options for women and men, may also be sources of the loss of livelihoods, employment, and businesses. As the CARICOM Single Market and Economy evolves, within the framework of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, it too will be affected by developments in the global and hemispheric political economy. It is true that within the CSME, the thrust for economic development will be reinforced by functional cooperation through the establishment of common services in education, health, security, scientific research and transportation. However, there is an urgent need for a gender approach to trade, with a gender analysis that highlights the gender-blind assumptions about the functioning of markets, and takes note of the fact that producers and consumers respond to the market as well as the structure and functioning of households.

Can the CARICOM integration process be driven by a vision which takes into account the implications of the logic of accumulation and survival, as well as the implications of the political and cultural dimensions? Such a vision would, of necessity, see the CARICOM Single Market and Economy as the bedrock of a wider Caribbean which is a zone of social and gender justice, of sustainable livelihoods, of decent wages and living standards, with women and men operating businesses, large and small, which are environmentally-friendly, providing services, efficiently and competitively. This in a nutshell is the challenge that CARICOM countries face.

Endnotes

¹The case of Jamaica demonstrates: female unemployment is 15.7% vs male unemployment of 8.1%, average annual consumption per person in female headed households is J\$77,568 vs that for male headed households of J\$97,813, the mean size of female-headed households is larger than those headed by men, 45% of households are headed by women. For more data, see Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions, 2003, and the Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica, 2004.

²*Implementation of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy and its Implications for US-CARICOM Economic Relations.* Address by Owen Arthur, Prime Minister of Barbados, in Caribbean at 30: the CSME and Beyond. Journal of Caribbean International Relations, Institute of International Relations, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago, April 2005, Issue No. 1

³*The CARICOM Single Market and Economy and CARICOM's External Trade Negotiations.* Richard Bernal, Director-General, CARICOM Regional Negotiating Machinery. Journal of Caribbean International Relations, Institute of International Relations, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago, April 2005, Issue No. 1

⁴*What is the Impact? Gender Implications of the CSME.* Cecilia Babb, Caribbean Beacon 2005, Caribbean Policy Development Centre, St. Michael, Barbados

⁵*Engendering International Trade: Concepts, Policy, and Action* by Lourdes Beneria and Amy Lind, Gender, Science and Development Programme, and the United Nations Development Fund for Women.

SESSION 6

Use of Statistics and Indicators in Gender and Development

PRESENTER:

**Judith Wedderburn
(FES)**

Using Gender-Sensitive Indicators

A Reference Manual for Governments
and Other Stakeholders

Tony Beck



Commonwealth Secretariat

1

Introduction and Overview

What Are Gender-Sensitive Indicators and Why Are They Useful?

In efforts to advance equality and equity between women and men, there is a need to generate accurate and relevant data on the status of women, men and gender relations. This data helps make gender biases more visible and facilitates effective policy-making to bring about greater gender equality and equity.

The need for sex-disaggregated data has been stressed in numerous international conventions and declarations, including the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the 1985 Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, the 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, the 1995 Platform for Action of the Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing, and the 1995 Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development.

Statistics and indicators

An indicator is an item of data that summarises a large amount of information in a single figure, in such a way as to give an indication of change over time, and in comparison to a norm. Indicators differ from statistics in that, rather than merely presenting facts, indicators involve comparison to a norm in their interpretation.

A gender-sensitive indicator can be defined as an indicator that captures gender-related changes in society over time. Thus, whereas a gender statistic provides factual information about the status of women, a gender-sensitive indicator provides "direct evidence of the status of women, relative to some agreed normative standard or explicit reference group" (Johnson, 1985).

An example of a gender statistic would be: "60% of women in country X are literate, as opposed to 30% five years ago". An example of a gender-sensitive indicator would be: "60% of women in country X are literate, as compared to 82% of men, and compared to 30% and 52% five years ago". The norm or reference group in this example is men in the same country, but in other cases might be other groups of women.

National-level gender-sensitive indicators are among the key means by which planners and policy-makers measure gender inequality. They also provide information on the basis of which gender specialists advocate for policies likely to lead to greater gender equality. Gender-sensitive indicators support the gender and development approach which focuses on changing the gendered nature of society through the promotion of gender equity, rather than on women in isolation, which was the focus of the women in development model and is reflected in an emphasis on gender statistics.

Aim and Scope of this Manual

This reference manual is designed to assist the user in the selection, use and dissemination of gender-sensitive indicators at the national level. As a general introduction to an often complex subject, it aims to strike a balance between discussion of theoretical concepts and practical examples. References are provided where relevant.

This manual is designed to be of particular use to the following:

- ✦ Commonwealth governments that are establishing and using a Gender Management System, in line with the 1995 Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development;
- ✦ governments working to develop a national database on gender-sensitive indicators; and
- ✦ NGOs, women's groups, professional associations, the academic community and others interested in promoting gender equality and equity.

Gathering and Classifying Indicators

Classes of indicators

The gender-sensitive indicators discussed in this manual are classified into ten groups:

- 1 Population composition and change
- 2 Human settlements and geographical distribution
- 3 Households and families, marital status, fertility
- 4 Learning in formal and non-formal education
- 5 Health, health services, nutrition
- 6 Economic activity and labour force participation
- 7 Access to land, equipment and credit
- 8 Legal rights and political power
- 9 Violence against women
- 10 Macroeconomic policy and gender

This classification system has been adopted from Commonwealth government priorities, UN recommendations, and priority areas determined in the Beijing Platform for Action. Section 3 of this manual provides a detailed examination of specific indicators and related questions in each of these ten categories.

Sources of indicators

The three main data systems that produce indicators, some of which are gender-sensitive, are census surveys, the System of National Accounts, and sample surveys of the population. Censuses and similar surveys usually cover indicator groups 1-6. Indicators in groups 7-10 come from other sources, such as CEDAW and special surveys such as time use studies, and a revised System of National Accounts. All these sources are discussed in Section 2 of this manual.

Interpreting Indicators

Indicators, like any other methodological tool, have their limitations. Recognising these limitations is necessary for understanding what can and cannot be achieved by using them.

The major limitation of gender-sensitive indicators is that they do not provide information on wider social patterns: they will usually tell the analyst little about why gender relations have been shaped in a particular way and how these relations can be

changed. They point to key questions rather than provide answers. Indicator systems should therefore be complemented by gender analysis, which involves examining, often at a micro-level, the social relations between women and men, and the structural features of society which reinforce gender inequality and inequity.

Another limitation concerns the accuracy of data. Most indicator systems are developed from national censuses. However, much of the data in national censuses is subject to various problems, including infrequent collection, sex bias, poor enumeration, and imprecise definition of key terms. In addition, because of differences in definitions of terminology between nations, indicators are often not comparable internationally. Census data should therefore be considered a pointer towards a certain trend rather than definitive evidence of that trend.

A key element in the use of indicators is to interpret correctly the normative element that is inherent in their construction. The same indicator may be interpreted differently in different settings. For example, a falling birth rate may be considered a positive trend in a densely populated country, but a negative trend in a sparsely populated country.

Care must therefore be taken in defining the norm or benchmark implicit in any indicator and against which change is measured. For example, in examining the status of women, is the norm the situation of men in a particular country, or is it women in other countries? Care must also be taken to ensure that when using indicators to compare gender equity across countries, the indicators have been collected using similar definitions of, for example, economic activity or literacy.

A further problem can be a lack of participation and cross-cultural dimensions. Recommendations for indicator systems and data sets are often developed by specialists, with limited participation from governments, NGOs or the general population. Indicators may therefore reflect the interests of a few experts rather than a general consensus; for this reason, as widespread participation in the development of indicators as is feasible should be encouraged (see Sections 2 and 5).

Given these problems, caution should be exercised when using and interpreting indicators, especially when drawing cross-country conclusions.

Economic Activity and Labour Force Participation

It is generally agreed that women's economic activity is under-represented in most censuses and national level surveys, and that the contribution of women to economic development is an area where lack of data is most acute. The following gender-sensitive indicators and indicator questions are designed to allow the user to develop a basic data set on women and economic activity.

Measurement of economic activity and labour force participation is a complex but key area for the advancement of women's status and gender equality and equity.

There are two key areas to be considered in the formation of a national level data base on women. The first is the inclusion of gender-sensitive questions that are fully understood by all participating, including enumerators, in censuses and similar surveys. The second is a reconsideration of the concepts used in the UN System of National Accounts (SNA) as far as work is concerned.

Table 6 **Economic Activity and Labour Force Participation**

Gender-Sensitive Indicator	Related Indicator Questions
1 % of female/male labour force in agriculture, industry and services (ages 15 and over)	✦ Are there areas where men or women predominantly work? Does sex-stereotyping in employment exist? If so, what are the consequences of this?
2 % of female/male labour force in managerial and professional occupations	✦ What provisions exist to eliminate discrimination against women in employment? How are these provisions enforced?
3 % of female/male labour force who are unpaid family workers or are working in the informal sector (ages 15 and over)	✦ Are women moving to better or worse paid employment? What are the consequences of this for women?
4 Employment/unemployment rate of women/men, urban/rural	✦ Are there professions which, by law or custom, tend to be filled predominantly by or are closed to women?
5 Time use in selected activities (including unpaid housework and child care)	✦ Is there a bias against women in terms of employment because of a lack of child-care facilities?
6 Incidence of part time/full time work of women and men	✦ Do women receive equal pay as men for equal work or work of equal value?
7 Right to maternity leave/number of weeks/% of women who avail of right	✦ What legislation exists to ensure women's equality in terms of employment? How is this legislation enforced in practice?
8 % of available credit and financial and technical support going to women/men from government and non-government sources	✦ Is work done by women in the home counted in national statistics? Do national statistics reflect the role of women in the economic sector? What means are being taken to ensure that censuses and other surveys accurately reflect the economic role of women within and outside of the household?
9 Salary/wage differentials of women/men, by class of workers	
10 % of employers providing child care and % of children aged 0-3 and 3-6 in child care	

Definitions of economic activity

Economic activity is perhaps the most difficult of the concepts used in censuses (see good practices case study on India, Section 5). The generally used term 'economically active population' is problematic because it represents a number of disparate components. The main work-related categories used are:

- ✦ **activity status** (currently active, usually active, and economically active sometime during the year);
- ✦ **employment status** (employed, unemployed, not economically active);
- ✦ **employment characteristics** (occupation, industry, status in employment, and sector of employment);
- ✦ **duration of employment** (hours worked last week, weeks worked last year).

As UN (1993) states, the term 'economically active population' "...combines the employed with the unemployed population; full time with part-time activity; the activity of the worker who is paid for one hour's work in a specified reference period with that of another working full-time throughout the same period; seasonal activities in some instances and current or usual activities in others." However, advances have been made over the last 15 years particularly in the improvement of definitions of terminology related to economic activity.

It has been widely noted that the focus of SNA and ILO definitions of work relate to economic activity. But as Anker *et al* (1988) have pointed out, 'economic activity' is often defined in an unclear or ambiguous fashion. For example, according to the SNA, processing of food for preservation, husking of rice and grinding of grain are considered economic activities, while cooking is not, but the dividing line between these activities is a very thin one. Anker *et al* (1988) point out several similar anomalies, and in response suggest a useful four-part typology to measure labour force activity:

- ♦ paid labour force, that is, persons in wage or salary employment for which they are paid in cash or kind;
- ♦ market-oriented labour force, that is, persons in 'paid labour force' plus persons engaged in an activity on a family farm or in a family enterprise that sells some or all of its products;
- ♦ ILO labour force, that is, persons engaged in the production of economic goods and services, whether these goods and services are sold or not. This includes all activities associated with primary products, such as food production and food processing;
- ♦ extended labour force, including all of the above and activities such as gathering and preparing fuel and water fetching.

This typology is useful in that it extends the definition in the SNA and covers many of the activities carried out by women. Unpaid work such as housework and child-care are not included, and these are discussed next.

Unpaid work and the System of National Accounts

As a tool for economic policy-making, the SNA is a key area where governments can improve the way in which gender-disaggregated data is collected and used.

With a concentration on measuring paid employment, measures such as the SNA and GDP have been heavily criticised for their gender bias, in particular ignoring women's contribution to the economy, and to society as a whole.

There has over the last ten years been extensive methodological debate related to the valuation of unpaid work, in particular in relation to definitions of different kinds of unpaid work and imputation of value (e.g., through replacement or opportunity costs, or both).⁵ Detailed discussion of this debate is beyond the scope of this manual, which focuses on specific gender-sensitive indicators that could be employed in parallel to the SNA.

The 1993 SNA divides unpaid work into three types:

- 1 Housework, child-care and other family-related services (mainly carried out by women), which are not recognised by SNA as economic activity.
- 2 Subsistence and non-market activities such as agricultural production for household consumption (much of which is carried out by women), to be valued in the SNA from 1993 on the basis of market values of similar services that are sold.
- 3 Household enterprises producing for the market for which more than one household member provides unpaid labour. The income and production of these enterprises are quantified in SNA using transaction values.

Much of the recent discussion about unpaid housework, including child-care, caring for dependants and providing voluntary services, has been in relation to developing a parallel or satellite account to the SNA. The World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen noted: "Efforts are needed to acknowledge the social and economic importance and value of unremunerated work ... including by developing methods for reflecting its value ... in accounts that may be produced separately from, but consistent with core national accounts" (UN, 1995a: para 46). Similar recommendations can be found in the Beijing Platform for Action.

Women in Development Programmes: The Caribbean Experience (1975-1985)

Peggy Antrobus

In the United States and perhaps in some Third World countries, a distinction is made between Women in Development (WID) and Women's Studies. So far in the Caribbean, we have managed to avoid this division. The inclusion of the session on Women in Development in the Inaugural Seminar to The University of the West Indies Women's Studies Programme, and indeed the title of the seminar **Gender in Caribbean Development**, signifies the synthesis we have tried to create between the concepts of Women in Development and feminism. In fact, the practitioners of Women in Development programmes in the region have been among the initiators and strongest supporters of this programme which focusses on the "the basic concepts, organising principles of feminism and contemporary feminist thought, linking these to our considerations of Caribbean development."

In my three-part presentation I look briefly at the experience of Women in Development programmes in the English-speaking Caribbean over the past ten years of the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985); secondly, I focus on my own experience in some of these programmes, an examination of how thinking has changed over the years from an uncritical acceptance of the separate goals of Equality, Development and Peace 1975 to an increasingly critical search for alternative approaches; and finally, I explore alternative strategies for the future.

Perhaps it is useful to first locate Women and Development programmes in the international context. According to one writer, the factors influencing and framing International Women's Year and the Mexico City World Conference included the following:

- the climate set by previous decades of national and international independence and liberation struggles often excluding women's issues,
- reinterpretation of social science theories and assumptions with regard to gender and emergence of women's studies as an interdisciplinary field,
- the continuing momentum of the national and international women's movement,
- acknowledged failure of the first development decade and new directions for second development decade,
- recognition and articulation of often harmful relationships between the development process and women, culminating in inclusion of women in new direction's policy,
- on-going work of informal international networks of WID development professionals, researchers and activists to keep women's needs and issues before the development community (Maguire 1984: 11-12).

The themes of Equality, Development and Peace reflected the orientations and priorities of the three global groupings: the First World advocating Equality; the Third World, Development; and the Eastern Bloc, the theme of Peace. The outcome was a plan of action, described as a "shopping list of desirable changes in the status of women" within the context of changed relationships between the North and South (Maguire 1984: 12). The Plan and Resolutions of Mexico City launched a Decade for Women (1975-1985) which stimulated an unprecedented programme of activities and activism by governments, institutions and individuals at local, national, regional and international levels.

The Caribbean Experience

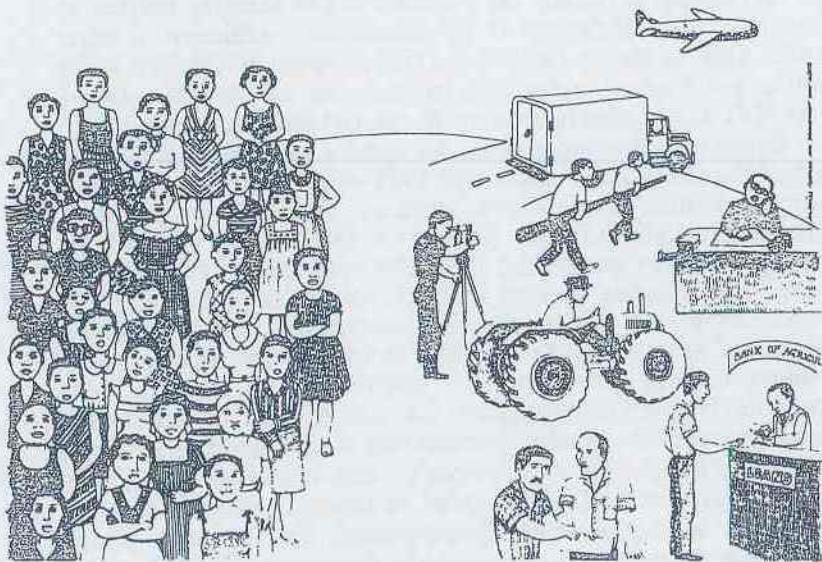
Caribbean development strategies in the 1960s and the 1970s were strongly influenced by the work of Professor Arthur Lewis. In this model, development is equated with economic growth and modernization, and the assumption is that modernization is achieved through policies of 'industrialization by invitation.'

The goal of Development fitted well into this model. It could be linked to the 'expediency' approach and became the focus of Caribbean programmes.¹ The argument is that if we are to achieve the major development goals in the areas of food production, health, education and population, we have to pay more attention to women's development. For example, women's status and access to education, training and services can in turn contribute to the achievements of development goals in these areas for they also become contributors. Conversely, if these development goals are to be achieved, women, representing just over 50% of the total population must be among the major beneficiaries.

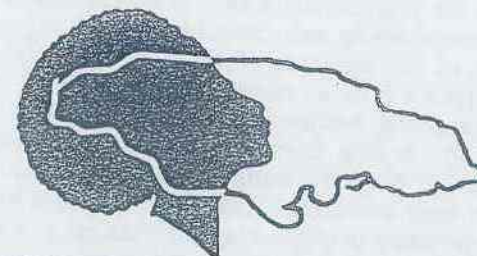
In the 1970s the movement toward a New International Economic Order (NIEO) which was gaining ascendancy and included many Caribbean leaders among its chief protagonists, did not incorporate a debate on the establishment of special mechanisms for "the integration of Women in Development." The exceptions were Jamaica (1975) and Grenada (1979), where the impulse for the establishment of these mechanisms originated in the newly established governments' search for new models of development based on principles of equity, social justice and political participation. Women in Development programmes in the region came in response to the activities of International Women's Year and the ensuing Decade for Women.

The Plan of Action and Resolutions adopted in Mexico City in 1975 did link 'women's' issues to the call for an NIEO, although the specific ways in which these goals might be integrated had not been clearly articulated. Women in Development was therefore largely a footnote, a separate item on the agenda at the regional and international fora in which the International Development Strategies (IDS) and the NIEO were formulated and promoted. None of our governments perceived these Women in Development programmes as integral parts of their development programmes. Their establishment of national machinery for the integration of women in development reflected for the most part an indifferent tokenism. The programmes which emerged were consequently influenced by the perceptions, strengths and priorities of the existing women's organizations and by the particular background of the persons selected to head the special units.

when women are
left out of development
half of the world
is left out



BUREAU OF WOMEN'S AFFAIRS JAMAICA



FACT SHEET ON THE BUREAU OF WOMEN'S AFFAIRS

BACKGROUND:

- 1974 Women's Desk established in Ministry of Youth and Community Development
- 1975 International Women's Year
Women's Desk upgraded to Women's Bureau in Office of the Prime Minister
- 1977 Minister of State for Women's Affairs appointed
- 1978 Women's Bureau expanded into rural areas and transferred to Ministry of Social Security
- 1980 Women's Bureau transferred to Ministry of Youth and Community Development. Parliamentary Secretary for Women's Affairs appointed.

OBJECTIVES:

- to seek methods of improving the status and promoting the development of women in the society;
- to identify and publicize the status and conditions of Jamaican women;
- to assist in promoting policies and programmes to integrate women into all areas of national development with particular emphasis on the integration of rural women into the rural economy.

FUNCTIONS:

- Research
- Public Education
- International Links

METHODOLOGY:

- Liaison with governmental and non-governmental agencies to identify programmes and services available to women.
- Establishment of links with women in all spheres and at all levels of society, particularly through liaison with voluntary organizations.
- Emphasis on total development of all women.
- Special emphasis on unskilled, unemployed young mothers.
- Outreach to menfolk and children.
- Focus on development of non-traditional skills

Caribbean women were, nevertheless, among those active in the promotion of International Women's Year – playing important roles at the conference in Mexico City.² The launching of programmes for the year and the decade in the Caribbean were the results of effective lobbying and action by women's organizations. This arose out of the strength of these organizations which traditionally operated in a variety of spheres, in political organizations and social welfare movements, as well as women's organizations. To varying degrees they had been working in programmes aimed at contributing to the social and political development of their countries. These organizations had given women both experience in organizing for change, as well as the confidence to promote their cause.

The Government of Jamaica was the first to establish national machinery for the integration of women in development. In response to the recommendations of the Advisory Committee set up following the People's National Party's sweeping victory at the 1972 elections, an Adviser on Women's Affairs was appointed early in 1974. This part-time appointment was initially attached to the Ministry of Youth and Community Development. With the launching of International Women's Year and as a result of strong advocacy from the women's movement to the PNP, the Women's Desk was transferred to the office of the Prime Minister and redesignated the Women's Bureau in early 1975.

The Women's Desk was staffed initially by a part-time director and secretary. A programme officer and counsellor had been added by the time of the unit's transfer to the office of the Prime Minister. By 1976, there was a staff of nine including an education/communications officer and three rural co-ordinators.

The Bureau's main purpose was to seek ways in which Government might help to improve the status and promote the welfare of women in the society. Its main objectives were:

- a) to identify the present status and conditions of women in Jamaican society; and
- b) to assist in promoting policies and programmes aimed at achieving equality between the sexes and at integrating women into the whole process of national development.

The Bureau's functions included research, data collection and analysis, education and consciousness-raising, co-ordination of government and non-government programmes, promotion of

opportunities for training and employment, involvement in national planning, and liaising with international agencies.

The Bureau was essentially a catalyst for promoting, supporting and monitoring Women in Development programmes in the country. It did not attempt to implement programmes, except for the specific purpose for testing pilot projects, but insisted that responsibility for the actual implementation of programmes and projects to benefit women should remain with the appropriate ministries and government departments.

International Women's Year stimulated the establishment of special Commissions on the Status of Women in Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana (Antrobus 1981). These have led to the establishment of government departments – a Department of Women's Affairs in Barbados and a Women's Bureau in Guyana. Trinidad and Tobago has maintained its National Commission as a permanent body.

The continued focus on Women in Development beyond International Women's Year and into the Decade for Women and the increasing advocacy of women's organizations, helped to ensure the establishment of governmental machinery in other CARICOM countries. In 1978 the Governments of Dominica and Belize established units and by the end of the Decade all CARICOM countries had set up Women's Desks or Bureaux.

Grenada's experience deserves special mention. An integral part of the Grenada Revolution of 1979 was the attention given to women, youth, farmers and workers. A National Women's Organisation (NWO) was formed in 1979 and a Ministry of Women's Affairs established. The NWO and the ministry worked closely to mobilise women for national development, to raise consciousness on issues affecting women and to ensure that a number of steps were taken to improve and change the situation of women in the country. In many ways the Grenada experience under the People's Revolutionary Government and to some extent, Jamaica under the Manley administration, demonstrated what is possible when the issue of women's status is part of a process of social transformation. It presented an example of an alternative approach to women and development, an approach which recognises the existence of oppressive structures and relationships and their linkages to persistent poverty and the marginalization of the majority of the population. This alternative sets out explicitly to give priority to programmes in favour of the poor.

At the regional level a number of special mechanisms were also instituted to focus on the issue of Women in Development.

These included the establishment of the Women and Development Unit (WAND) within the structure of the Extra Mural Department of the UWI (1978), the Women's Desk at the CARICOM Secretariat (1979) and the appointment of an Adviser on Women's Affairs at the Caribbean Office of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). The Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM) pre-dated the Decade and produced the first Regional Plan of Action for the Integration of Women in Development in Latin America in 1976.³ The basis for a new approach to the needs of women in the region was in place.

Underlying the programmes and strategies attempted since 1975 have been three principles:

- a. **existentialist**, focussing on the creation of new human relationships,
- b. **egalitarian**, focussing on a list of concrete claims and demands intended to "integrate women into the mainstream of development activities",
- c. **anti-capitalist**, which sees the inequality of women as the consequence of economic and social structures embedded in the capitalist system and which would subordinate the liberation of women to the over-throw of this (Darcy de Oliveira and Calme 1974).

These have not always been explicit in the programmes of the Decade and our failure to be clear about the differences has sometimes led to confusion, contradictions and destructive divisions.

In general, the programmes were all within the liberal feminist perspective: they accepted existing socio-economic structures and failed to recognise the extent to which these structures perpetuated and reinforced women's marginality and domestication within the society. Even in the case of Grenada, the issues of the sexual division of labour, women's relationships with men, violence against women and women's involvement in decision-making were not addressed. I believe that this was a fundamental source of weaknesses in this approach.

In fact, in all Caribbean countries the programmes were largely reformist and focussed on such things as:

- legislative change;⁴

- the promotion of equal access for girls and women to opportunities for education, training, employment, health services and a variety of productive resources, land, credit, etc,
- the establishment of governmental machinery for ensuring equality between the sexes and the full integration of women in processes of development,
- support for women's organizations in their programmes to improve the social and economic well-being of women,
- the inclusion of 'women's components' within larger development projects,
- increasing the number of women in policy-making positions,
- data collection and research,
- the use of the media and other communication strategies to portray new images and potential for women and to expose sex stereotyping,
- curriculum development, consciousness-raising and related strategies for removing sex stereotyping from educational and training programmes and to sensitize various target groups (male and female) to women's role in the process of development.

Despite all this activity, the assessment made at the mid-decade conference in 1980 showed that the situation of women globally had actually worsened. The appraisal of the Decade indicated that, at a global level female illiteracy rates had increased in many countries; the introduction of new technologies had taken away jobs from women and impaired their health; and economic and political tensions between peoples and countries had increased women's exposure to violence.

By 1985 all of this had been exacerbated by the world economic crisis which adversely affected women, more than it had men, through increased unemployment, cut-backs in social services and the unavailability of food for the poorest sectors.

In the Caribbean the limitations of the earlier approaches had already become clear to those who tried to analyse the impact of the Decade's programmes. Ironically, it was the implementation of many of the recommendations of the Plan of Action that revealed the limitations, among which were:

- the National Machinery which remained under-staffed, was transferred from one ministry to another, or ignored, and largely ineffective,
- the laws which were passed but which remained unused or ineffective because of the persistence of negative attitudes,
- the income-generating projects which served to reinforce women's marginality,
- the educational programmes and health services which continued to oppress and subordinate women,
- the opportunities for increased participation in the economic sphere which placed additional physical and emotional strains on women as they tried to balance the conflicting demands of home and work place.

The Commonwealth Secretariat study of National Machinery in the Caribbean concluded that:

... The achievements of the National Machinery have been limited, indeed have been outweighed by the constraints which inhibit their operation. Their main achievement has been in the area of sensitizing the public in general and government bureaucracies in particular to women's welfare concerns. They have, however, been unable to link those welfare concerns with the major economic, social and political concerns of their countries (Gordon 1984:115).

The publication of the findings of the Women in the Caribbean Project raise additional questions about women's concerns and perceptions and pointed to the need for extensive programmes of education and consciousness-raising.⁵

The disappointment and frustrations of these experiences contributed to:

- a. a shift from an uncritical acceptance of separate goals of Equality, Development and Peace in 1975 to a search, in 1985 for alternative holistic models of development in which the principles of equity and social justice for all people, the political participation of women and the rejections of all forms of violence (from domestic to global) are essential elements of economic processes and progress,
- b. the linking of gender inequality to that of class, race and a country's position in the global economy,
- c. an increasing feminist approach to these issues.

Changes in Perceptions

Experience, research and evaluation exercises in the second half of the Decade had exposed fundamental limitations of many of these strategies. For example, the functioning and impact of National Machinery has been disappointing; legislative change has been slow and in many cases ineffective in changing behaviour; many 'women's projects' have served to reinforce women's marginality and in some cases women's greater activism tended to provoke a backlash of conservatism rather than promote the movement for change. Strongly entrenched attitudes have often prevailed against progressive actions and where the greatest progress has been achieved the limitations of these achievements have emerged to alert us to the fact that more fundamental change of structures and relationships may be required if the goals of Justice (perhaps a more apt word than "equality" for what women seek), Development and Peace are to be achieved.

This critical analysis has come both from recognition of the complexity of the goals of Equality, Development and Peace and from awareness of the limitations of conventional development strategies and some of the policies and programmes of the Decade – limitations highlighted by the continuing global crises.

The concept of development adopted by most of our governments equates development with industrial growth. The norms are those established in the large-scale capital intensive sectors of the developed world as "the logic for the industrial order in the rest of the world" (Nash 1975:24). These are not the characteristics of Caribbean economies. Moreover, in these

models, women's role is peripheral – a reserve labour force, a role subordinated to that of the housewife. In these models certain levels of unemployment are advantageous in order "to stem inflation and increase productivity by improving the allocation of labour" (Salera 1969, quoted in Nash 1975: 341).

These models have little to offer women – either in the developed or in the developing countries. In the Caribbean where the economies are characterised by dependence on external forces, chronically high levels of unemployment and persistent poverty, the model needs to be replaced by one designed to break dependency, alleviate and eventually eliminate poverty by recognising the contributions of people (mostly women) working in the informal or subsistence sectors of our economies.

As women worked on programmes and projects to achieve the goals of Equality, Development and Peace there emerged a new understanding of the intricate connections between the three goals. Increasingly, women came to understand that the simplistic divisions of 1975 could not capture the essential and critical linkages between them. For instance, the link between the existence of gender hierarchies in the home (Equality) and women's access to resources which would determine the quality of their contribution to Development; or the link between male-female sex stereotyping (Equality) and violence at personal and social levels (Peace) or the link between the level of expenditures on militarization (Peace) and the availability of funds for social and economic programmes (Development).

Women with a feminist perspective also began to challenge the validity for women of concepts such as 'equality' and 'integration' within the framework of patriarchal societies. Other concepts such as 'developed' and 'work' were also challenged as women acknowledged the existence of pockets of poverty and oppressive structures within the so-called developed countries and the failure in every society to take into account women's unremunerated work in both private (in the home) and public spheres.

In addition, women began to perceive the parallel between their experience of powerless, alienation, dependency and inequality in countries of different social, political, cultural and economic characteristics, and the structured powerlessness of Third World countries in relation to the 'developed' countries of the North – both of those of the East as well as those of the West. Feminist theorists began to suggest that an understanding of women's inequality may be the key to an understanding of the inequality of other groups based on race, class and different levels

of development. The issue of power emerged as central to an understanding of the goals of Equality, Development and Peace.

It has been observed that "one of the outcomes of the debates in Mexico City was to portray feminism and feminists as irrelevant and divisive to women in development" (Maguire 1984: 16). A major achievement of the decade, however has been the emergence of a group of Third World feminists, activists, researchers and policy makers. Far from seeing feminism as 'irrelevant' for Third World countries these women, acknowledging that feminism is not monolithic and linking it to other forms of oppression (based on race, class and national economy), have asserted that

for women to become a vital force in their societies, change will have to be based on a new theory of development which embraces feminism (Anand 1983:10).

They have suggested that an understanding of women's inequality may be the key to an understanding of the inequality of other groups, based on class, race and different levels of development. They have argued that by focussing on the "poorest of the poor, the most powerless of the powerless," we may find clues to unlock the doors to more humane and meaningful models of development for all peoples (Jain 1983).

Feminism "questions the artificial barriers between the political, social and economic aspects of society and how individuals relate to these orders." By asserting that the personal is political it confronts the link between the relationship between men and women and other oppressive relationships and structures in the society and insists that change in the relationship between the sexes is "a prerequisite to societal change." It insists that "the experience of women be recognised and validated in all work related to change" (Anand 1983:10).

When and how did this shift take place?

As early as 1979 at a meeting organised by the Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, a group of women from every region met to review progress.⁶ They concluded that the goals of Equality, Development and Peace needed to be reinterpreted from feminist perspectives. These perspectives would establish the links between the goals and provide a basis for further work which needed to be done if the Decade was to have

an impact on women. This meeting was followed by another at Stony Point, New York, in 1980, prior to the mid-decade conference in Copenhagen.⁷

At another important meeting held in Dakar in 1982 a group of Third World women produced the Declaration of Dakar, calling for Another Development with Women.⁸ These calls for alternative models and strategies culminated in the work of the project Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) formed to produce a 'platform' paper for the 1985 Nairobi Conference marking the end of the Decade for Women.⁹

The DAWN paper *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions* (Sen and Grown 1985) included a feminist critique of growth-oriented development models, a study of the impact of the global crises in the social, economic, political and cultural spheres on women's lives; and proposals for alternative goals, strategies and methods. DAWN's vision is "a world where inequality, based on class, gender, and race is absent from every country, and from the relationships among people and countries. . . where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated. . . where the massive resources now used in the production of the means of destruction will be diverted to areas where they will help to relieve oppression, both inside and outside the home" (Sen and Grown 1985:73).

The DAWN network's analysis of the impact of the global crises on women, exposes the linkages between these crises, as well as the fact that their adverse effect on women have negative consequences for the whole society.

Here in the Caribbean, for example, our governments' current efforts at structural adjustment to cope with the economic crisis will affect women more sharply than it will men. By focussing on economic, export-oriented programmes and projects at the expense of social services and production geared to meeting the needs of Caribbean people, these measures will increase unemployment among women (already twice as high for them as it is for men) while simultaneously increasing their responsibilities for filling the gaps created by cut-backs in social services. Food production for domestic markets, a field largely dominated by women, will be in greater jeopardy than it has always been, with serious consequences for nutrition and child health. The negative impact of these policies on women will extend to the whole society given women's critical role in the social and economic development of our countries.

The Search for Alternatives

What are the alternatives? The DAWN network recognises the existence of a number of new approaches, initiated by women, to meet their needs and to ensure the survival of their families and communities. In the Caribbean, there are examples of these models at regional and national levels: WAND and CAFRA (regional) and in communities like Rose Hall in St. Vincent and in organizations like Sistren in Jamaica.

However, these are examples at a micro level. Macro-economic policies are needed to provide support and encouragement for initiatives like these, and for the resourcefulness of people, particularly women, who have found creative solutions to the crisis; policies which will turn survival strategies into legitimate vehicles for self-reliance and social transformation.

Government support must include the redirection of resources to the informal sector and to the informal sector and to those in which the majority of women are involved. In this decision-making process, the perspectives of poor women must be taken into account. Support must include the removal of bureaucratic impediments, and infrastructural support for activities which help sustain the society.¹⁰ Issues to be addressed must include:

- the control, allocation and distribution of societal resources,
- the management and control of natural resources and environments,
- the control of demographic pressures through woman-centred approaches,
- the restructuring of gender hierarchies and power relationships as expressed in the family, community and society at large.

The core activities of alternative strategies must include political mobilization, legal changes, consciousness-raising and popular education. The past 10 years have provided Caribbean women with a great deal of experience in all these areas.

Some governments (Jamaica under Michael Manley, and Grenada under the People's Revolutionary Government) have attempted, with no success to date, to translate these ideas into national programmes – their efforts thwarted by those whose interests are threatened by alternative models, which embody a concept of development which is people-centred, holistic, combining social, political, economic and cultural elements to meet people's needs.

However, the continuing crisis, and the failure of the return to 'traditional' approaches (in Jamaica especially) to deal with this situation, provides an opportunity for renewed efforts in this direction.

Caribbean governments now need to rethink their policies and strategies, focussing more on building self-reliance and Caribbean integrity and integration, than on perpetuating dependency – as current adjustment measures and strategies appear to do. The recurrent priority given to the earning of foreign exchange is fundamentally at odds with the priorities of the mass of Caribbean people for jobs and the fulfilment of basic needs. It is inevitably at the expense of programmes which support grass-roots initiatives (these include education, training, community development and social services), and domestic food production. As pointed out above, far from helping to support women's economic activities, they undermine them and limit women's potential to contribute to the solution to our problems.

Governments need to analyze the situation against the experience of more than twenty years of export-oriented strategies, which have failed to make an appreciable difference to levels of unemployment, and dependency on external forces. The fall in the earnings from traditional agricultural exports like bananas and sugar, and the worsening terms of trade should alert them to the structural limitations of these traditional approaches, and to the need for real structural adjustments, and alternatives. They need to distinguish between short-term strategies for survival, and long-term "strategies which will break-down the structure of inequality between gender, class... and race, which act as barriers to development processes responsive to the needs of people" (Sen and Grown 1985: 76).

The Decade has given us new information and insights on women's contribution to development. It has stimulated programmes which have explored new, participatory methodologies and non-formal education approaches in research, action and policy-making which have empowered women to make a more

meaningful contribution to the search for alternatives. These approaches have understood the potential, and necessity of consciousness-raising as a means of helping women to understand the oppressive structures that keep them poor and powerless, and of organizations as the vehicle for change. They can be extended to the larger society.

In seeking or devising alternative strategies we have to examine the differences between institutions and programmes at local, national, regional and international levels: keeping in mind the distinctions between these levels while working on the links which will help to ensure overall impact. We also have to bear in mind the differences between what governments can and ought to do and what non-governmental organizations do best. Finally, we have to consider the diverse roles of individuals – researchers, activists, policy makers, programme managers, professionals, media people – each has a unique contribution to make to the movement for change.

The new Women and Development Studies programme is a step in the right direction and has its own unique contribution to make. Because it includes both an academic, as well as an outreach programme, it can use a combination of methodologies and approaches. The academic programme can provide access to all the courses within the University's programme, the research can contribute both to theory-building, as well as to consciousness-raising; and the outreach programme can bridge the gap between the academics, people at community level and women's organizations.

In exploring our own alternative approaches within this institution, and in this region, we can draw inspiration and strength from the fact that the feminist struggle comes close to the historic struggle of Caribbean people, in the words of Rex Nettleford:

a continuing dynamic revolt against external political and economic domination, against internal exploitation reinforced by the ascriptions of class/colour differentiations, against the dehumanizing evils of poverty and joblessness, disease and ignorance and in defiance of all that would conspire to perpetuate among us a state of dependency and self-repudiation – in short a process of decolonization of self and society by the conscious demolition of old images and the deliberate explosion of colonial myths about power, status and the production process. (Nettleford 1978:181)

Caribbean women can, and must be part of that struggle. It means we must build alliances with men especially with our colleagues who are conscious of the need for alternatives and committed to using their creativity and intelligence to exploring them. We must help them to see that far from dividing the struggle, gender and analysis can actually deepen the understanding of Caribbean reality, as well as point the way towards what needs to be done. We have to spend more time with these men to help them to understand the commonality of our cause.

We need most of all, to convince them that the potential solidarity among women of every class, creed and race resulting from a deepening feminist consciousness may well be the only means to achieve the kind of social transformation we all seek.

Notes

1 It has been said that there are three possible approaches to the issue of women, linked to the three goals of the Decade:

- | | | |
|---------------|---|-------------|
| a) Justice | = | Equality |
| b) Expediency | = | Development |
| c) Wisdom | = | Peace |

2 Gloria Scott (Jamaica), then a UN staff member, was a strong advocate for the inclusion of the theme of Development. At the World Conference in Mexico City, Lucille Mair (Jamaica) was a member of the group which drafted the resolution of Mexico City and Phyllis Mc Pherson Russell (Jamaica) was rapporteur for the Third Committee at the Conference.

3 A Regional Plan of Action for Caribbean Women was also adopted at the first Regional Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development in the Caribbean, Mona, Jamaica, 6-10 June, 1977. ECLAC's Regional Plan of Action was adopted at the Regional Conference on the Integration of Women in the Economic and Social Development of Latin America, held in Havana, from 13-17 June, 1977.

4 The reports of the National Commission on the Status of Women in Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago contained several recommendations on this issue and a number of laws were

subsequently amended or introduced, not only in these two countries, but in others as well. These included legislation for equal pay, Status of Children Acts, legislation for maternity leave and changes in divorce laws.

5 The study was undertaken by the Institute of Social and Economic Research (Eastern Caribbean) between 1979 and 1981.

6 International Workshop on Feminist Ideology and Structures in the First Half of the Decade for Women, Bangkok, Thailand, 24-30 June, 1979.

7 International Workshop on Development Strategies for the Future: Feminist Perspectives, Stony Point, New York, 20-25 April, 1980.

8 Seminar on Another Development with Women, Dakar, Senegal, 21-25 June, 1982.

9 The initiatives came from Devaki Jain of the Institute of Social Studies Trust of India. Peggy Antrobus represented the Caribbean at the first meeting while Lucille Mair now serves on the newly formed Coordinating Committee.

10 See Chapter 3 of *Development, Crisis and Alternative Visions* for details of alternative visions, strategies and methods. This section draws heavily on this chapter.

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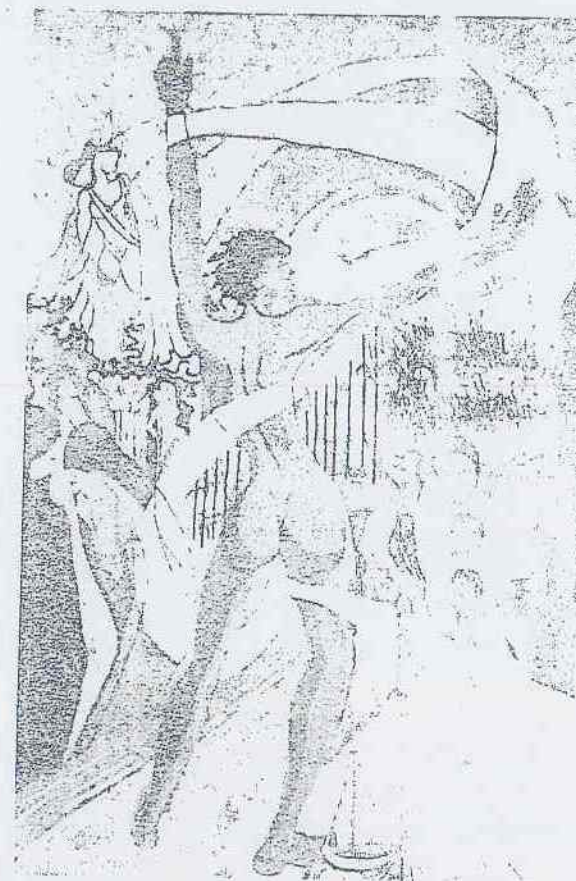
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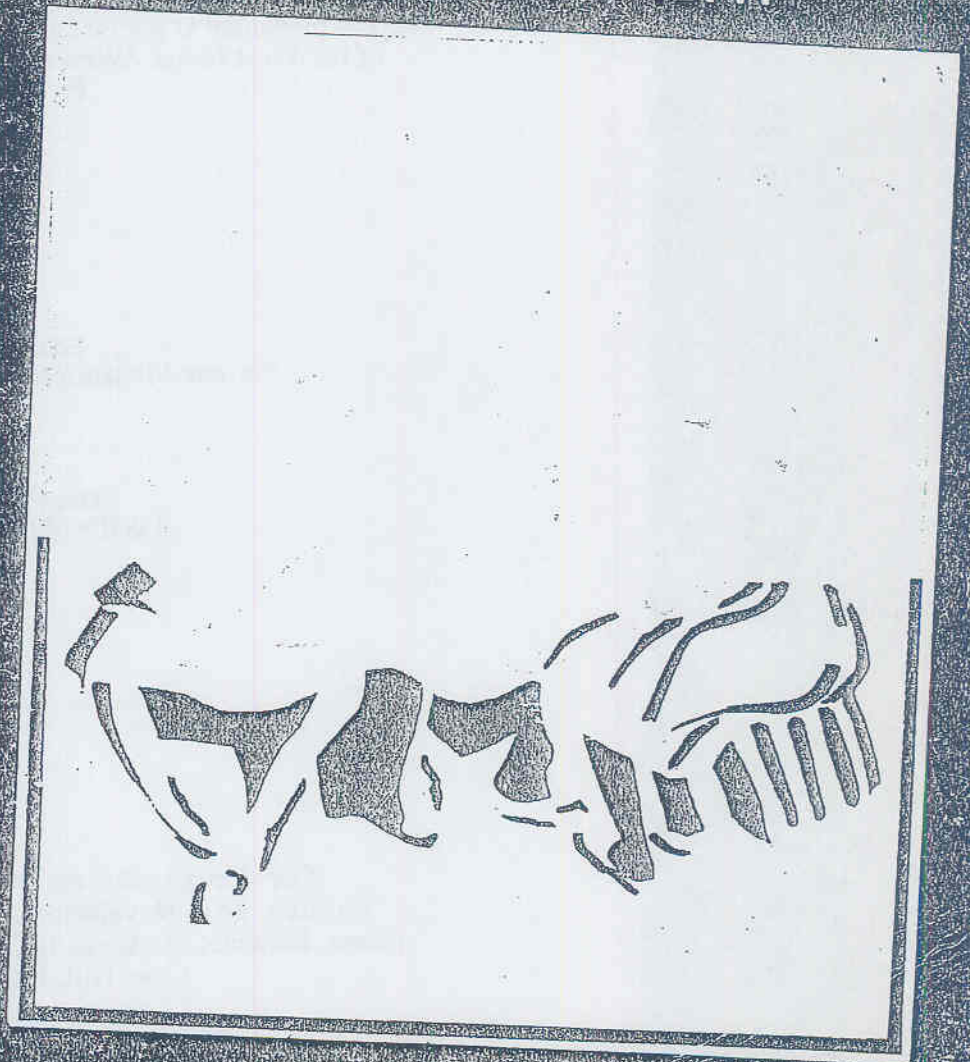
III

Feminism: Historical and Conceptual



The Calling, batik by Valerie Belgrave

GENDER IN CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT



EDITORS

PATRICIA MOHAMMED/CATHERINE SHEPHERD

GENDER IN CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT

Papers presented at the Inaugural Seminar of the University
of the West Indies, Women and Development Studies
Project

Editors

Patricia Mohammed/Catherine Shepherd

Foreword

Lucille Mathurin Mair

**The University of the West Indies
Women and Development Studies Project**
Mona, Jamaica; St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago;
Cave Hill, Barbados

SESSION 7

Gender, the Law and Policy

PRESENTER:

**Gaietry Pargass
Attorney at Law**

Gaiety Pargass
Attorney at Law
Trinidad and Tobago

SESSION 7: 3.15-4.30 pm Tuesday 21st March, 2006

Unit Title: Gender, the Law and Policy.

Overview:

The lecture will examine the relationship between law and policy and the extent to which gender considerations inform legislative policy and its implementation both in the public and private spheres.

The existing law and its interface with the specificity of women's roles as wives, mothers, child bearers, workers, plaintiffs and victims will be explored. The gaps in the law will also be analysed from this perspective.

Finally the lecture will explore how the law can be used as an effective tool for promoting gender equality.

Recommended Readings:

Alexander, Jacqui M. 1991. Redrafting morality: The Postcolonial State and the Sexual Offences Bill of Trinidad and Tobago. In *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Edited by Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo and Lourdes Torres. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Pargass, Gaiety and Roberta Clarke. 2003. Violence against Women: A Human rights Issue. In *Gender Equality in the Caribbean: Reality or Illusion*. Edited by Gamma Tang Main and Barbara Bailey. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.

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Working Draft Submission to the National Gender Policy Process, Trinidad and Tobago
SECTOR STUDY- Law and the Judicial System

by

Gaietry Pargass

July 1st, 2004

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The laws of a particular country reflect to a certain extent its core social and cultural value systems. In this sense laws are not static and may change according to changing social mores and beliefs. Historically, laws were fashioned by men within deeply patriarchal systems and laws relating to women were often proprietary or protective in their intent. For example, the laws of England which we in Trinidad and Tobago inherited allowed a husband to beat his wife with a stick no thicker than his thumb. Rape of a wife used to be regarded as an offence committed against her husband. Although such laws have long been abolished, the underlying ideology remains pervasive and still informs the theory and practice of certain laws.

This study on Law and the Judicial System will look at the extent to which women have equal legal status with men. It will examine some critical areas where the language of the law is gender neutral, applying equally to both women and men but where the outcomes are unequal due to socially constructed gender roles. A critical area in this regard is the maintenance of children. The paper will also examine the framework within which legislation dealing with violence against women is implemented. A brief examination will be carried out of the agencies which comprise the judicial system and their role in the development and implementation of the law. The interface of these agencies with their clientele and how this may or may not reinforce notions of gender inequality will be briefly examined.

1.3 Methodology

The study was carried out using a variety of methodologies as follows:

1. A review of the literature and of the relevant laws.
2. Interviews with key agencies.
3. Participant/observer at community consultations as part of the consultative process of the development of a national gender policy and action plan.
4. Focus group consultation with members of the police service, the defence force and the coastguard.
5. Focus group consultations with various categories of prisoners.

2.1 Legislative Developments Towards Gender Equality

The law is nevertheless viewed as an important tool for achieving gender justice and over the past 30 years or so, efforts have been to repeal or amend legal provisions which discriminated against women. Equality before the law was ceded to women gradually. Among the earlier legislative improvements to the condition of women were the grant of the franchise in 1946 and the enactment in 1972 of legislation updating and modernizing the law in relation to divorce. Sweeping changes were introduced by the new divorce law which conferred on women equal status with men. And very significantly a married

woman's productive and reproductive roles could be taken into consideration in a determination of how matrimonial property should be divided, though such rights did not accrue to common law spouses until much later in 1998 as a result of the enactment of the Cohabital Relationships Act, albeit in a more circumscribed manner.

Later reforms in 1983 introduced benefits to women in at least two important areas: the rule of law whereby a married woman automatically acquired the domicile of her husband was abolished and the legislation also equalised the rights of women to the custody of their children with those previously enjoyed only by their husbands. Many legal impediments against children born out of wedlock were also swept away and their rights and legal status equated to children born in wedlock to a large extent.

Although, to a large extent, formal equality in the law had been conferred on women, areas of discrimination remained where one could not truly speak of formal equality. One such important area related to violence against women. Eradication of violence against women became a central plank in women's struggle to achieve gender equality and law reform in this area was seen as instrumental in bringing about some measure of change. In this context, sexual offences legislation was enacted in 1986. Although the Sexual Offences Bill sought to criminalise marital rape, this provision was severely curtailed in the actual legislation and an offence of sexual assault was substituted. The effect of this was to penalise a husband for the rape of his wife only in circumstances akin to a breakdown in marriage. An anomalous situation existed in that while common law husbands could be charged with the offence of rape, married women did not have that protection in cases of rape by their husbands. Nevertheless some inroads were made with respect to abolishing and/or modifying the procedural rules of recent complaint and previous sexual history as they related to the law of rape. Under the recent complaint rule, the less proximate the complaint was to the actual offence, the less likely a woman was to be believed, the implication, legitimized by the law, being that women were likely to fabricate complaints of rape. Similarly, a woman's previous sexual history could be used as evidence against her.

In 1991, domestic violence legislation was enacted. Although this constituted a major advance in terms of providing a more appropriate remedy in the magistrate's court, the legislature nonetheless resisted the call to criminalise marital rape despite the fact that rape may be a feature of domestic violence. The 1991 Act was repealed and replaced by the Domestic Violence Act, 1999, and again, the call was not supported during the passage of the legislation. It was not until 2000, that marital rape was criminalised under the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act.

The late nineties also witnessed the enactment of maternity protection legislation. And although prior to this enactment women in the public sector had access to such benefits via collective agreements, significant numbers of women in the private sector were denied these benefits.

Notwithstanding the history of legislative reform taking place over some thirty or more years and government's commitments under CEDAW and other consensus documents

emanating from various international conferences, there continues to exist legislation which discriminates or has the potential of discriminating against women.

2.2 Discriminatory / Potentially discriminatory Laws

(1) The Constitution

The savings law provision under the Constitution preserves existing laws which are discriminatory. The recent Privy Council decision of *Balkissoon Roodal* overturned this principle in relation to the death penalty. However a challenge to this ruling has been mounted by three governments in the region including Trinidad and Tobago and the outcome is being awaited.

(2) The Industrial Relations Act

This expressly removes a domestic worker from its operation. The definition extends to a chauffeur, gardener, or handymen, nevertheless it would appear that household assistants (domestic employees) are affected disproportionately.

(3) The Employment of Women (Night Work) Act which regulates the employment of women in industrial undertakings, prohibits the employment of women at night. This is in direct conflict with CEDAW. The Occupational Safety and Health Bill proposes to abolish the Act. However, it may be noted that an Occupational Safety and Health Bill has been in existence since 1973 and has not yet been debated in Parliament.

(4) The Widows' and Orphans' Pensions Act excludes women from the definition of 'public officer' under s2.

2.3 Administration and Implementation

Critical analysis is required of the effectiveness of the law and judicial system in achieving gender equality and social justice.

The evidence suggests that notwithstanding the introduction of several reforms, women are still experience discrimination in many of these areas.

An analysis is provided for the following critical areas.

2.3.1 Gender violence

2.3.2 Domestic violence

While it is clear that the legislation has empowered many women to break the silence by seeking redress in the courts under the legislation, the existence of legislation has not led to a reduction in the incidence of it has not reduced the incidence and prevalence of this form of violence. A study of the incidence of Domestic Violence in Trinidad and Tobago from 1991 to 1993 carried out by Mary Creque reveal that during that period a total of 8297 applications were made. Of these, 3258 were granted. Statistics compiled by the Court Administration reveal that the number of applications made during the law terms 1998-1999, 1999-2000, and 2000-2001 rose to 5042, 6554, and 8852 respectively. St George west had the highest number of applications for that period while the districts of Mayaro, Rio Claro and Point Fortin had the fewest number of applications. Interestingly,

participants at the consultations in Mayaro and Point Fortin identified domestic violence as a serious problem in their communities.

The steep increase in the number of applications can be attributed to either an increase in the incidence of violence or an increased number of applications. The number of applications nevertheless remains high and this is consistent with media reports and reports emanating from the various shelters for battered women as well as social workers.

The data are not disaggregated by sex but personal communication with family law practitioners reveal that the vast majority of applications are made by women. Participants at the public consultations also revealed that women were primarily the victims. The majority of callers to the National Domestic Violence Hotline are also female. In 1998 for example, the Hotline received a total number of 2611 calls, and of these, 84 % were made by women and 16 % by men. The available statistics nevertheless do not present a clear picture of the extent or prevalence of domestic violence or of the socio-economic profile of the victim or the perpetrator.

There is very little data to gauge the effectiveness of the legislation or its implementation and there is also no comprehensive system of monitoring. The steep increases in the number of applications suggest that women are challenging their oppressive condition and using the courts as sites of contestation. An assumption may also be made that the applicants are primarily from the lower socioeconomic strata since it is generally lower income persons who access the magistrates' courts. Creque's study suggest that the majority of applications do not result in protection orders. The disparity between the number of applications and the number of orders granted as revealed by her study cannot be explained precisely. Possible explanations include dismissal for want of prosecution or lack of evidence. Reasons which may prevent women from pursuing their applications (thereby resulting in dismissal) include reconciliation, lack of money for transportation, lack of childcare arrangements, inflexible working hours and this may be particularly acute in the low-paid sector. Fear of the abuser may also be a factor. Court delays may exacerbate many of these factors. Domestic violence applications are still heard in the ordinary magistrates' courts, albeit *in camera*. Nevertheless the system of shouting out the names of the applicant and the defendant when the matter is called by the magistrate as is the case for criminal matters persists. *There is no provision for the hearing of applications* for protection orders in the proposed pilot family court. The rationale for this remains unclear. Nevertheless, other Caribbean jurisdictions which have established family courts have reported that the family court environment is more conducive to hearing of such applications.

Mindie Lazarus-Black, in her study, additionally found that magistrates, lawyers and the police create an environment in which individuals (applicants) cannot speak freely because the listeners hold physical, social, psychological or economic power over them. Frequently, judicial and police attitudes as well as the attitudes of lawyers and court clerks can be either intimidatory or dismissive and have the effect of "delegalising" a complaint or humiliating the applicant. Participants at the community consultations held in San Fernando and Tobago identified police attitudes as one factor which acts as a

deterrent to making complaints. In Tobago it was revealed that the police encouraged an abuser to inflict further violence on the victim because she dared to report the abuser.

In focus group consultations with the police, they reported that the police were generally sensitized to dealing with domestic violence as a result of increased training. Police training is however not conducted in an ongoing or systematic basis. Gender modules are being incorporated into the training programmes but the impact of this on police attitudes is not known.

The important point to be made is that there is no comprehensive system of monitoring of the implementation of the legislation and of those who are attempting to use it and who may be falling through the cracks of the judicial system. There has been no information on outcomes of applications for protection orders under the domestic violence legislation in the 10 years since Creque's study. If women feel sufficiently empowered to make a court application in the face of violence or threats of violence, then adequate targeting and support ought to be provided which can only come from adequate monitoring.

It must nevertheless be understood that gender violence including domestic violence is pervasive and it is but one manifestation of a complex and inter-related set of values which place women in a subordinate position in society, suffering discrimination in employment and under-represented in social and political life (i.e. unequal power relations between men and women). State responses to domestic violence have demonstrated that it is still conceived of as discrete behaviour by individual men. While a legal response is necessary it is by itself inadequate. The decade of the nineties shows very clearly now that gender socialization practices have to be at the heart of policies to eradicate domestic violence.

2.3.3 Rape and other Sexual Offences

Sexual Offences legislation was enacted in 1986 and amended in 2000. Like the domestic violence legislation, the implementation of this Act has not been monitored. The existence of the legislation does not appear to have had any significant impact on the incidence of this form of violence and police statistics reveal a rising incidence. Nevertheless the true extent is not known as there is a high level of under-reporting associated with rape and other sexual offences. Disaggregated data are not available.

There are no specialized rape units at police stations for the purposes of taking statements, counseling etc with respect to rape and other sexual offences, unlike Jamaica for example. This may act as deterrent to reporting such offences. The disbanded Juvenile Bureau and Counseling unit within the Police Service performed such functions while it existed.

Court practice and procedures often exacerbate a complainant's trauma in rape cases. The sexual offences legislation sought to lessen this trauma by making provision for *in camera* or closed court hearings. Notably also, the rule requiring the rule requiring the victim to provide evidence of a "fresh" or recent complaint was abolished. Before the

abolition of the rule, the absence of a fresh complaint was used to buttress the implication that the complaint had been fabricated. The 1986 Act also made inadmissible evidence of sexual relations of the complainant with persons other than the accused except if the court considered, upon application of the accused that such evidence is necessary for the fair trial of the accused. What has been retained however, is the rule requiring corroboration. Under this rule the judge is required to warn the jury of the danger of convicting in the absence of corroboration. The evidence must be corroborated in some material particular which usually means an eyewitness or evidence of resistance such as scratches or bruises or screaming to alert attention. Not only is the rule biased but it also reveals the irony of seeking justice in a patriarchal judicial system for a crime spawned by that very ideology. It is not surprising therefore that securing convictions for rape offences is notoriously difficult.

2.3.4 Incest/Child abuse

Like rape, incest and other forms of child sexual abuse are notoriously under-reported. According to ACP Winston Cooper, "The majority of child sexual abuse cases never make it to the courts. Most cases are not even reported to the police". Reported cases of incest for the years 1993-1996 were 18, 17, 6 and 1 respectively. However, in 1998 there were 82 reported cases. Participants at the community consultations in Mayaro and Point Fortin identified incest as a serious problem in their communities. Participants in Mayaro revealed that some men in the community felt they were entitled to have sexual intercourse with their daughters. An interview with the manager of the Belmont Orphanage revealed that 50-60 percent of the residents at the Orphanage were victims of incest and the vast majority came from poor homes. Participants at the community consultation in San Fernando felt that not enough was being done for victims of incest.

Incest and other forms of child sexual abuse are dealt with under the sexual offences legislation. In addition, the Children Act is the major piece of legislation providing protection for victims. Nevertheless, the inability of the legal and social services to respond effectively to the incidence of child abuse/incest has been well documented. Notwithstanding the government's commitments under CEDAW and the Convention on the Rights of the Child to protect the rights of the girl child as well as children in general, the fragmentation of services and the lack of cohesion among the very many agencies dealing with child abuse are major contributing factors. The Children Authority Act passed in 2000 but not yet implemented was intended to act as a central authority for child abuse cases. Some other Caribbean countries have accomplished at least that. Lack of human resources in key state agencies dealing with issues of child abuse such as the Family Services Division and the Probation Department is a further contributing factor.

2.3.5 Maintenance

When relationships break down many women are left with the care of children and in need of maintenance for their support. The vast majority of applications for maintenance are made to the magistrates' courts and primarily by women, usually women in the lower income groups. During the law term August 1999-July 2000, some 11, 400 applications under the Status of Children Act and the Family

Law(Guardianship of Minors, Domicile and Maintenance) Act were filed in the magistrates' courts. The data are not disaggregated by sex nor by type of application but the assumption may be made based on evidence provided by family law practitioners that the majority of applications were made by women for maintenance usually of their children. The issue of maintenance for children is a larger one related to the poverty of women, poverty which is often made worse when lower income women are left with the sole care and support of their children, the gendered expectation that women will assume the sole burden of childcare, the lack of suitable and affordable childcare to allow such women to pursue meaningful employment, and the lack of adequate state support.

Additionally, the applications for maintenance are heard in open court, and the process is deeply humiliating to many women. This situation has been well documented but has nevertheless remained unchanged over several decades. It may be noted that the failure of fathers to pay maintenance which was awarded by a magistrate's court may result in a term of imprisonment. Prison statistics reveal that 300-400 men are incarcerated each year for failure to pay maintenance. They are incarcerated under appalling conditions of overcrowding, exposure to abuse and possibly HIV/AIDS, and generally inhumane conditions. The stigmatization that attaches to imprisonment may itself be a catalyst for criminal activity. Failure of fathers to pay maintenance which was awarded in the High Court do not attract such penalties.

The maintenance of children is an important gender equality issue. Nevertheless neither the legislation nor the way it is implemented or administered addresses the issue in a meaningful way. Urgent reform of the law is necessary and consideration ought to be given to new and creative remedies (such as sharing in childcare or picking up children after school to give to women employment options). Some of these remedies have been introduced in other jurisdictions.

SESSION 8

Using the FES/CPDC Manual Introduction to Policy Formulation

PRESENTERS:

**Patricia Mohammed
(CGDS)**

**Cecilia Babb
(CPDC)**

Patricia Mohammed
Centre for Gender and Development Studies,
UWI, St. Augustine
&
Cecilia Babb
Caribbean Policy Development Centre
Barbados

SESSION 8: 8.30 – 10.15 am Wednesday 22nd March, 2006
10.30 – 12.30 Wednesday 22nd March, 2006

Unit Title: ANALYTICAL AND CRITICAL SKILLS TRANSMISSION

This session will draw on the FES/CPDC Manual Gender Policy Making in the Caribbean and the Interactive CD rom provided in each course package to achieve the following objectives.

1. Introduce or remind participants about the processes involved in Policy Formulation
2. Simulate a policy making exercise in preparation for participants to critique and enhance their ongoing policy making projects.
3. Enhance policy writing skills
4. Enhance skills of oral presentation of gender analysis or issues

Format:

Use of audio visual and computer equipment

Note that this session provides part preparation for WORKING GROUPS which will be formed in SESSION 10 grouped in

SESSION 9

**Obstacles: Institutional, Personal, National,
Regional, Global - Relevant Tools for buy in at each
level**

PRESENTER:

**LESTER EFEBO WILKINSON
Permanent Secretary
Min. of Foreign Affairs**

"Gender Policy as Public Policy: Road Rules for the Real World"

Presented by:

Lester Efebo Wilkinson

Permanent Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs
and Head of the Trinidad and Tobago Foreign Service

This Paper explores Public Policy from the perspective of generally accepted theories of the Public Policy Process as well as from an understanding of practical "hands-on" approaches to Public Policy formulation and implementation. Gender Policy is then examined not only as one of several discrete "areas of public policy more generally" (Hesmondhalgh), but also as "Public Policy" in and of itself. Gender Policy is Public Policy. Proceeding from that perspective, the Paper then examines the Gender Policy process exploring ways in which persons working in the Gender Policy arena may more effectively engage the practical, day-to-day business of Gender Policy formulation and implementation: practical road-rules, in a real-world situation.

Lester Efebo Wilkinson is Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago, and Head of the Foreign Service. Since 1994, he has served as Permanent Secretary in several Ministries including the Ministry of Legal Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the Ministry of Culture and Gender Affairs. He is a former Director of Culture for Trinidad and Tobago, and former Cultural Officer (and Head of the Cultural Affairs Unit) for CARICOM. He has also served in several Public Policy oriented capacities inclusive of: Director-General for CARIFESTA V, Chairman of the CARIFESTA VI Advisory Committee, Inaugural Chairman of the CARICOM Regional Cultural Committee, Member of the 1987 Advisory Work Group on Carnival, Secretary/Member of the 1987 Cabinet appointed Steering Committee for a National Commission on Culture for Trinidad and Tobago, Executive Member of the National Commission for UNESCO, and Executive Board Member of Eastern Credit Union. He is also a published poet, playwright, dramaturge, stage director, and Lecturer (Part-time) in the Theatre Arts at the Centre for Creative and Festival Arts, UWI, St. Augustine.

**FEMINIST ECONOMICS
AND THE WORLD BANK**
HISTORY, THEORY AND POLICY

EDITED BY EDITH KUIPER AND DRUCILLA K. BARKER

ROUTLEDGE | AFPE ADVANCES IN FEMINIST ECONOMICS

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12 Engendering development or gender main-streaming?

A critical assessment from the Commonwealth Caribbean

Violet Eudine Barriteau

In this report we define gender equality in terms of equality under the law, equality of opportunity – including equality in access to human capital and other productive resources and equality for rewards for work – and equality of voice. We stop short of defining gender equality in terms of equality of outcomes, however for two reasons. One is that different societies can follow different paths in their pursuit of gender equality. The second is that an intrinsic aspect of equality is letting women and men choosing different (or similar) roles and different (or similar) outcomes according to their preferences and goals.

(World Bank 2001: 35)

The issue, therefore, is whether the economic empowerment of poor women in CARICOM is increasing, or that any such claim is smoke and mirrors. The economic empowerment of women would require changes both in the power relations between North and South, and in the power relations of gender.

(Andaiye 2003a: 101)

Introduction

The World Bank's policy research report, *Engendering Development* is a worthwhile and timely study for developing countries. Not only because it is written by a powerful international development institution that with this report attempts to grapple with the intersection of gender issues and development concerns, but more so because of the multiplier or demonstration effect of this premier Western, development institution devoting time and resources to gender analysis. Governments and other institutions in developing countries may be more willing to engage with the ideas in the World Bank's publication if only because of moral suasion and their dependence on this institution for long-term development financing and the Bank's ongoing involvement in influencing subsequent development planning. Similarly, governments may be more inclined to ignore academic or feminist analyses of the same concerns if only because of the absence of the political will to engage with more progressive or alternative discussions, and the absence of a critical mass of feminist thinkers within government bureaucracies. It is precisely because of these considerations that the publication has to

be scrutinized and critiqued. It has the potential to be cited as an authoritative source of information on engendering the development agenda in regions such as the Commonwealth or Anglophone Caribbean.

In this chapter I offer a critique of the Bank's latest policy report on gender. I undertake this assessment by arguing that the Bank's stated objective to engender development through introducing a prescribed set of measures to attain gender equality is instead identical to the promotion of gender main-streaming strategies currently being offered as a panacea for all gender trouble in developing countries. Instead of engendering development, the sum effect of these policies would be the promotion of gender main-streaming.

A genealogy of gender main-streaming

Gender main-streaming first gained international attention in the gender and development discourse by its emergence in the Platform for Action and Beijing Declaration (United Nations 1996). The Platform for Action advocated twelve strategic objectives and corresponding plans of action to achieve them. A common theme running throughout the strategic objectives and the proposed actions is the recommendation that gender analysis and gender planning be incorporated into all aspects of government, private sector and NGO policies and programmes (United Nations 1996; Sen 1999: 9; Andaiye 2003b).

The 1995 Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development is a good example. Endorsed by the Commonwealth heads of Government in Auckland in 1995, the Commonwealth Plan "gave the Commonwealth Secretariat a mandate to advise and assist governments in mainstreaming gender in all their policies, programmes and activities" (Sen 1999: 11). The Commonwealth Secretariat defines gender main-streaming as, "the central strategy of the Plan of Action for advancing gender equality and equity. It refers to the consistent use of a gender perspective at all stages of the development and implementation of policies, plans, programmes, and projects" (Commonwealth Secretariat 1999a: 6). The Commonwealth Plan traces its emphasis on gender main-streaming to the policy approach, Gender and Development (GAD). Its Plan of Action states:

GAD tries to integrate gender awareness and competence into mainstream development to account for the different life courses and different impact of development policies on women and men. It emphasises that all development activities affect women and men differently and calls for appropriate "gender planning" to address them. It also calls attention to "outcomes" and the need to take the necessary steps to ensure that the resulting conditions and outcomes are equitable, rather than being preoccupied with giving only identical treatment . . . This new perspective forms the basis upon which the Plan of Action has been developed

(Commonwealth Secretariat n.d.: 14)

The discussion of gender main-streaming moves from gender main-streaming being the central strategy to promote gender equality and equity to gender main-streaming being a consistent use of a gender perspective. The Commonwealth Plan defines a gender perspective without, however, challenging unequal power relations in gender:

A gendered perspective looks not at women alone but at the relationship between women and men and how societies are structured along gendered lines. It is concerned with:

- Women's involvement, concerns, needs, aspirations as well as those of men;
- The outcomes of policies, plans and projects on women, men and children;
- Assessing to whom the benefits accrue and in what ways. Financial and other quantitative and qualitative benefits may be assessed;
- The whole process of gender planning.

(Commonwealth Secretariat n.d.: 14)

In practice the development and incorporation of a gender perspective have been approached through rounds of workshops on gender training, gender sensitization, and gender analysis, with many of them discussing gender as divorced from feminist inquiries into women's persistent experiences of adverse power relations and conditions of subordination.

The Commonwealth Secretariat produced elaborate, well-written manuals to guide the process of gender main-streaming and in 1999 introduced the first national-level gender main-streaming and gender management system exercise in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Like the World Bank's strategies these focus on inputs, in this case the structures, processes and mechanisms necessary to facilitate the introduction of gender main-streaming. There is an over-emphasis on what goes into creating an enabling environment for gender main-streaming without a corresponding focus on what emerges from the process. It could be that because the planners were creating a new and "comprehensive network of structures, mechanisms and processes for bringing a gender perspective to bear in the mainstream of all government policies" (Commonwealth Secretariat 1999a: 5), they concentrated on the inputs of this new structure. However, the demonstration effect in developing countries could prove disastrous if new layers of bureaucracies are created without a clear emphasis on what should be achieved or on the mechanisms for gauging these achievements. Gender main-streaming strategies will not engender development and as currently conceived will produce very few meaningful changes to challenge institutionalized unequal relations of gender. I argue that the engendering of development promised by the World Bank collapses into gender main-streaming and inherits its limitations.

The three-pronged strategy of rights, resources and voice the report promotes is identical to the measures recommended to achieve gender main-streaming in

the public sector in developing countries. However, the latter are problematic for several reasons. To date gender main-streaming is the most sophisticated and systematic attempt to implement a Gender and Development (GAD) strategy (Barriteau 2001: 86) and has become the key mechanism advocated to promote gender equality. However both its conceptualization and the experiences with its introduction in the Caribbean indicate that gender main-streaming results in a shift away from dealing with inequalities affecting women and men and instead produce a concentration on methodologies. The residual effect is that gender relations that maintain and reinforce hierarchies and inequalities are left intact.

In a study of gender main-streaming in five Commonwealth Caribbean countries Sonja Harris found there was great conceptual confusion on gender main-streaming. Only in Jamaica did the Planning Institute come closest to the definition the study used, of "ensuring that gender considerations are taken in the development of policies, plans and programmes" (Harris 1999: 6). She observed that, "all other countries interpreted the concept as involving men in services and programmes so as to create balance in the relationship between men and women" (*ibid.*: 6).

I suggest that gender main-streaming and gender management systems pose even greater problems for states in their attempts to address the inequalities women experience. This is so because these strategies are "conceptually unclear, structurally unsound, and create fragmentary programs that sidestep the real issues in women's lives – ongoing attempts by institutions and individuals to maintain conditions of inequality for women" (Barriteau 2001: xiii). The core of any programme or strategy to achieve gender equality should address relations and practices that actively seek to maintain women or men as subordinate, second-class citizens.

Engendering development

By stating it is "engendering development," I expect the Bank to expose the gendered character of the inequities in how women and men experience contemporary development policies and practices. In engendering development the Bank should actively promote strategies that seek to alter these. I expect the Bank to be aware of how developments in globalization generally, and specifically trade liberalization, and its effects on regional economies exacerbate gender-based inequalities. As Ann Denis argues, these "inequalities remain evident, reinforced, often implicitly, by the neoliberal policies and pressures in the public and private sectors. These pressures in fact constitute a backlash against gains that women had gradually, if unevenly, been making" (Denis 2003: 506). In other words, to engender development the Bank has to target and seek to effect particular outcomes. Instead it resorts to strategies that mirror the problematic gender main-streaming practices that do not destabilize entrenched inequalities.

As a result, in spite of its stated objectives, the Bank's measures constitute a reductionist package of measures and approaches that are proving counter-productive to promoting the goals of gender equality and justice in the

Commonwealth Caribbean. This slippage from the stated objectives to what is actually designed occurs because of three reasons. The first is that the conceptualization of gender and gender equality is deficient, thus providing a false set of assumptions to guide the measures introduced around the goal of gender equality. Second, the World Bank authors avoid examining power relations in relations of gender. A focus on the power relations of gender would move the analysis toward seeking to change the ideological and institutional foundation that supports gender inequality. Third, the World Bank refuses to engage with gender equality in terms of outcomes. By doing this, it abandons the most important set of measures that could indicate whether societies were serious about pursuing policies that would attempt to remove structural and ideological conditions that perpetuate gender inequalities.

I comment on the experiences of the Commonwealth Caribbean with gender main-streaming strategies to illustrate the inherent difficulties with the World Bank's prescriptions for achieving gender equality. Many of the measures the World Bank holds as desirable for achieving gender equality in developing countries already exist in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Yet gender relations are at their most contested and hostile (Vassell 2003; Bailey 2003; Pargass and Clarke 2003; Noel-Debique 2003; Andaiye 2003a; Bailey 2003a; Barriteau 2003; Harris 2003). Additionally, instead of tackling existing inequalities the new measures being introduced result in a shift away from them. This happens because

gender main-streaming strategies are approached as if they are bundles of value-free methodologies that can be applied with the right mix of funding, personnel and training . . . We know and those committed to patriarchal practices understand, that what we are addressing or sidestepping is power relations feminist and other investigations have revealed. We should never undertake work on gender unless we are willing to address this.

(Barriteau 2001: 175)

The socioeconomic, cultural and political expressions and experiences of relations of gender in the Commonwealth Caribbean¹ provide a sound body of quantitative and qualitative empirical evidence to challenge the certainty with which the World Bank offers its assessments and predictions for achieving gender equality in the developing world. Conditions in the Commonwealth Caribbean constitute a litmus test on whether development can in fact be engendered by promoting gender equality with the specific mix of strategies identified by the Bank.

In the Report, socioeconomic data on the Commonwealth Caribbean is merged with that of Latin America. This is unfortunate. Because of this, the uniqueness and dynamic character of gender relations and gender systems in the region is lost. It is subsumed in trends that reflect developments primarily in Latin America. The grouping of the data does not capture and address the compelling changes in material and ideological relations of gender in the Caribbean

that began in the last twenty-five years of the twentieth century and continues into the twenty-first (Tang-Nain and Bailey 2003; Denis 2003; Barriteau 2001, 1998a; Barrow 1998b; Freeman 2000; Kempadoo 1999; Leo-Rhynie *et al.* 1997; Social and Economic Studies 1986; Mohammed and Shepherd 1988; Albuquerque and Ruark 1998; Mohammed 1998b, 2002).

I use occurrences in the social relations of gender in the Anglophone Commonwealth Caribbean to illustrate my analysis. The countries comprising this geopolitical grouping are largely missing from the World Bank's study, even though the region is perhaps one of the best models of developing countries/regions undergoing rapid changes in relations of gender. In some global studies, especially those given to socioeconomic analyses, there is an unfortunate tendency to link Latin America and the Caribbean and then be satisfied that the latter region has been adequately investigated. This is inaccurate. This approach uses the bulk of data from Latin America with some statistical flavoring added by the inclusion of the Hispanic Caribbean countries of Cuba, Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic. These countries are very much a part of the geographic Caribbean. However because of the comparatively greater size of their populations and national territories, and the sharply divergent patterns within their history, political institutions, culture and economic activities, the particular features that define the Anglophone Caribbean are submerged in these globalizing analyses.

The problem of definition: discussing gender/avoiding power

The first difficulty with the policies and strategies recommended by the Bank begins with its definition of gender and gender equality. The Report starts its analysis by locating, "gender equality as a core development issue – a development objective in its own right" (World Bank 2001: 12), and then defines gender equality in terms of inputs, or conditions necessary for its attainment. The Bank is not interested in assessing whether or not gender equality has actually been achieved or even approached. The Report states, "[g]ender equality is equality under the law, equality of opportunity (including equality of rewards for work and equality in access to human capital and other productive resources that enable opportunity), and equality of voice" defined as the ability to influence and contribute to the development process (*ibid.*: 2–3). The World Bank's definition and discussion of the core concept of gender emphasizes social expectations arising from the biological differences between male and female bodies without emphasizing the power relations that constrain the gender identities women and men acquire as part of prevailing gender ideologies (*ibid.*: 34). The discussion avoids the considerable feminist investigations of the concept of gender (for example, Scott 1986; Flax 1990; Chodorow 1995; Nicholson 1994; Hawkesworth 1997). Instead *Engendering Development* relies extensively on discussions produced by international development institutions and agencies. Many of these studies refrained from engaging in feminist theorizing of gender. They minimize the feminist genealogy of the concept and emphasize its utility

to formulating policy on gender but without the conceptual rigor and analytical strengths feminist analysis offers. When one considers the intense negotiations, debates and challenges that are intrinsic to producing international policy statements to satisfy all the contending constituencies, reliance on these processes and subsequent documents to support a particular definition does not do justice to the analytical worth of the concept. This reliance enables diplomatically defined language to neutralize and define conditions that are about inequalities of power and justice.

What is required in terms of the World Bank's work on gender is not the need (as it states) to collect more and better data to be disaggregated by gender analysis (World Bank 2001: 27). Instead it is the need to revisit and rethink the conceptual analysis of gender. The Report approaches gender inequalities as merely a problem of inadequate resource allocation. Therefore it concludes that what is required are measures to reassign and reallocate resources.

It identifies the factors standing in the way of gender equality as institutions, households and the economy as if these are value-free institutions whose operations are not driven by relations of power to operate in distinct ways to serve specific, hierarchical and patriarchal interests. But it offers no discussion of the idea that built into norms and practices is a recurring inferior ranking of women and women's roles that arise in ideological relations of gender.

The second difficulty I want to mention here is that the World Bank is not addressing the social relations of power that coalesce in the concept of gender. It speaks about rights, resources and voice but avoids speaking about power. This is exactly what gender main-streaming turns out to be in practice. The net result is a further packaging and marketing of the gender product without tracking what its implementation is supposed to achieve.

Material and ideological relations of gender are relations of power. They make up the two dimensions of a gender system which comprise a network of power relations. The material dimensions of gender reveal how women and men gain access to or are allocated the material and non-material resources in a state and society (Barriteau 2001: 30). I define ideological dimensions of gender as

involving the construct of masculinity and femininity. It indicates how a society's notion of masculinity and femininity are constructed and maintained. The ways in which [they] are constructed reveal the gender ideologies operating in a state and society... Gender ideologies reveal what is appropriate or expected of the socially constituted beings, "women" and "men". They also expose how individuals create gender identities. The social expectations and the personal constructions of gender identities form the core of gender ideologies within a particular society.

(Barriteau 2001: 30)

Built into the construct of masculinity and femininity are hierarchies of gender, so that what it means to be a man is ranked and valued more by societies than what it means to be a woman. Because of these hierarchies and inequalities

built into and continuously reinforced in gender relations, gender systems are unjust.

The third difficulty I want to stress is that the World Bank definition of gender emphasizes equality of access but does not say anything about distribution nor existing prejudices after access has been formally attained. If the existence of those conditions mean gender equality then in the Commonwealth Caribbean we would have to conclude that we are very advanced in achieving gender equality. In fact the Men's movement in Barbados concludes there is now widespread gender inequality for men because governments, universities and states have gone too far in ensuring women have gender equality under the law, and in access to and distribution of resources.

The university [of the West Indies] is not saying how it will help men, head of the Men's Educational Support Association, MESA, said last Monday night during the organisation's general meeting. Boyce said men were driving women to the Cave Hill Campus and other institutions of higher learning and paying school fees for them while not concentrating on their own educational advancement.

(Weekend Nation 2000: 33)

Barbadian men are being "unfair" by local legislation and are justified in believing they are getting a raw deal. The legal inability of men to seek maintenance and adopt or foster children with the ease that women do, and the proposed amendment to the Family Law Act, are both examples of this discrimination, says chairman of the Men's Educational Support Association, Ralph Boyce.

(Bennett 2002: 1)

Other news items by the Men's Association protesting perceived gender inequalities for men include, "Help Men too" (Ejimofo 2002: 1B); "Fair Treatment for all Men Needed" (Millington 2003: 3); and "Boys Losing their Way?" (Niles 2000: 14A).²

The analysis of gender systems in the Caribbean shows that ideological relations of gender are embedded within patriarchal relations that are very resistant to change (Barriteau 2001: 20-71). By ignoring the contents of the construct of masculinity and femininity, that is the gender identities that societies and individuals hold as appropriate for men and women, it also ignores the hierarchies built into these identities and their attendant complications (ibid.: 30-4).

The Caribbean experience

The Report does not investigate conditions in the Anglophone Caribbean. Yet Barbados, which has consistently ranked first in the Caribbean measured by the UNDP's gender development indices (see Table 12.1), provides an excellent example of ideological relations of gender, constraining women's capacity

Table 12.1 World rank of Caribbean countries on Human Development Index, 1995-2001

Country	1995		1996		1997		1998		1999 ¹		2000 ²		2001	
	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value
Antigua/Barbuda	55	.84	40	.86	29	.89	29	.89	38	.82	37	.83	-	.82
Bahamas	26	.89	26	.89	28	.89	32	.89	31	.85	33	.84	42	.82
Barbados	25	.90	25	.90	25	.90	24	.90	29	.85	30	.85	31	.86
Belize	29	.88	67	.75	63	.80	63	.80	83	.73	58	.77	54	.77
Cuba	72	.76	79	.72	86	.72	85	.72	58	.76	56	.78	-	.72
D'can Republic	69	.77	87	.70	41	.87	41	.82	53	.77	51	.79	86	.72
Dominica	96	.70	65	.76	87	.71	88	.72	88	.72	87	.72	-	.72
Grenada	67	.78	77	.72	54	.84	51	.85	52	.77	54	.78	-	.70
Guyana	105	.62	103	.63	104	.64	100	.67	99	.70	96	.70	93	.70
Haiti	148	.36	145	.35	156	.33	159	.34	152	.43	150	.44	134	.46
Jamaica	88	.72	86	.70	83	.73	84	.73	82	.73	83	.73	78	.73
St Kitts/Nevis	37	.87	45	.85	49	.85	50	.85	51	.78	83	.73	-	.73
St Lucia	84	.73	76	.73	56	.83	58	.83	81	.73	47	.79	-	.73
St Vincent	79	.76	73	.73	57	.83	55	.84	75	.74	79	.73	-	.73
Suriname	77	.76	75	.73	66	.79	65	.79	64	.75	67	.76	64	.76
T'dad & T'bgo	39	.87	38	.87	40	.88	40	.88	46	.79	50	.79	49	.79

Notes

1 See page 160 and TN1, Report 1999.

Measure of development based on indicators of longevity, education, income per head.
See UNDP 1999: 23.

2 Can be compared with 1999.

to participate fully in politics. The CEDAW's committee reaction to the presentation of the Barbados Country Report to the United Nations in 2002 exemplifies this. The Barbados report stated that there are no legal nor institutional barriers to women's full political participation and that Barbadian women had the right to vote since 1943.³ The Country Report explained women's comparatively lower participation in elective politics as due to cultural barriers. In response to this report, the CEDAW committee, referring to the facts that the government had identified cultural barriers as an impediment to women's full participation and that Barbados was a signatory of CEDAW since 1980, asked what the government was planning to do to dismantle these barriers? CEDAW stressed that these barriers were not natural and unchangeable and requested that the Barbados government address gender stereotyping and state the identification of measures to combat these as a priority (*Daily Nation* 2002b; CEDAW 2002; Barriteau 2003: 224).

The Caribbean experience shows that what is crucial is for the authors of the Report to recognize the power relations inhering in gender. They need to spell out the specific interests that are served by gender hierarchies and examine who benefits and who is harmed by these. Gender inequalities are not a benign manifestation of inefficient resource distribution. They are symptomatic of deliberate attempts to deny women's full economic, political and cultural citizenship. The collective work of Andaiye (2003a, b), Ann Denis (2003) and Barbara Bailey (2003) demonstrates that changes in the Caribbean's political economy, even when punitive to some men, have not meant that women have gained. Barbara Bailey emphasizes that the focus on quantitative gains made by women in education distorts the reality of where women are located in the educational system and how this translates into less of a comparative advantage in labour markets (Barriteau 2003: 217).

When this point is not fully grasped in terms of its implications for policy, very poor strategies are put forward. When policy-makers conclude that there are only benign gender biases within a set of social interactions or policy, they assume what is needed are new strategies of socialization. This misunderstanding has created an industry on gender that is productive and lucrative but it leaves the character of unequal gender relations unchanged. It is unable to alter unequal gender relations because the analysis and the prescriptions are uninformed by feminist investigations that contributed the analytical strength of the concept and revealed the character of power relations within it.

Avoiding outcomes or denying persistent inequalities?

At the core of my critique of the World Bank's approach is the exposing of the flawed assumption made by the authors that they can concentrate on various dimensions of material resource allocation as inputs and have those inputs produce (as outcomes) sex equity (or parity).⁴ This bifurcation of analysis and subsequent policy has two major implications. It predisposes the Bank's strategies to mimic the gender main-streaming strategies, a tendency which promises

much but delivers little in relation to challenging gender inequalities. More significantly this focus on inputs is unable to make sense of the experiences in the Caribbean that demonstrate, for example, that it is possible for boys and girls to have equal access to education (the input) and to have relatively similar completion rates (the output), but that boys and men continue to maintain economic, social and political power or dominance, since the gender hierarchies were not fundamentally challenged in the first place. Instead these sex equity policies are embedded in the existing gender hierarchies and do not destabilize them.⁵

The World Bank deliberately avoids addressing any conditions that could indicate some measure of outcomes on gender equality. It is as if the authors of the Report are saying "we are advocating the adoption of certain strategies as inputs but we are not interested in what emerges. We will make no predictions or offer any advice on what should be the end product of these various mixes of policies since all societies and cultures have specific understandings of how they want relations between women and men to be." It thus limits the effectiveness of the measures it advocates for developing countries. Measures of equality that address changes in women's and men's lives on the basis of changes in their experiences of relations of gender provide a better assessment of whether the package of measures actually do produce gender equality.

Instead the World Bank chooses to hide behind what is really a diplomatic disclaimer that each culture and society can follow different paths to gender equality differently so that the pursuit of measuring gender equality as seeking changes in outcomes is meaningless (World Bank 2001: 35). This may buy the World Bank space or peace with its member countries which still cling to rigid and hierarchical gender roles and identities for women, but it is unacceptable. It is precisely because some countries argue that their pursuit of gender equality is unique to their culture that we have so many women in different regions of the world experiencing inhumane, unjust conditions in their daily lives.

The Report speaks to the universality of roles and responsibilities for women and girls around reproductive and unpaid work. It notes that this work is time-consuming and seriously constrains their capacity and ability to benefit from resources where these exist. The Report notes that irrespective of culture and society women bear a disproportionate share of work in the reproductive and care economy. Yet after identifying a universal, asymmetrical, feature of relations of gender, it tries unsuccessfully to make an argument for particularity. It does this as a means of avoiding the admittedly difficult task of holding countries accountable to some measure of gender equality in outcomes. Not having the mechanisms or political authority to insist on certain measures does not mean these mechanisms cannot be developed. Neither does it remove the moral responsibility to insist, or at the least provide, some guidelines on what attaining gender equality could look like. The World Bank and the IMF are well known for insisting on adherence to fiscal and financial rules even when countries claim that culturally adhering to these prescriptions would provide social and cultural upheavals.

Caribbean realities

At approximately 6 million, the population of the Commonwealth or Anglophone Caribbean is less than half of the population of the Hispanic Caribbean country of Cuba (UNDP 1999). Until three years ago the Commonwealth or Anglophone Caribbean and CARICOM⁶ were synonymous. With the admission of Suriname followed by Haiti to CARICOM, the latter now includes non-Anglophone Caribbean countries. Many of the conditions the Report discusses and advocates as evidence of gender equality currently exist in the region. For example, life expectancies and gross primary and secondary school enrollment ratios are both relatively high and significant for both women and men.

In 1995 the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced two indices, the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) to capture gender disparities and their adverse effects on social progress in the policies, programmes and practices of countries (UNDP 1995: 72).⁷ For the period 1995–2001 all the independent CARICOM countries receive a Human Development Index (HDI) ranking as shown in Table 12.1.⁸ In 1995 Barbados, the Bahamas, Belize, St Kitts-Nevis, Trinidad and Tobago, and Antigua-Barbuda were ranked as high-income developing countries (*ibid.*: 52). By 2001 only Barbados and the Bahamas received that listing in the geographic and Commonwealth Caribbean (UNDP 2001: 141). Table 12.2 shows the comparative rank of Caribbean countries on the GDI between 1995 and 2001. Why is there this reporting gap on the GDI for the countries comprising the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS)? These countries, Antigua-Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, St Lucia, St Kitts-Nevis and St Vincent have state machineries focusing on gender issues and have signed the Beijing Platform of Action. The omission is even more puzzling since the annual Human Development Reports display the statistics on the HDI for OECS countries and input the same data that is used to calculate the HDI to calculate the GDI.⁹

Evidence from the Caribbean contradicts some of the assumptions about the positive changes likely to occur because of women's access to material resources. The evidence also indicates why an exclusive focus on inputs, whether as resource allocation as advocated by the Bank, or on structures, as an enabling environment as stressed by gender main-streaming strategies, is insufficient. With all the widespread concern that men are being marginalized in labour markets and women are becoming dominant in traditional male occupations, men's economic advantage over women, as expressed in the earned-income differential remains consistently higher throughout the Caribbean and in fact in all 162 countries reporting on the Gender-Related Development Index. This is the economic evidence for the arguments made by Barbara Bailey (2003) questioning the alleged shift in a balance of power among women and men because of women's higher educational enrolment ratios. The estimated earned income for women and men underscore the disparity between inputs (material resource allocation) and outcomes around achieving gender equality.

Table 12.2 Comparative rank of Caribbean countries on the Gender Development Index, 1995-2001

Country	1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001		Change in World Rank on GDI 1999-2001
	Caribbean	World	Caribbean	World	Caribbean	World	Caribbean	World	Caribbean	World	Caribbean	World	Caribbean	World	
Barbados	1	11	1	16	1	17	1	16	1	27	1	32	1	38	→
Bahamas	2	26	2	18	2	18	2	21	2	29	2	48	2	47	→
T'dad & T'bgo	3	36	3	34	3	32	3	38	3	44	4	67	4	68	→
Jamaica	5	52	4	60	4	63	6	65	5	69	4	80	6	88	→
Guyana	8	70	7	78	7	91	9	95	7	83	6	—	—	—	—
Cuba	4	47	—	—	5	68	7	69	4	53	—	—	—	—	—
Suriname	6	54	—	—	—	—	5	63	—	—	3	60	3	59	→
Belize	—	—	5	75	—	—	4	56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
D'can	7	69	6	71	6	75	8	81	6	75	5	73	5	78	→
R-republic	9	105	8	112	8	130	10	144	8	124	7	123	7	118	→
Haiti	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Antigua/ Barbuda	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dominica	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grenada	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St Kitts/ Nevis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St Lucia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St Vincent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source: UNDP Human Development Reports 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001.

Notes

HDI: Human Development Index.

GDI: Gender Development Index, introduced for the first time in 1995. The GDI concentrates on the same variables the UNDP used to create its HDI, but compares and takes note of differences in the achievement of women and men to determine a country's progress on efforts to attain gender equity.

Tables 12.3 and 12.4 present a statistical sketch of this economic reality. Table 12.3 discloses that from 1995 to 1998 earned-income differentials for women and men in the Caribbean were reported as a percentage of total income earned. These tables enable a serious reexamination and contextualization of the arguments about achieving gender equality by following the prescribed set of measures. They are also relevant to the debate about gender and poverty (Andaiye 2003a). One fact is indisputable in these ratios. Women consistently earn considerable less than men in all Caribbean countries. In 1995 only in Barbados and Jamaica did women's earned-income share of all income earned exceed 30 percent. However, for most countries reporting these figures increased for women, albeit incrementally. Table 12.4 depicts these gender differentials in earned income as real GDP per capita for 1999 to 2001. These differences in earned income are even sharper, with the exception of Haiti where in 2001 women earned 54 percent of real GDP per capita as compared to Belize where women's earnings were 23 percent.

To promote gender equality the issues surrounding women and work should engage the attention and energies of the World Bank policy-makers and practitioners working in the field. Deep-seated ideological tensions about material relations of gender are embedded in discussions of women and work that remain unexamined, thus making it very difficult to unravel the policy and practical implications of these challenges (Denis 2001: 31). Yet with its exclusive

Table 12.3 Earned income share, 1995-1998

Country	1995		1996		1997		1998	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Barbados	39.4	60.6	39.1	60.9	39.5	60.5	39.6	60.4
Bahamas	28.3	71.7	39.4	60.6	39.5	60.5	39.5	60.5
T'dad & T'bgo	24.7	75.3	28.5	71.5	29.7	70.3	26.8	73.2
Jamaica	38.6	61.4	39.2	60.8	39.2	60.8	39.2	60.8
Guyana	21.2	78.8	25.4	74.6	26.4	73.6	26.9	73.1
Cuba	27.2	72.8	29.7	70.3	31.1	68.9	31.5	68.5
Suriname	—	—	—	—	—	—	26.1	73.9
Belize	—	—	—	—	—	—	18.5	81.5
D'can	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Republic	12.1	87.9	22.4	77.6	23.1	76.9	24.0	76.0
Haiti	34.2	65.8	36.1	63.9	36.2	63.8	36.0	64.0
Antigua/ Barbuda	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dominica	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grenada	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St Kitts/ Nevis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St Lucia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St Vincent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 12.4 Real GDP per capita (US\$), 1999–2001¹

Country	1999		2000		2001	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Barbados	9,252	14,496	–	–	–	–
Bahamas	13,296	20,238	11,577	15,153	12,138	18,457
T'dad & T'bgo	4,101	9,600	4,131	10,868	4,510	11,878
Jamaica	2,756	4,138	2,629	4,163	2,746	4,400
Guyana	1,760	4,696	1,852	4,994	1,949	5,435
Cuba	2,013	4,181	4,973	7,839	–	–
Suriname	2,794	7,569	–	–	–	–
Belize	1,617	6,928	1,704	7,368	1,858	7,972
D'can	2,374	7,186	2,333	6,787	2,794	8,133
Republic	–	–	–	–	–	–
Haiti	928	1,624	976	1,805	1,030	1,916
Antigua/ Barbuda	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dominica	–	–	–	–	–	–
Grenada	–	–	–	–	–	–
St Kitts/ Nevis	–	–	–	–	–	–
St Lucia	–	–	–	–	–	–
St Vincent	–	–	–	–	–	–

1 Estimated Earned Income (ppp US\$) 1999.

Source: UNDP Human Development Report 2001.

focus on the material relations of gender, that is access to and distribution of resources, the factors that influence who benefits are unexamined. There are both micro and macro dimensions to material and ideological relations of gender, especially as these relate to women and economic autonomy.

At the level of aggregates, Caribbean states have amended or removed most discriminatory legislation and facilitated women's access to public resources through expanded access to tertiary education and comparatively better health care. At the micro level, gender ideologies have disrupted or influenced material relations of gender, specifically the relationship between the woman worker and her employer. For example a decision to use women as piece-workers in manufacturing not only denies women more prestigious work, it also guarantees lower wages, affects income levels, spending power and accumulation of wealth.

Given the emphasis the Bank places on enhancing women's political voice the data on women and political participation indicates what happens when there is a concentration on equality of inputs without paying attention to outcomes. Table 12.5 discloses the extent of women's political participation in Caribbean countries in 2001. Between 1980 and 1995 the percentage of women participating in parliamentary assemblies in sixteen Caribbean countries averaged 9.6

Table 12.5 Women's political participation in Caribbean countries, 2001

Country	HDI rank	GDI rank	Yr of right to vote	Yr of right to stand for election	Yr first elected or appointed to parliament	% in gov't at ministerial level	% seats held in lower or single house	% of seats in upper house or senate
Barbados	31	–	1950	1950	1950	14.3	10.7	33.3
Bahamas	42	38	1961	1961	1977	16.7	15.0	–
T'dad & T'bgo	49	47	1946	1946	1962	8.7	11.1	32.3
Belize	54	51	1954	1954	1984	11.1	6.9	37.5
Suriname	64	–	1948	1948	1975	–	17.6	–
Jamaica	78	68	1932	1932	1962	–	6.0	–
Guyana	93	88	1953	1945	1968	–	18.5	–
Haiti	134	118	1950	1950	1965	–	12.5	8.0
D'can Republic	86	78	1942	1942	1942	–	16.1	6.7

Source: UNDP Human Development Report 2001.

percent in 1980, with a high of 14.3 percent in Guyana and a low of 4.6 percent in the Bahamas. In 1985 the regional average was incrementally higher at 11.0 percent with a high of 28.6 percent in Grenada (two seats out of seven), and lows of 0 percent in Antigua-Barbuda, St Vincent and the Grenadines, and the British Virgin Islands (Mondesire and Dunn 1995: 102).

By 1992 the regional average of women's participation in parliamentary assemblies was 12.6 percent, with a high of 30.8 percent in Montserrat (4/13 seats) and lows of 0 percent in Anguilla and Antigua-Barbuda (Mondesire and Dunn 1995: 102). As Table 12.5 shows, in 2001 the average number of seats held by women elected to a lower or single house stood at 11.6 percent. Even though women have been able to vote and stand for elections for over fifty years, at the beginning of the twenty-first century the region still lacks a critical mass of women as key political leaders.

Women's participation at the highest level of political decision-making fluctuated in most dependent territories and independent countries between 1980 and 1992. Women's overall political representation as a result of national competitive politics grew by 3 percent. In contrast men's successful participation in national competitive politics never dropped below 70 percent in any Caribbean independent or dependent country. Between 1980 and 1992 in fifteen out of sixteen Caribbean countries men held 81 percent or more of the seats in parliament (Barribeau 1998b: 20; Mondesire and Dunn 1995: 102). As Table 12.5 shows, in 2001 in all the countries reporting, men held 81.5 percent or more of all elected seats. This statistical description of political participation in the region offers a different reading and runs counter to the popular arguments of the take-over by women of traditional sites of male power.

There is simultaneously a widespread belief in and about the region that women have overtaken men educationally and financially. Sonja Harris reported that there was confusion in the region as to the legitimacy of continuing to focus on women given male "underachievement" in education (Harris 1999: 3). The thesis of the marginalization of the Caribbean male is so pervasive that in New Delhi in 2000 it was the action of Indian feminists who managed to stop the sixth annual meeting of Commonwealth Ministers of Women's Affairs from adopting that theme as a priority area for the Caribbean (Chadha 2000). Caribbean women have attained comparatively higher levels of education: in fact the ratio of female to male enrolment at the university of the West Indies is 70/30. Yet female unemployment in the region is higher and Tables 12.3 and 12.4 substantiate the fact that the wage differential is still wide.

In a study of three economies in the Commonwealth Caribbean Stephanie Seguíno found that women are much more likely than men to be unemployed and on average men earn 20 percent more than similarly qualified women. Her study reveals that in an economic upturn men are more likely to find employment than women. She concludes that her results imply that relying on economic growth to reduce gender equality in job access will not suffice and more targeted efforts are needed to ensure that women stand a fair chance of being hired (Seguíno 2002).

Some of the strategies the World Bank recommends concentrate on reducing time spent on housework through introducing or enhancing time-saving infrastructure. The strategies do not attempt to unravel the fundamental ideology that housework is the responsibility of women. By focusing almost exclusively on material conditions through altering resource allocation, the Bank's report creates the assumption that such changes will produce gender equality. Caribbean women's alleged comparatively better use of educational resources have unleashed many misogynous statements and practices, and there are ongoing demands to curtail this access or introduce new restrictions (*Trinidad Guardian* 2000; Taitt 2000; *Barbados Advocate* 2000, 1993; *Daily Nation* 1993).

The following statement from the Report is not accurate for the Caribbean, as it relates to man as the sole or traditional breadwinner: "Women command fewer resources with which to cushion shocks – while men, as the traditional breadwinner, are particular vulnerable to stress associated with large changes in or uncertain employment" (World Bank 2001: 25). While the ideology certainly exists, in practice men have not been the traditional breadwinners for several reasons.

Historically Caribbean women have played and continue to play a major role in contributing to the financial upkeep of families. The high percentage of female-headed households, at a regional average of about 44 percent, remains a significant and contributory factor. Caribbean men have migrated in search of work, leaving women to run households and families sometimes with or without remittances (Newton 1984; Momsen 1987; Mondesire and Dunn 1995). In the Caribbean as elsewhere there is the ideology of Man the Breadwinner. Helen Safa analyzed this as *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner* rather than seeing it as the reality (Safa 1995).

It is precisely because women theoretically can have equality before the law (inputs) and still experience serious institutionalized inequalities in the application of the law (outcomes) (World Bank 2001: 37) that a measurement of gender equality as equality before the law or access to the law is inadequate.

When the Report concludes that men now experience gender inequalities in Latin America and Eastern Europe it needs to examine the conditions that give rise to what is being described as gender inequalities for men. Do these inequalities arise from societally or individually held beliefs in men's inferiority as citizens? Do these conditions arise out of policies of the state and society to deny men access to resources? Are they due to changes that arise when developments in the global political economy intersect with how men construct their gender identities? Are there institutionalized practices in customary and civil law that deny men access to rights, resources and voice?¹⁰

Conclusion

A commitment to removing the foundational ideological and material conditions that sustain gender inequalities would move the analysis and subsequent policies away from notions of more or less equality. It would avoid conclusions such as

ne sex enjoying more gender equality than the other in having access to a given resource because the other is not benefitting from that resource to the same degree.

The World Bank's analysis requires some means of assessing attempts to move ingrained gender inequalities. Since women historically have been denied autonomy, I suggest that a useful measure for women would be to pay attention to the degree of autonomy they can exercise over their lives. To what extent do they have a voice in matters concerning themselves and their families? I find it useful to begin to think of an outcome of gender equality as the capacity of an individual to have autonomy to influence decisions and choices about one's life without restrictions or limitations being imposed because of one's sex.

When states exist with hierarchies and injustices embedded in their gender systems they cannot produce or implement gender-neutral policies. Gender-based power relations permeate all social relations (Barribeau 2001: 33). This is perhaps the major weakness of the World Bank study. This is also the flaw it shares with gender mainstreaming strategies. As currently conceived, they both attempt to construct and offer a set of gender-neutral practices or policies on a foundation of deeply entrenched, gendered structures and behaviours. The policies may be designed to apply to men and women equally, but women and men will not be equal beneficiaries. The ideological relations of gender that actively seek to maintain conditions of inferiority or lack of civil relevance has to be dismantled. This is where Commonwealth Caribbean countries are now located, at the crossroads of transforming or reifying unequal relations of gender. Material relations of gender have been radically reconfigured. Ideological relations of gender remain anchored precariously to some mythical notion of appropriate gender identities. The product is tension, hostility and resentment. No amount of well-intentioned policy prescriptions that ignore the brittle character of ideological gender relations will alter that. No set of policy prescriptions that seek to end conditions of inequalities can afford to ignore women's and men's dissimilar experiences of contemporary gender relations.

Notes

- 1 By Commonwealth Caribbean and Caribbean I refer to the independent, Anglophone island states (Antigua-Barbuda, Barbados, Bahamas, St Christopher-Nevis (St Kitts-Nevis), Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, St Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, St Vincent and the Grenadines), and British Dependencies within the Caribbean Sea, (Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat and Turks and Caicos), the Central American country of Belize, and the South American country of Guyana. These countries have a similar historical, political, social and cultural legacy. They are former colonies of Britain and in the case of a few, British Protectorates.
- 2 This is only a representative sample. The Association has a weekly column in the leading daily newspaper and uses that medium to undertake advocacy on behalf of men that is often very critical of feminists and feminism.
- 3 With property restrictions, universal adult suffrage was achieved in 1951.

- 4 I thank Drucilla Barker for making this very clear to me.
- 5 Again I thank Drucilla Barker for helping me to clarify these points.
- 6 CARICOM refers to the Caribbean Community established in 1973 by the independent Anglophone Caribbean countries who are also members of the British Commonwealth. The three objectives are economic integration, coordination of foreign policy and functional cooperation. Before the admission of Suriname and Haiti to full membership, CARICOM, Commonwealth Caribbean and Anglophone Caribbean were interchangeable terms. However it is still common practice for researchers and lay persons to use the terms interchangeably even though CARICOM is now the larger grouping.
- 7 The UNDP employs the same variables it used to construct the HDI but uses them to focus on the inequality between women and men as well as the average achievement of all people taken together (UNDP 1995: 72). The GDI measures achievement on the same basic capabilities as the HDI but takes note of inequality in achievement between women and men. The methodology used imposes a penalty for inequality such that the GDI falls when the achievement levels of both women and men go down or when the disparity between their achievement increases. The greater the gender disparity in basic capabilities the lower a country's GDI compared with its HDI. The GDI is simply the HDI discounted or adjusted downwards for gender inequality (*ibid.*: 73).
- 8 Yet since the UNDP began publishing the GDI and GEM indices in 1995, not once have these statistics ever included data on the eight independent countries comprising the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States, OECS; see Table 12.2.
- 9 The GDI is the HDI discounted or adjusted downwards for gender inequality (UNDP 1995: 73). This enables the UNDP to assign a ranking for the countries' efforts to prioritize a human-centered development approach. Countries may have a high HDI ranking and fall in ranking on the GDI. This indicates that improvements in society have not benefited women as much as men (Barribeau 1998b: 447).
- 10 For a framework for assessing whether men are being marginalized, see Barribeau 2000, 2001C.

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SESSION 10

WORKING GROUPS

Facilitators:

Patricia Mohammed (CGDS St. Augustine)

Deborah Mc Fee (CGDS St. Augustine)

Judith Wedderburn (FES)

Cecilia Babb (CPDC)

(Gabrielle Hosein (CGDS St. Augustine))

WORKING GROUPS – ORGANISATION AND TASKS

OBJECTIVES:

The aim of the course is to ensure that ideas and tools of gender analysis are transferred immediately back into the work of those participating. Participants have each been asked to bring with them a policy or related gender project which they are now working through. We will use Working Group sessions to examine these projects and to find ways in which the gender understanding and tools may enhance the existing project approaches. Working group sessions and evening or nights may be used wisely by participants to develop their project documents. Since the course is a residential one, some resource persons will be on hand after hours to provide expertise to those who need this or choose to avail themselves of it.

SELECTION OF WORKING GROUPS:

This will be finalized based on the projects or documents brought by the participants of the course and grouped according to like themes thus allowing an assigned Resource person to work consistently with the group in preparing for presentations on the final day of the course.

PRESENTATION OF WORKING GROUPS:

Working groups will develop joint presentations on how they have been able to draw on the knowledge and tools presented in the course to enhance their projects. Participants will have access to one or two laptop computers and a printer to allow them to prepare their presentations or these may be done on flip chart paper.

Each group is given twenty minutes only for presentation and two resource persons will provide a critique of your presentation. *Please note that this session will be filmed by the film crew.*

SESSION 11

Action Plan Formulation

PRESENTER:

**Rosalie Barclay
Consultant**

Rosalie Barclay
Consultant

SESSION 11 - 10.30 – 12.30 Thursday 23rd March, 2006

Unit Title: Action Plan Formulation

Overview:

The success of formulation of policy lies in a clear understanding of implementation and execution phase of the process. The action plan is the planning tool which, taking into account every level of the policy environment, translates the policy process into practical activities, with measurable indicators of achievement.

This session would acquaint participants with the development of Action Plans as a critical tool in the policy process.

SECTION 8

ACTION PLAN AND INDICATORS MATRIX

POLICY 1: INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHENING OF THE GENDER AFFAIRS DIVISION

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIVITIES	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTPUT
			1	2	3	4	5			
1. Empower the Division with the requisite status and autonomy as the national machinery	-Invest the Gender Affairs Division with powers of decision-making	- Equip the Division with requisite financial resources to implement policy	X	X	X	X	X	- A division that demonstrates increased ability in decision-making power - An increased budget allocated to the Division	GORTT/Cabinet	- A restructured, semi-autonomous Gender Affairs Division
		- Staff training and upgrade of the Division through additional positions- Director, Policy Analyst, Communications and Education Officer, and Legal Officer	X	X				- Gender Studies included in qualifications for staff positions within the Gender Affairs Division - Establishment of all required positions	GORTT/Cabinet THA Secretariat GORTT, Gender Affairs Division THA Secretariat	- All staff in the Division and its line ministry trained in Gender Studies - Monitoring mechanisms established
		- Engender the policies and plans of other departments of the line Ministry	X	X	X	X	X	- Evidence of gender responsive/sensitive programmes and policies in line Ministry	Gender Affairs Division	- Annual Reports on gender mainstreaming in all ministries
	- Promote/ensure gender equity/equality in all programmes, projects and policies	-Broaden information systems to include gendered research	X	X				- Evidence of gender-based indicators of violence and standardised data	-do-	- Detailed National
			X	X	X	X	X			
			X	X	X	X	X			

2. Ensure 'buy in'/acceptance of policy by all state bodies and wider society	- Promote gender policy nationally	and documentation						collection instruments	Gender Affairs Division, Government Information Unit	Action Plan developed and used
		- Develop detailed action plan for implementation - Increase participation of beneficiaries throughout the project cycle	X					- Participatory planning, implementation and monitoring of projects with relevant civil society organisations		- Sustained gains of mainstreaming achieved with commitment of all agencies
		- Develop and implement Communications and Public Education Strategy - Involve women's/men's/youth organizations in planning communications strategy	X	X	X	X	X	- More citizens aware of and understand gender policy - Increased number of persons understand the relevance of gender in their lives		- Gender Policy and its goals disseminated throughout ministries, NGOs, CBOs and nationally - Communications Strategy developed

POLICY 2: MAINSTREAM GENDER INTO OTHER MINISTRIES' POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
			1	2	3	4	5			
- Facilitate the organisational transformation of other Ministries/agencies and statutory bodies towards gender mainstreaming	Promote the gender policy within all ministries and agencies/statutory bodies	- Identify and establish gender focal points within each ministry	X					- Focal points identified, established and trained - Integration of GAD interventions in performance contracts of officials	Gender Affairs Division in collaboration with Permanent Secretaries and focal points	- Cadre of well-trained staff conducting gender analyses and monitoring of policy
		- Hold meetings with Directors, senior staff to demonstrate the potential for including GAD in programmes and projects	X					- Gender aware sectoral/departmental-interventions that build the capacities of the Ministries to address gender issues in all aspects of its work		- Gender mainstreaming and institutionalization set out in annual planning and reporting
		- Review existing policies addressing employees and clients to measure their gender responsiveness	X					- Sector staff making its own development plans, budgets, programmes, projects and services gender-responsive		- Gender perspective included in administrative and financial regulations and policy statements
		- Training workshops for focal points and key personnel on gender/gender planning	X					- Institutional mechanisms (funding and staff) being used in implementing GAD programmes and projects		- Flagship programmes address gender issues
		- Establish and maintain a system of monitoring and evaluation						System of monitoring and evaluation in place		- The use of the gender lens by relevant personnel to develop, analyse and evaluate programmes and projects
										- Continuous improvement of policies and procedures to make them gender responsive
										- Sustained gains of mainstreaming achieved and supported by all personnel

POLICY 3: INSTITUTE MACRO-ECONOMIC PLANNING/GENDER RESPONSIVE BUDGETING (GRB)

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
			1	2	3	4	5			
- Mainstream gender analysis into planning process	- Introduce/Integrate gender analysis and gender planning into the national budgetary and planning process	- Conduct a gender analysis of current and subsequent budgets - Institute system of gender audits to monitor and evaluate use of GRB		X	X			- Future national budgets developed and reflect Gender Responsive Budgeting through more equitable allocation of resources	- Gender Planner - Ministry of Planning and Development - Gender Affairs Division	- Gender responsive development planning that ensure that plans and programmes tackle the relevant gender issues and concerns
	- Sensitize economists and planners in all Ministries on issues of gender and gender analysis	- Provision of training opportunities to sector economists /planners/technocrats via scholarships, short courses, workshops on gender	X	X	X	X	X			- Production of gender sensitive budgets
	- Establish Gender Planner position at the Ministries of Planning and Devt. to ensure gender analysis and integration into all policy and programme documents, project proposals and statistical mechanisms and to institute/Introduce Gender Responsive budgeting	Gender Planner to work closely with Gender Affairs Division in national planning	X	X	X	X	X			- Increased allocation of funds /resources to priority programmes
										- Flagship programmes address gender issues
										- The use of the gender lens by relevant personnel to develop, analyse and evaluate programmes and projects
										- Continuous improvement of policies and procedures to make them gender responsive
										- Sustained gains of mainstreaming achieved and supported by all personnel

POLICY 4: IMPROVING THE CAPACITY OF THE JUDICIAL AND LEGAL SYSTEM

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
- To achieve gender equity/social justice in law and legal systems	Engender the judicial and legal systems	- Organize and conduct sensitization workshops for all levels of staff in Ministry and all sectors of legal system	1 X	2 X	3 X	4 X	5 X	- Increased number of staff /legal practitioners trained in gender issues and planning increased	Legislative caucus/GFPs and Gender Affairs Division	
		- Collaborate with partners eg Hugh Wooding Law School to conduct training	X	X				- Increase in number/percentage of training courses for legal and para legal practitioners conducted	Hugh Wooding Law School/GFP/UWI	
		- Pursue curriculum reform to include gender at all levels of legal training	X	X				- Increased number of collaborative activities between HWLS/ UWI – CGDS/GD or other agencies	GD/HWLS	
		- Identify strategic partners in the engendering initiative						- Gender and Law included in Law School (and Faculty) curriculum		
								- Courses infused with gender analysis		
								- Introduction of gender courses at all levels of higher learning		
		- Identify and support priority areas identified by GFP/Ministry and consultant	X	X	X			- Evidence of use by judiciary and legal practitioners of literature/training in gender issues in the courtroom		- More Gender Sensitive language in legislation
		- Sensitize the judiciary, practitioners on	X	X	X			- Evidence of more gender sensitive language and		

		issues of gender in the conduct of cases - Influence the physical layout of courtrooms to make them more gender sensitive - Implement the GMS within the Legal institutions - Develop a Handbook on the use of gender-sensitive language for all government departments.	X	X	X			attitude of judges and lawyers when dealing with cases eg rape, child maintenance, domestic violence	GD/CGDS	Handbook developed
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POLICY 5: INSTITUTE GENDER PARTNERSHIPS WITH LABOUR

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
			1	2	3	4	5			
Implementation of gender mainstreaming into programmes, activities and projects	- Integrate gender concerns in the policies and programmes of employers in the public and private sectors	- Establish support systems/services to ease burden of working mothers/fathers						- Increase in the number of homework and childcare centres and establishment of work-based child care services	GORTT, Ministry of Labour, Gender Affairs Division	- Increased level of gender consciousness among policymakers, legislators, employers' organisations and workers' organisations, and workers
	- Monitor and promote equal opportunities of women in Executive and Managerial positions in the public and private sectors	- Conduct gender audits on hiring, promotion, conditions of work, etc. in the private sector						- Promotion of national awareness of women's rights to promotion to managerial office	-do-	
		- Address sexual harassment in the workplace						- Enactment of the Basic Conditions of Work Bill.	GORTT, Ministry of Labour and the Gender Affairs Division	- The use of the gender lens in formulation and implementation of labour and other relevant legislation
		Conduct sensitization meetings with senior Ministry officials representatives of employers' and workers' organisations, policymakers and legislators						- Full and effective implementation of Sexual Harassment Legislation	-do-	- Recognition of domestic workers as workers
	- Identify and establish mechanisms to deal with gender discrimination in the workplace							- Institution of sexual harassment policies in workplaces (including educational institutions) which are specific and consistent with place and conditions of employment		- Enactment of all relevant legislation
									-do-	
	- Conduct review of social security legislation to ensure gender equity	- Revise Industrial Relations Act to recognize domestic workers as workers						- Information on minimum wages and basic conditions of work published in the print and electronic media		
		-Increase access to						- Enactment and effective monitoring of legislation		

		services for women in the informal sector in relation to credit, resources and skills - Monitor and ensure that minimum wages are maintained in all areas of (in)formal employment and workers have clear avenues for complaints						that provides for equal pay for work of equal value		
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POLICY 6: GENDER DIFFERENTIALS AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
Implementation of gender mainstreaming into poverty reduction programmes, activities and projects	- Integrate gender concerns into the National Poverty Reduction Strategy -	- Strengthen the capacity of the CSO to improve collection and analysis of gender sensitive data on household unwaged activity - Support research on women involved in unremunerated agricultural production, processing etc through formal and informal means	1	2	3	4	5	- Data derived from 2000 census on unremunerated work published in the electronic and print media - Research/data collection on single-headed households and impact of poverty	GORTT, Gender Affairs Division, Ministry of Social Development, UWI, Ministry of Agriculture Gender Affairs	- Gender consciousness in policy planning and delivery of poverty reduction programmes and projects

	Promotion of income generation and self-sustaining employment rather than welfare dependence - Increase capacity at the local level – local government, CBOs and civil society to overcome bureaucratic inertia and facilitate effective planning, implementation and monitoring of poverty reduction strategies	- Develop programmes that increase the value and visibility of housework and unremunerated work - Establishment of enhanced measurement procedures, monitoring and evaluation capacity of existing funding initiatives - Sensitization meetings with senior local and central government officials - Gender sensitisation workshops with social welfare officers, community development, and field workers, NGO and CBO actors						- Evidence of programmes to increase the visibility and value of housework and other forms of unremunerated work - System of low interest rate loans for men and women in business - Special financial services to encourage entrepreneurship in industry, agriculture and commerce - Coordination of poverty reduction strategies in municipal regions	Division, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Social Development, UWI	- Gender balance in the distribution of funds to all vulnerable groups – (fe)male households, youth and the disabled Establishment of Regional Development Councils consisting of local government officials and civil society including CBOs
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POLICY 7: FOSTERING EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
			1	2	3	4	5			
Fostering public commitment to improving the facilities to rural agricultural and fishing communities and increasing economic and employment opportunities for men women involved in the agricultural sector	- Conduct a nationwide study on gender and agricultural sector, including employment trends, land ownership, earnings, payment and wages, access to credit, investment, ad other related variables - Research on all forms of credit available for agricultural development - Increase environmental sensitivity among male and female	- Establishment of GAD focal point - Redefinition of the term 'farmer' as gender neutral in all policy document and data collection instruments, legislation to include women who are not landowners - Assessment of the gender differences in access to and repayment of credit - Examine the criteria used for selecting beneficiaries of land purchase and credit schemes in relation to the position of women in the sector - Generation of banking facilities in rural communities of Toco/St. David and Cedros - Establish media and other public programmes that						- Evidence of gender sensitive data and research on the agricultural sector - Credit programmes that offer equal services to men and women in the sector - Reduction in agricultural practices that harm the environment	GORTT, Gender Affairs Division, Ministry of Science and Technology and Tertiary Education, COSTATT, UWI, Ministry of Agriculture, NAMDEVCO	- Gender neutral language and gender sensitive legislation, policy and programmes on the sector - A credit system that is gender responsive and considers the needs of women farmers who are not landowners - Public awareness and sensitivity on agricultural and environmental issues and the preservation of natural resources

	agricultural workers and farmers at all levels to facilitate harmonious and sustainable use of the limited natural resources - Research and analyses to facilitate planning for employment opportunities for men and women in agriculture, horticulture and fisheries - Strengthen agricultural, horticultural and fisheries education in rural communities through increased gender-sensitive agricultural training at all levels of schooling	promote public discussions about agricultural and environmental issues and concerns on the utilization, exploitation and preservation of natural resources - Strengthen gender studies in the curriculum and training programmes for Agricultural Extension Officers, ECIAF, COSTATT, UWI							- Gender responsive teaching and training curriculum, and extension services		
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POLICY 8: SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
			1	2	3	4	5			
-Foster social and community development through improvement in the quality of family life and transformation of the internal dynamics of families	- Review Domestic Violence Act and establish appropriate structures to support it	- Include gender sensitive peer and professional counsellors and support groups for men and women victims/survivors and perpetrators - Institute a centralized system of data collection on domestic violence - Establish comprehensive system for monitoring the implementation of the legislation							GORTT, Gender Affairs Division, UWI	
	- Review and strengthen the Domestic Violence Unit	- Increase its capacity to collect and analyse data on use of the Domestic Violence Hotline to facilitate research and policy - Increase its capacity to work with men and boys on issues of domestic violence and gender violence							-do-	
	Improve and increase protection for women threatened with domestic violence	- Develop guidelines for the effective functioning of Shelters for Battered Women in Trinidad and Tobago							do-	

	evaluate current legislation	parenting skills and enable young parents to gain skills in effective parenting - Strengthen the Male Support Programme of the Gender Affairs Division especially those that support parenting training and include programmes on fatherhood in communities and workplaces - Increase the number of males trained in Gender Studies through incentives of scholarships - Review practice of paternity leave in local and foreign jurisdictions to prepare draft legislation - Develop guidelines and policies on Early Childhood Centres - Increase support to parents in new ways of child-rearing, gender awareness, non-violent discipline, and child development - Create measures to increase men's participation in the pre-natal and birthing process - Provide support mechanisms for men					and support mechanisms to increase men's participation in family life	Ministry for Legal Affairs, HWLS, Gender Affairs Division, UWI Ministry of Education, Ministry of Social Development	
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	- Protection of the rights of children	- Place specialised officers at police stations for taking statements and a Rape Unit. - Implement the Children's Authority Act - Conduct research on the practice and meaning of incest in Trinidad and Tobago for the purpose of defining clear intervention strategies and policies - Improve data collection on incest and child abuse - Incorporate issues of incest and child abuse into HFLE programmes in primary and secondary schools, with training for selected teachers to deal with the cases - Establish and/or increase temporary safe homes for children who are victims of abuse separate from existing Children's Homes and institutions for young offenders							Ministry for Legal Affairs, Gender Affairs Division, Ministry of Education	
	- Promote gender sensitivity training and education for youth workers	- Gender training and sensitisation for officers who work in areas that deal with child counselling							Gender Affairs Division, Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs, Ministry of Education, COSTATT, Ministry of Social Development	

[illegible]

POLICY 9: EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
			1	2	3	4	5			
Integration of gender perspectives to ensure that the educational system, teacher and student training plans, policies and programmes are gender responsive	- Conduct gender audit of education legislation, policy, and teaching and school curriculum - Review curricula materials to eliminate gender bias and create gender equity - Encourage ongoing research on gender differentials in education - Address gender concerns in draft policy on standards for early childhood education	- Establish focal point position and conduct sensitization for Ministry officials - Strengthen of research institutions to conduct specialised research - Revisit language of the Gender and Education Act to make it more gender sensitive and gender inclusive - Include components of gender and gender socialization in training courses, from early childhood education to tertiary						- Increased number of staff trained in gender issues - Evidence of gender responsive education policy and training - Research that informs gendered education policy - More gender-responsive training and gender sensitive trainers/educators	GORTT, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Science, Technology and Tertiary Education, Gender Affairs Division, UWI	- Reduction in sexism and gender stereotyping that limit participation of men and women's participation - Gender sensitive and gender inclusive language in legislation – Gender and Education Act, Proposed Standards for Early Childhood Services - Expansion in the options in training and education that reflect the move towards the development of a knowledge-based and entrepreneurial society

POLICY 10: HEALTH, NUTRITION AND FAMILY PLANNING										
OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
			1	2	3	4	5			
To contribute better health and wellness for women and men, healthy relationships between them, advancing their potential toward individual, personal and professional goals	- Formulation of a gendered health policy that advocates for more data on the full effects of gender on the status of health - Strengthen community health participation within gendered framework - Ensure that men and women have	- Establishment of GAD focal point in the health sector - Develop programmes for disease prevention that meet the specific needs of men and women - Increase research in gender and sexuality to identify the key patterns of transmission of HIV/AIDS - Increase awareness of environmental health and occupational safety hazards for men and women - Establish programmes and services for victims of violence and abuse - Intensify information campaign in family planning methods to men and women - Upgrade and improve access to primary health care						- Strengthened GAD focal point at the national and regional levels - Evidence of increased investment in information education to counter social and cultural values that influence men and women's health - Evidence of integration of gender concerns in health research, government policies, plans and major programmes of health-related government agencies	GORTT, Ministry of Health, Faculty of Medicine UWI, Ministry of Science, Technology and Tertiary Education, Gender Affairs Division	- Gender consciousness of policy makers, legislators, programme managers, and health professionals on the health needs and concerns of men and women - Gendered legislation and policies that promote health at all stages from infancy to old age -Improved functional health and nutritional literacy in the population - Full implementation of the Magna Carta for Public Health

		- Change the job titles of positions that can be performed by both men and women									
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POLICY 11: GENDER AND THE DISABLED POPULATION

OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY	PROPOSED ACTIONS	TIME FRAME (2004-2009)					INDICATORS	RESPONSIBILITY	EXPECTED OUTCOMES
			1	2	3	4	5			
Integration of gender-responsive policy	- Administration of a gender disaggregated census of people with disabilities	- Support and increase gendered research on men and women with disabilities - Conduct research on gender-based violence and sexual abuse against disabled persons especially women and children						- Data on induced disabilities resulting from acts of domestic violence	GORTT, Disability Affairs Unit, Ministry of Social Development, Gender Affairs Division, Ministry of Education, NCPD, and other relevant private and public agencies	- Gendered policy that is concerned with the treatment of disabled men and women as whole, productive, social and sexual individuals
	- Enhancement of public facilities that make education or work more accessible	- Mandatory construction of ramps in all public spaces, public transportation, lifts and wheel chair friendly pavements						- Evidence of user friendly access for the disabled in buildings, buses, and public spaces		- Public consciousness and understanding of the needs and rights of the disabled population
	- Promotion of programmes that educate the population and	- Gender specific training for disabled students in the area of work-based life skills in relation to Minimum Wage laws,						- Updated and upgraded curriculum that adequately prepares disabled students in all aspects of the world of work		- Programmes for rehabilitation and counselling in agencies that deal with the disabled men and women Updated education and training programmes that properly meet the needs of the disabled

[illegible]

SESSION 12

Penal / Debe Community Visit

FACILITATORS

Catherine Ali, Mediation Expert

Gabrielle Hosein, Assistant Lecturer, CGDS/UWI, Trinidad

Sabrina Mowlah-Baksh Community Activist

SESSION 12: 2.30 – 5.00 pm Thursday 23 March 2006

Unit Title - Community Workshop on Gender Policy-Making Debe/Penal Region, Trinidad

Overview

The workshop is being co-hosted by the Penal Debe Regional Corporation and SANSECC¹ which is a community NGO based in San Francique Village, Trinidad. The workshop brings together the gender policy work that is taking place in schools with perspectives from local activists and stakeholders including Social Studies teachers, School Guidance Officers, Police, Probation, Family Services, representatives from Sansecc and other CBOs and faith communities, and members of the Penal Debe Regional Corporation.

Workshop Objectives

1. To define the main gender needs of the Penal Debe Region.
Within the region, there is a particular focus on Gender and Male Adolescents. Focus is on what needs to change and how meaningful sustainable change can be planned.
2. To find the best way to address these needs collectively for transformation.
Workshop recommendations will be drawn into a gender policy action plan that will inform Regional development plans in keeping with its vision of making 'Penal Debe a great place to live, work and socialize'.

Venue

The venue is Sansec Building. This NGO has a strong women's group with a record of delivering empowerment projects. Mr. Clyde Parmanand, is President. The address is San Francique Sports, Educational and Cultural Council, 185 San Francique Road, Penal.

Directions

About 4 minutes after the town of Penal there is a Y junction. Take a right turn and continue for another 4-5 mins. There is a large bridge and a sign that says "Welcome to Siparia". Sansecc is at that sign on the left directly on the border. There is good parking space in front. There is usually slow traffic in Debe and again in Penal. The journey from POS will take an hour and a half.

Workshop Agenda

¹ San Francique Sports, Educational and Cultural Council

2.15 - 2.30pm	Arrival at Sansec Community Building
2.30pm	Welcome and setting the context: Dr. Allan Sammy
2.35pm	Introduction of workshop objectives, participants and facilitators: Patricia Mohammed
2.40pm	Community Stories: Catherine Ali and 4-5 people <i>Aims:</i> These stories highlight solutions people have created in their lives and provide a sense of the (gendered) problems they face. They introduce some of the main points for workshop discussion and engagement.
3pm	Brief highlighting of stories' connections to gender and the way they raise points for discussion: Gabrielle Hosein
3.05pm	Example of traditional gender training <i>Aims:</i> This traditional initiation ritual into adulthood highlights the ways that communities shared gendered knowledge in the past
3.25pm	Plenary discussion <i>Key questions:</i> 1. <i>What do the cultural practices we have seen say about traditional masculinity and femininity?</i> 2. <i>How are women's and men's gendered experiences related to traditional agricultural ways, and few forums for conversation, change and choice?</i> 3. <i>What are some ways that notions of men as providers and women in the home affect men's and women's lives, and family life overall?</i> 4. <i>What kinds of new gender expectations and relationships are we also seeing eg where people may work together as equals?</i> 5. <i>In terms of creating gender policies what important points were raised?</i>
3.55pm	Schools make joint presentation of gender awareness-raising tool. <i>Aims:</i> Youth presentations highlight their own experiences and aspirations in terms of relationships, communicating needs and feelings, having choices and living free of violence
4.05pm	Any brief questions for students
4.10pm	Break into groups for stakeholder-led discussion on violence and gender policies, and sharing of experiences leading to plenary discussion of agreed and debated points. <i>Key questions:</i> 1. <i>What transitions in experiences do youth presentations show?</i> 2. <i>What do they suggest for the future?</i> 3. <i>How can a systematic plan or policy co-operate with these transitions so that boys and girls' socialisation can highlight gender justice and social justice?</i> 4. <i>How can families be encouraged to participate in activities together?</i>
4.30pm	Plenary discussion <i>Key questions:</i>

1. *What have stories, matikor, students etc suggested for consideration when making gender policies?*
2. *How do they suggest issues that should be explored?*
3. *What programmes and projects, from a gender perspective, can we suggest for inclusion in the region's development plan?*
4. *What have we learned?*
5. *What are some ways to continue the conversation?*

4.55pm``

Thanks and close of workshop: Catherine Ali and Pat Mohammed

SESSION

Participants make presentations

Each Group is allowed 20 mins for presentations

Discussants: Ms. Shelia Stuart (ECLAC)

Dr. Daphne Phillips, (UWI)

DAILY EVALUATION SHEET

INTENSIVE ONE WEEK GENDER POLICY TRAINING COURSE
Chancellor Hotel, St. Ann's, Port of Spain, Trinidad 19-25th March, 2006

Date: _____

Name (optional) _____

In an effort to build on this course and improve its offering in the future we have chosen this way to evaluate the course. We appreciate if at the end of each day, using a different sheet each day, you write as freely as you wish, any comments you have on the Session Content, Delivery, Materials provided or any other item you may wish to suggest. This includes sessions such as film screening and community participation.

Participant/Resource Person Comment:

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THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES
AT ST. AUGUSTINE, TRINIDAD

CENTRE FOR GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
ONE WEEK INTENSIVE GENDER AND POLICY TRAINING COURSE
March 19th - 25th, 2006

REGISTRATION FORM

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