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**A Review of  
Colloquium Summary  
"Gender Issues in Development Cooperation"**

**Sponsored by  
Association for Women in Development**

**October, 1988**

**Prepared by  
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## Colloquium Summary

### Gender Issues in Development Cooperation

Sponsored by  
Association for Women in Development

Report by  
Jane S. Jaquette

#### OVERVIEW

The discussion focuses on the role of "women in development" in light of the "rapidly changing development agenda. The paper summarizes the different topics of four separate speakers.

The first session addresses the question of whether women should be incorporated in the structure of development as it exists today, or whether the entire development process should be restructured. Much of this restructuring includes the U.S. and multilateral institutions taking the lead in hiring women in leadership positions. The second discussion covers the relationship between gender and macroeconomic policy. Structural adjustment is addressed, and its negative impacts on the disadvantaged are assessed, with particular attention paid to women. Finally, the discussion centered around the policy implications of gender in development, and urged policy makers to approach the problem as one of gender and not one of women in development.

#### HIGHLIGHTS

Topic #1: Is there a need to restructure the development process to allow for a more active participation on both ends of the spectrum?

Issue #1: What can help the process of integrating women in the development process?

- Recommendations:
1. There is a need for gender aggregated data. Tools must be developed, staff trained and ongoing analysis pursued.
  2. Regular funds should be used for such projects and not "add-on" funds.
  3. Because of the misconception that the problem is one of "feminism" and not one of development, there is a need for more training of women as development professionals.
  4. A sectoral approach should be taken.

**Topic #2: How has structural adjustment affected women in development, and what should be done differently to improve the situation?**

**Issue #1: Historically, how has structural adjustment helped or hindered women in development?**

- Recommendations:**
1. Women are rarely in the central positions of power to make macroeconomic policies
  2. Structural adjustment tends to help women in the rural and urban sector in terms of providing a market for export crops and greater chances of unprejudiced employment, respectively.
  3. Women often suffer most from the short term, harsh effects of the structural adjustment policies.
  4. More data needs to be collected. The overall failure of structural adjustment in terms of social costs may be a useful argument for taking a closer look at the role of women in development.

**Topic #3: What are the policy implications suggested in the recommendations made to the aforementioned issues?**

**Issue #1: What type of data should be collected?**

**Recommendation:** Projects centering on women's time budgets should be studied.

**Issue #2: What overall approach is appropriate to this problem?**

- Recommendations:**
1. There should be an attempt to focus on gender problems rather than the problems women face in development.
  2. A sectoral approach should be taken.
  3. There needs to be authority from the top and accountability at the working level. The example of CIDA is given.
  4. Addressing gender-sensitive issues needs to be a participatory process, not a passive one.



ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

GENDER ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

COLLOQUIUM REPORT

Jane S. Jaquette  
Conference Coordinator

The AWID Colloquium on "Gender Issues in Development Coöperation" was held at the Conference Room of the Overseas Development Council on April 11-12, 1988. This report is based on rapporteur's notes taken by Lucy Goodhart.

## GENDER ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

### Colloquium Report

The Colloquium on "Gender Issues in Development Cooperation," organized by the Association for Women in Development (AWID) had two major aims.

The first was to provide analytic input and policy guidelines for a conference on "Cooperation for International Development: U.S. Policies and Programs for the 1990s," scheduled to be held at Michigan State University in May, 1988. AWID is one of several groups (including the Institute of International Education, Winrock Institute for Agricultural Development, and the World Resources Institute) who were invited to organize pre-Conference colloquia. The intent of the Michigan State Conference was to initiate a full scale rethinking of the U.S. role in development in the 1990s, a decade that presented a very different picture from the 1960s and 1970s when AID's current structure and goals were developed. The AWID Colloquium offered a unique opportunity to participate in this wide-ranging discussion in the development community in the United States and to help anticipate and contribute to the changes in foreign assistance policy that will be called for in the coming decade.

The second purpose of the Colloquium was to assess over a decade of efforts to plan and implement "women in development," and seek ways to increase the focus on women in a rapidly changing development agenda. Three papers were presented and discussed, each responding to themes suggested by the format of the Michigan State Conference. The first presentation, by T. Paul Schultz of the Economics Department at Yale University, was on "Investments in Women: Priorities and Prospects;" it drew on work he has been doing for the Rockefeller Foundation and for the women in development office of the World Bank. The second, by Mary B. Anderson and Marty Chen of the Harvard Institute for International Development, assessed the approaches used by various agencies to "integrate women" into the development process. The third paper, by Susan Joeke of the International Center for Research on Women and the World Bank, looked at the impact of macro-economic policies on women as a broader context against which the success or failure of WID efforts should be read. Two commentators introduced the discussion of each paper.

This Colloquium Report summarizes the presentations, the opening comments, and the key points in the the discussion

men's education. Less developed countries spend 10 to 15% of their GNP on education (compared to 2-3% in the developed countries), yet there are still gaps between men's and women's education: in 1960, women in developing countries averaged 3.3 years of education versus 5.6 for men. By 1980 this gap had lessened but was still significant.

Data from a National Academy of Sciences project on school expenditures show that the elasticity of enrollment is higher for girls than for boys. That is, as income goes up or the cost of school teachers goes down, women's attendance is more positively affected than men's. Other studies have shown that the rates of return on education are the same for men and women, but that it costs less to educate women. In both cases, educating women is more efficient. In addition, women's education has important non-market effects, including lowering the rate of child mortality (by 5-10% for every year of education for the mother), increasing the level of education of children, and improving family nutrition. In countries for which there is relevant data, (and there is almost no data for sub-Saharan Africa), we find that women are losing ground where they have least access to education and vice versa. Women have greater access to the paid labor force when the gap between male and female education is less. This could be due to the changing composition of the labor force as a result of urbanization, but the association between urbanization and labor force participation does not hold for South Asia--precisely where gaps between male and female education levels are greatest.

Labor supply studies show that women enter the labor force in response to their own increasing capacities, but in a negative relationship to the earning capacities of their husbands. However, the elasticity is greater for the first factor than for the second. With wages 30% lower today in Latin America, both male and female labor force participation has declined.

Finally, there is a proven link between women's education and improvements in nutrition, life expectancy, and productivity.

In policy terms, this adds up to a persuasive case for more investment in female schooling on grounds of efficiency. Rates of return are higher than for other kinds of investment and equal to or greater than that of investment in male schooling. On equity grounds, investment in women is more productive because more of the income earned by women goes into improving the welfare of children.

Comparing investment in formal education to other types of investment in women reinforces the case for making education a priority. First, data on intra-household transfers shows that access to education, like improvements

in health, benefits the recipient directly and cannot easily be reassigned to others. Second, formal education (as opposed to vocational training) has the advantage of giving women flexibility; often traditional skills are outmoded as technologies change.

Third, education is more effective than are legal interventions to increase women's access to formal labor markets. Maternity leaves and anti-discrimination legislation often don't work. They tend to penalize large firms and give unregulated family firms an advantage. The data shows that minimum wage laws drive women, but not men, out of the labor force.

When women have higher wages and productivity, their status goes up. But we shouldn't be too concerned if women choose to allocate their time to non-market activities; studies show that their productivity in the non-market sector also rises as educational levels improve.

We need to convince national policy makers, who are increasingly skeptical about the value of education, to maintain the emphasis on educational spending and particularly to close the gap between female and male educational levels. To influence family decision making, we need to spread the word that educating women is a productive rational choice for the family as well.

The first commentator, Ingrid Palmer, consultant to the U.N. Development Programme (UNDP), the Population Council, and other development institutions, expressed a number of concerns. First, arguments for equity (and for women's non-market productivity) may be listened to in better economic times, but in today's climate of international economic crisis, planners only respond to arguments that women's contributions to national production will be increased. The decision to undertake education may actually imply losses for women who are constrained by current demands on them; perhaps what the data shows is lagged covariation between education and entry into the labor force. One woman's education may allow her daughter to undertake wage employment, but she herself may be held back by traditional expectations. This makes education a "long term" investment, and thus harder to justify. The object is to give women an investment they can use, and without increased labor productivity, there is not room for maneuver--especially for women in agriculture who would have to give up family life to take advantage of the kind of job opportunities that are created by conventional schooling.

Palmer commented positively on the idea of crediting non-market benefits to women's education. She noted that in Lesotho women want to get their daughters out of

agriculture, so are willing to spend more on their daughters' education than on their sons". Africa had very low educational levels to begin with, so investments were quite productive. But, as families see declining marginal rates of return, the prestige of education is waning, and support for education may be declining.

What is left out of Paul Schultz' analysis? The informal sector may be an alternative to wage labor, yet we cannot easily measure returns to investments there: we need a better reading on the informal sector. The content of education is increasingly important. In the UNDP/IDB review of WID projects, it was clear that one of the most difficult tasks is to encourage women's education in science and math. Counselling is an area that needs more research.

Susan Bourque, Professor of Political Science at Smith College, noted that it was encouraging to see education return as a development issue but that any consideration of education should go beyond looking at the relationship between enrollments and wage differentials. In the United States, a decline in enrollment differentials has not led to any decline in the wage gap. Our experience with education has taught us that gender issues are systemic, that changing one aspect of the system may be ineffective if not marched by changes in other sectors.

Bourque also emphasized the importance of looking at the content of education, to what kinds of subjects women study and what girls learn. Do single sex schools have an impact on female retention and achievement? Can education policy deal with the hidden curriculum that reinforces sexism? A systemic approach would recognize that what influences change in political system--namely women's organizations--has also had an impact on the reallocation of resources within the household. In Latin America, women have actually been pushed into the labor force by the economic crisis, and this may lead to greater expenditures on education for girls.

In the general discussion that followed, Marty Chen said she was interested in how the data on returns to education would disaggregate by sector: informal, unpaid family labor, etc. As an investment alternative, would integrating women into large scale projects not have a significant, more immediate effect on productivity?

Barbara Herz supported Schultz' analysis by arguing that what is required is to sort out a very complex set of variables to design effective policies. In moving from a vicious circle to a virtuous circle, education offers a direct and immediate impact, not a long term investment. In Kenya, for example, both women and men had 3 years of education, but women were more productive in agriculture

(based on maize yields). Kenya is committed to co-ed education and is moving toward parity in secondary enrollments.

Mayra Buvinic argued for extending the menu of policy choices and for seeing another priority: direct investments in women to reduce poverty. Targeted projects can work. In the 1970s, for example, Chile maintained family health status despite economic declines by investing in piped water and nutritional support for mothers. Instead of education, an alternative policy prescription would be to increase women's access to resources through intermediary credit institutions.

Kate Cloud pointed out that policy has to work in both directions, that action must be taken to improve the demand for, as well as the supply of, education. Increasing women's participation in projects demonstrates the payoffs from educating women.

Janice Rankins argued that special projects can reduce the time demands on women and make it possible for them to take advantage of educational opportunities. The point was made that Schultz's data is from the 1960s and 1970s, and that it would be very useful to know whether these trends still hold for the 1980s.

Schultz agreed with Rankins, noting the importance of time constraints on women and the influence of the family on educational decisions. On disaggregating data and the reliance on wage data to measure productivity, Schultz pointed to surveys (such as one taken in Bangkok) showing that the rates of return to education are similar in the wage and non-wage self-employed sectors. For those who can choose, however, there is a bias toward wage employment. Wage jobs bring more security, and education is a credential for wage employment. The participation rate itself is not a measure of productivity, but wage rates are an indicator, however imperfect. The weight of the data is that education does lead to increased productivity (measured by higher wages) whereas "equipping mechanisms" (e.g. extension services) have less positive results. Perhaps we need more study on what makes equipping mechanisms successful.

Kristen Timothy argued that we have to be sensitive to the policy environment--how receptive are national policy makers to this kind of budgetary reallocation? What is their capacity to design and structure educational policy for women? What will the effect of conservative family values be, especially given the current tendency to turn to the family for welfare services formerly viewed as the responsibility of the state? Can we intervene in the content of educational programs without running into strong resistance?

Ruth Engo, former Director of Labor in the Cameroons, noted that, in the Cameroons, literacy was the issue of the 1960s and secondary education became a major thrust of the 1970s. Parity in elementary education was achieved, but the decline in state employment and discrimination against women produced large scale female unemployment, over-education of individuals of the upper strata, and a shortage of workers at the intermediate levels. We have to address how women will be able to make use of their "human capital" in a climate of economic downturn and discrimination against women. In her experience, the minimum wage was a good policy that protected women who did not belong to unions. Further, the content of education should be an issue in a different sense: "classical" education leads to very limited job options. Vocational education has been proven successful at increasing productivity in the agricultural and informal sectors.

Bob Berg concluded the discussion with the reminder that education accounts for only 1% of U.S. foreign assistance and that only 17% of that goes into primary education, the main variable in Schultz' analysis. A priority on formal education would have to reverse the existing bias against education in AID.

Session II: Structuring Development Cooperation:  
 "Integrating WID or Restructuring Development?"  
 (Chair: Kristen Timothy, U.N. Secretariat)

Marty Chen's paper (co-authored by Mary Anderson) examined the institutional responses to WID over the last decade and a half to see what lessons that experience holds for WID programs and also to reflect how WID experience might shed some light on the debate about restructuring U.S. foreign assistance.

The question in WID programming has been posed as a choice between targeting women specifically and "integrating" women into development, and between WID offices and "mainstreaming." Chen noted that most programs represent a mix of these approaches and that maintaining a WID office may be quite consistent with mainstreaming strategies. However, it is impossible to predict the effectiveness of programs by looking at targeting vs. integration, or to know ahead of time how well a WID office will work, which often depends on a number of factors--including the political style and bureaucratic strategy of the WID office director.

It is important to match appropriate institutional structures to each stage in WID programming. There are three types of institutions: government, professional intermediary, and private voluntary organizations. Each has its own strengths: PVOs are strong at advocacy and promotion;

professional institutions can provide research and technical assistance; and governments have access to financial resources and organizational strength which brings economies of scale. These different strengths are important at the different stages of popularizing, targetting and mainstreaming WID programming.

Within this matrix, WID programmers need the authority, resources and constituency-developing mechanisms that will help overcome antagonisms and permeate institutions.

One important institutional change that can further WID programming and improve outcomes is gender-disaggregated data. As is now well known, women and men make different choices in the same environment. The "gender lens" has illuminated some issues that cannot otherwise be well understood, including poverty, household livelihood, the environment, and the informal sector. It is now widely acknowledged that women contribute a greater percentage of their earnings to the family budget than men in poor households, for example. Women play a pivotal role in household welfare by reallocating time between household production, wage labor and self-employment. Poorer households depend more directly on natural resources--water, fuel, fertilizer--and women are the main collectors and consumers of these resources. They often make the decisions which can save or undermine a fragile environment. The poor and women are concentrated in the informal sector.

To maximize effectiveness, the answer is not a particular structure or program but what in science has been called a "paradigm shift." We must go beyond "integrating women" to the recognition that gender is a critical variable in the development equation. Women's choices and their level of productivity are central to solving development problems. We need to treat women as active producers and to avoid downgrading WID programs into welfare projects. We must see women in their economic and not just their social roles, to emphasize their productivity, not their neediness. One approach that would accomplish these goals is to link women to the development policies of governments, which are typically organized on a sectoral basis (such as agriculture, forestry, or the urban informal sector). Making gender a variable in sectoral planning can be a powerful strategy.

To do this, agencies must develop tools to disaggregate data, train staff in the use of those tools, and link data analysis to ongoing programming and project decisions.

Ingrid Eide, now the Director of the Women's Division of UNDP and formerly a member of the Norwegian Parliament, began by saying that the Anderson/Chen paper confirmed her own views. However, she argued, UNDP is not represented in the

Anderson/Chen matrix. It is inter-governmental, multilateral and multicultural, a coordinating, semi-professional organization with specialized agencies, 112 field offices dealing with 152 countries, and a \$1 billion budget that the receiving countries consider as their own funds. This presents some different challenges.

Women are 22% of UNDP's staff, with many in field positions, but there are only three professionals in the women's division, part of the Policy, Planning and Evaluation Bureau. The Women's Division has the responsibility of producing both specific and gender disaggregated statistics and of being visible, in the front of the dialogue. It reviews each and every project to see whether gender considerations can be incorporated.

UNDP is a development agency, so it is concerned with economic criteria, leaving political issues ["women's rights"] to other institutions. WID has been seen by some males as a means to employ more professional women, as an affirmative action issue. Making WID a gender issue avoids alienating men; it is empirical, not judgmental; it is research-based and practitioner-oriented.

In pursuing a gender strategy, regular funds are preferable to separate or add-on funds. An institution like UNIFEM, with own funding and projects, has an important R & D role to play, but its direct impact on large projects, which account for the bulk of development funding, is small. Staff should also be regular staff, ideally entering the project cycle at the design phase. Critical review is important; mainstreaming does not make sense unless women can be shown to benefit from projects. Macro-economic documents also require gender analysis; they influence policy for the next generation. (See Appendix I for a more detailed presentation.)

In Eide's view, normative compliance is achieved when all development professionals share WID as a value and are supported by global and national mandates; utilitarian compliance when projects are required to incorporate gender as a variable. There is little evidence in UNDP of coercive compliance. Welfare images of women are still a barrier to incorporation: we must get across the message that women are both poor and strong, that they are mediators between various spheres as they work to maintain the viability of the family.

Jean Weidemann, consultant to FAO, the World Bank and AID, praised the sectoral approach advocated by Anderson and Chen. Trends toward putting more attention on beneficiaries, studies illustrating the positive effects of participant involvement, and increased collaboration with PVOs can all be utilized to give greater priority to gender issues.

Poverty amelioration is a sectoral emphasis that lends itself to gender strategies when anti-poverty programs are geared not toward short-term relief but toward long-term increases in productivity and incomes. Development experts have too often underestimated the importance of participant involvement. We should remember that development is a larger process than development projects or programs, that often "development happens not because of us but in spite of us."

In the general discussion, Ed Swanson brought to the colloquium's attention the bill (H.R. 4049) to be introduced by Mickey Leland and Pat Schroeder. It calls on AID to integrate women in the design and implementation of projects, and to increase women's access to education. The bill requires sex disaggregated data and the establishment of a special task force at the administrative level to see that the policy is carried out on an agency-wide basis. A similar bill will be introduced in the Senate.

Margaret Galey observed that the analogue between paradigm shift in science and perspective shift in politics is a useful one. An environment bill was passed by voice vote in 1970, establishing guidelines and structures for enforcement--and environment is now "on the agenda." Similarly, human rights became a major issue and changed our view of the content of foreign policy.

Bob Berg underlined four elements that should be included in any new thinking about the structure of U.S. foreign assistance: 1) the R & D and evaluation component; 2) the sectoral approach; 3) using sex disaggregated data to get at "determinants" of women's greater productivity; and 4) empowerment, an issue not much in evidence in the discussion, but very important. When resources are small and policy issues are large, empowerment becomes a strategic necessity.

Recent experience (with the National Endowment for Democracy, for example) may offer some useful models of empowerment, including women's democratic action groups, which were able to network politicians, civic and human rights leaders, and PVO involvement. PVOs often legitimize their roles through relief operations, even when they are seeking ways to empower the groups they are working with. Some groups--social scientists, returned Peace Corps volunteers, and strategically placed women--may be more sympathetic to furthering WID strategies. Finally, does making gender a more important issue require setting specific targets, such as a reduction in female mortality or an increase in years of schooling for girls?

Ruth Engo observed that global and national planners are a difficult audience to convince of the relevance of gender, even though WID is not a feminist issue but a development

issue. UNIFEM representatives are often "brushed aside" as "feminists." The Task Force for Africa might offer a good example of how to approach hostile audiences. Attention to beneficiaries is good, but on certain matters we should be technicians rather than advocates, because advocates may have little influence on the planning process. We need more resources put into training women and development professionals.

We shouldn't just "mainstream" into existing development structures, but question and supplement them. Having a critical stance can make a difference. Because of WID research, the perception of what development is has changed, as the Khartoum policy statement, which favors small projects, shows.

Marnie Gurvan intervened to make the case that, from her perspective as Director of Women's Programs at CIDA, we were ignoring important factors of power and bureaucratic incentives. In the case of Canada:

--It helps to have a woman minister responsible for CIDA and a woman President of CIDA.

--Equal involvement of women in all CIDA activities is the "corporate strategy."

--CIDA has had good results from using the Harvard case studies in project analysis.

--A committee on WID (all organizational vice-presidents) meets four times a year and reviews progress throughout CIDA.

--Effective accomplishment of WID goals is a part of personnel evaluation for all CIDA professionals above the project officer level.

--A handbook, "WID and the Project Cycle" gives tools to implement WID goals and descriptions of WID components.

--A substantive statement of how a project furthers WID is a prerequisite for approval of all projects.

Ann Duncan described the WID office at the World Bank as a staff of 9-10 with no separate funds. Because the office was only established last year, with the responsibility of institutionalizing WID at the sectoral and country levels, it is swamped. The goal must be to develop the analytic tools to enable people at the operational level to do the job themselves.

Bruce Horwith, from AID/WID, spoke to the issue of H.R. 4049, noting that the belief in AID is that a lot of language in the bill already exists at the rhetorical level in the Agency, but is not acted upon. The parallel with environment would be to succeed in having women incorporated in projects and not treated as an add-on. Training is the best solution, but it is a long-term process.

Anamaria Long, from AID's Latin American Bureau, was not optimistic. A manageable data system to find out what is happening at the field level does not exist, so it is impossible to say what we have done. The continual flow of personnel in AID makes it hard to keep up the pressure, and there is evidence that inclusion of a WID component in a project may actually lower the professional standing of the staff involved. This is a major institutional barrier.

Mayra Buvinic took exception to Long's negative picture of AID, arguing that it was AID's early actions that lead to CIDA's success. AID was the first donor agency to mandate the integration of women, and many of the structures under discussion here (including having a WID office at the policy level with an agency-wide scope) were begun at AID. Now WID forces are weakened within AID because the women's lobby that advocated WID has nearly vanished. Women's PVOs are in an important position to press for continued attention to WID in AID, but need to be revitalized.

Ingrid Eide praised the emphasis on the gender variable as an integral component of development theory, but wanted more discussion of development practice. The U.N. Decade emphasized women's organizations and networking as effective tools. UNDP has put together a package of seven WID projects in the environment sector, using existing women's networks and involving women in needs assessment and policy design from the beginning. We need more data on participatory projects.

Eide also noted that we are asking for more data just as statistical services are collapsing in many of these countries. WID assistance could be directed toward specific surveys, gender specific data in strategic sectors.

Ellen Jamison pointed out that the Census Bureau's data base on WID was still being maintained and that the Bureau had been involved in a number of projects to establish data bases tailor-made for research and planning. The Census Bureau has exchange agreements with many national statistical bureaus, and there is a wide range of cross-sectional data available, so we don't have to start from scratch.

Caren Grown compared the experience of the Ford Foundation, noting that the focus on poor women forced the Foundation to look at the connection between women's productive and reproductive roles. This avoided the duality between "welfare" and "economic" policies. There is an issue of long term vs short run effects. The strategic advantage to the sectoral approach is the immediate, though incremental, increase in women's incomes. Empowerment is a longer term goal. The linkages between the grassroots and policy-makers are important, and speak for funding more demonstration and research projects.

Chen then noted that the dualism between anti-poverty and development projects still exists. In Bangladesh and India, the two are often separated, and women are associated with "poverty projects" while men are involved with "development projects." Working through women's networks is difficult when women's groups are autonomous and thus not easily brought into the process by donor agencies; this is another argument for the sectoral approach. There is one parallel between environment and WID that is useful to keep in mind: both redirect the existing economic emphasis from outputs to inputs.

Session III: The Macro-economic Context: "Gender and Macro-Economic Policy" (Chair: Phyllis Windle, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress)

Susan Joekes' paper covered a range of topics, including defining the variety of macro-level policies that affect women. These are often biased against women because the gender-differentiated effects of such policies are rarely salient, and because women are rarely in the central positions of power where macro-economic policies are decided. The range of macro-economic policies includes government expenditure categories and levels, and regulatory mechanisms such as price and wage controls, interest rates, and exchange policies. All of these could be analyzed for their gender effects.

Joekes then analyzed structural adjustment policies, which have had a major impact in Africa and Latin America, and to a lesser degree in Asia. The oil shocks of the 1970s and debt crisis of the 1980s forced governments to conform more closely to the norms set by the IMF to increase exports and stabilize balance of payments shortfalls in return for access to financial relief and access to structural adjustment lending. Some measures were intended to have immediate and substantial effects include currency decontrol (leading to devaluation) and cuts in public expenditures (to reduce public sector deficits). Other policies mandated decreased government regulation and the abolition of subsidies.

The first objective of structural adjustment policies was to increase productive capacity by allocating resources to higher return activities. The second was to realign prices through devaluation (which encourages exports but makes imported inputs more expensive) and by the removal of food subsidies (to increase agricultural export production). Both of these were designed to restructure LDC economies to better meet their international debt obligations.

Since the overall effect of structural adjustment on particular groups is mediated by the position of those groups in the power structure, gender impacts reflect power differences. In general, structural adjustment policies favor the rural sector over the urban sector, because they improve prices for agricultural exports and increase the cost of food (which is no longer subsidized for the urban consumer). Government spending cuts reduce employment in the cities and towns, because most government employees live in urban areas. In general, tradables are favored over non-tradables, that is, goods are favored over services.

Changes in market regulations should benefit the informal sector by reducing restrictions on financial institutions and removing legal barriers to start-ups. But, a final assessment is often difficult to make because of counter-acting effects. In rural areas where women are farmers and produce export crops, women will benefit--if their labor is not being co-opted by men as unpaid family labor. But food deficit rural households will be hurt by these shifts.

In urban areas, cuts in public sector employment will hurt women disproportionately because the public sector is less discriminatory and hires more women. Reductions in the derived demand for informal sector services are likely to hit women severely, as they are disproportionately engaged in providing those services. On the other hand, women's employment opportunities in the formal sector tend to be improved because of increased incentives for production of labor-intensive exportables.

What are the policy implications? There is growing awareness in the World Bank that structural adjustment is not successful in its own terms, even without regard to the immediate negative impact on wages and employment for many groups in society. After a decade of these policies, indebtedness remains high, balance of payments are still weak, and inflation and the public debt cannot be brought under control. Structural adjustment programs assumed that international commodity markets would be strengthened, but this has not happened. Macro-economic policies alone, without sectoral projects to overcome supply bottlenecks, will not improve growth.

Furthermore, the social costs have been very high. Per capita incomes have declined, sometimes drastically. In Zambia, 1985 incomes are 50% what they were in 1970. Although short term readjustments were anticipated, the lack of growth under structural adjustment has led to a renewed interest in investment policy in the broadest sense, and in producer support services. WID programs can gain legitimacy in the context of the failure of structural adjustment

programs. They should facilitate women's productive roles and enhance women's access to producer and consumer services. WID interventions could also protect women from the harsh short term effects of these policies on particular disadvantaged groups. In the long run, regulatory policy changes should favor women and a gender analysis does not draw the conclusion that structural adjustment programs, which can increase women's productivity and access to resources, should be opposed.

Cheywa Spindel, Brazilian expert on women's and children's labor and one of the Third World scholars working with DAWN, emphasized the complexity of the issue. No single policy can solve this crisis. In the developing world, policy changes in the name of structural adjustment have had rapid and sweeping effects. Poverty is now so great in Latin America that it will take two generations to reverse its effects on the health and educational status of the poor and on the incomes of the middle groups. In Latin America, one of the costs of structural adjustment programs is the increased strain on newly redemocratized political systems--"participatory development" takes on a different meaning in a climate of increasing corruption.

One effect of the economic crisis has been that middle class women, who had previously been in education or the informal sector, sought formal sector work and were successful in displacing the less educated women who those jobs. Looking at efforts to cooperate with local PVOs, networks of women's organizations expanded greatly among the middle class during the dictatorship, but not among the working class.

Eloise Murray, Dean of Home Economics at the University of Alberta, argued that structural adjustment policies seem to have been intended to heighten the crisis and create more poverty in the name of structural change. The effect was to put the burden of adjustment on those with the least flexibility and narrowest margins--poor women and their children.

Because these situations are complex, the effects of policies are hard to track and often unintended. We cannot make sweeping generalizations; we have to look at particular cases. There is simply not enough data on the informal sector, for example, to know whether the sector is functioning as a "cushion" of adjustment, as is often argued, and what happens to women within that process. Without gender disaggregated data we cannot ask the right questions or test our increasingly sophisticated tools of analysis. If the gender lens is useful, as these papers have all argued, we need to re-train development practitioners accordingly, and their work should be accountable for gender results. If

gender is a significant variable, the omission of women in research and planning is a performance flaw.

Ingrid Palmer began the general discussion by noting that Susan Joekes' paper was courageous, because those who have been proponents of structural adjustment have been so blind that the attempt to introduce gender at this stage is truly ambitious. The paper does show, however, that it is possible and indeed useful. If we concentrate on women as producers, market deregulation could help them because they receive fewer subsidies. If structural adjustment means fewer subsidies, there should be more equal access to credit now, because men received the benefits of subsidized credit before.

Devaluation is intended to improve agricultural exports --but where is the labor going to come from? There isn't any spare female labor, no slack capacity, so production of agricultural nontradables should decline. There will still be severe supply bottlenecks. To alleviate these, certain strategic parts of national budgets must be defended. The family farm has its own external and internal balance, and the unit of account is labor. You cannot force an external balance on a farm household, at the cost of internal energy balances, without something breaking--it's a false economy.

Ngozi Okongo-Iwela added that, in Zaire, one by-product of structural adjustment is that men's incomes have dropped, making them more dependent on women who have a greater say over family budgets. Is this a form of empowerment? Another reason that structural adjustment programs may not have worked is that anticipated new flows of private investment and aid never materialized, so governments did not have the leeway to undertake supply-oriented interventions.

Jane Jaquette commented that the paper focused heavily on rural implications and that more information on urban impact and possible interventions is needed. Further, we cannot assume that "free markets" are always good for women. The formal sector labor market assumes women are as mobile and have similar constraints on their time as men--but we know that is not true. The issue is not whether to have government regulation or not, but how to use it as an effective tool. Gender, sector and class disaggregated data is necessary to do the kind of nuanced planning that Joekes' paper calls for.

Bob Berg said he particularly liked the section of the paper dealing with social policies and access to resources, but asked what our development planning will look like in the future if the 1990s is also a decade of "adjustment." There is continued political support in the U.S. Congress for these policies; those who primarily worry about development

are in the distinct minority.

UNICEF provides an example of planning adjustment "with a human face," and there is now agreement between the World Bank and UNICEF on 70% of the Khartoum agenda to convince African countries that adjustment with protection of the poorest groups is feasible, with the World Bank agreeing to protect social expenditures. Local currency programs, food production goals and maintenance of social services because of their broad positive impact on productivity are possible opportunities for gender-sensitive interventions.

Perhaps the development community should get behind the effort to get countries out of the debt box so that normal financial flows can be resumed. Otherwise, we can expect continued suffering and marginal counter-measures by aid agencies. Perhaps we ought to try and convince governments that they can gain from structural adjustment if this dialogue culminates in a comprehensive debt settlement.

The prescription to increase women's productivity in the informal sector might be acceptable, Ann Duncan noted, but other social measures (e.g. the suggestion to exempt women from user charges that the World Bank is considering for education and health services) will be more controversial. Should we argue for rephrasing the time horizon of social budget cuts or for reallocation between different sectors or for a system of user charges that favors women? In agriculture, if we assume that nothing much can be done to alleviate labor shortages, that argues for stringing out the reduction in the external deficit over a longer time period. In other words, do we attack the basic premises of structural adjustment programs or advocate fine tuning?

Ruth Engo pointed out that the experience of the LDCs is that structural adjustment has immediate effects, especially on the perquisites of government employees--e.g. housing, telephones, cars, access to loans, etc. Women can be the visible sign of hope, recognized as productive, through their role in food production and as the backbone of the rural sector. Women could take on the burden of growth the way they did in Europe during World War I.

Camille Gaskin-Reyes reminded the group that, according to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the crisis is deepening, not improving. We cannot continue to be reactive, to clean up after the event. The IDB is still funding social projects, but the recipient countries cannot find the matching funds because of their problems in meeting International Monetary Fund targets. We need more say in designing structural adjustment programs to avoid the situations we face now.

Phyllis Windle then summarized some of the themes. On

the how of gender-sensitive development, interventions should respond to the systemic nature of the issues. They must take into account the opportunity costs of women's labor. Gender-disaggregated data is a must, and development assistance has to be dynamic. Our understanding of the problems must change as rapidly as the problems themselves, and the macro-economic perspective is important.

In terms of what we should do, there is less consensus. The answers seem to center on more education, the need to train and provide incentives to development professionals, and an emphasis on sectoral strategies to increase women's productivity in agriculture and in the informal sector.

Session IV: Plenary Session on Policy Implications  
(Chair: Jane Jaquette, Occidental College)

Jaquette opened the session by calling for policy directions under the headings suggested by the papers: sectoral analysis, institutional structure and macro-economic policies. There ensued a lively debate, and Joyce Yu argued for beginning with some overarching principles from which more specific policy directions could then be drawn. This led to various contributions which have been grouped around the themes of the conference:

--It will be difficult to sort out the organizing principles from all the colloquia that will be represented at the Michigan State conference. It would be helpful if we had the ramifications of the "gender lens" for development activities such as research, pilot projects, sectoral goals, and empowerment.

--We need to reinforce a key principle of the WID approach: Look at women as producers, not passive beneficiaries.

--The idea of the "gender lens"--gender as a variable in development--is the most significant principle developed by this colloquium. It represents a very different approach from the problem of women as a special group. It opens up the possibility of making it a professional responsibility to take gender into account.

--What is the agenda that emerges from the idea of gender as a variable in development? How will policy-makers respond? Check lists are mechanistic nonsense. Policy makers don't understand the word "paradigm," and most cultures don't even have a word for "gender."

--There are practical results. Instead of looking at "impacts on women," we look at gender differentials in

benchmark planning data and in evaluating impacts. Gender differentials can be a technical tool. The Winrock colloquium looked at agricultural projects in Africa using gender disaggregated data and discovered that the projects were not efficient when looked at this way. Development institutions analyze and collect data as an ongoing part of their operations, so the emphasis on sex disaggregated data is an institutional strategy.

--We need more data on women's time budgets to plan realistically. Time budgets are one of many empirical arguments that can increase receptivity to the usefulness of WID research and illustrate the productivity of gender based planning. Time budgets will also increase awareness of the misuse of women's time in tasks that are essential to family survival--carrying water, finding fuel, etc.--but waste scarce labor.

--There must also be authority from the top and accountability at the working level, as the CIDA example illustrates. If professionals are evaluated on their success at implementing gender-sensitive development, instead of losing credibility and prestige as many seem to think is now the case, there will be rapid change and a strong demand for training.

--The sectoral approach has promise. There are many elements in common among the colloquia on environment, poverty and women. We should develop a set of policies and priorities common to these different constituencies.

--One of the perceptions we share with those concerned about the environment and poverty is the importance of participatory development. Participation can compensate for capital scarcity. We have seen that women have helped themselves in the informal sector when they were excluded from the formal sector. This kind of approach does not require billions of dollars--small amounts of capital make a signif'cant impact.

--We also share an interest in development strategies that put the individual at the center--the impact of projects and programs on individuals, individual participation in needs assessment and planning, individual empowerment. Some of the new trends in foreign assistance--moving toward export credits or a reduction in country missions, for example--may make it more difficult to keep that focus.

--If we promote a sectoral approach, we must beware of the tendency to treat women under the "social" instead of the "productive" sectors. We don't want to lead with education which may reinforce the view that gender is only relevant in

social planning and resource allocation.

--Education is not just a "social" sector: not only is it a resource directly affecting productivity, it is the path to modern sector employment and a means of direct empowerment. Educating women leads to changes in intra-household allocations: women are more equipped to affect those decisions, a point made in A.K. Sen's work.

--We don't want to dismiss "social" investments which increase women's choices and enhance productivity and well being. Productive sector goals are to free up factor markets and increase women's access to resources; social sector expenditures are investments in human capital.

--We cannot lose sight of educational content issues. Women's access to scientific and technical education may be the most effective way to empower women in the more modernized economies.

--Paul Schultz' presentation shows the ways in which cross-national aggregate data can be analyzed to sort out the complex interactions that affect women's choices and earning power. But it also shows the limitations of aggregate data studies; these often ignore factors like educational content, are unduly optimistic about the effects of increased education on wage differentials, and do not question the conventional economic assumptions of "free" choice or the bias in favor of the "market" and against government regulation. Gender-sensitive analysis can improve our analysis and thus improve policy.

--We should put priority on research in project monitoring and in education, try more experimental projects.

--We need measures of success, concrete goals, targets.

--If we were to have goals, what kind of measures would be appropriate? Hours of sleep? Literacy? School graduates? Sex ratios? Time spent in transport?

--We could suggest an institutional indicator: the integration of gender into all data analysis for program and project planning and evaluation.

--But the whole point of seeing gender as a variable in development is that it is difficult to narrow our sights to one issue or one measure of success. Gender is a cross-cutting issue.

--Susan Joeques paper is a breakthrough for gender analysis in that it shows us how to think about the differential impacts of macro-economic policies on women and men and among different groups of women. It takes us beyond the project or programming level to a much more powerful set of variables. Having an impact on food pricing policies or on informal sector regulations could be more significant than a series of successful small-scale projects.

--If the 1990s are going to be a decade of continued structural adjustment--and compensatory development efforts to cope with the results of structural adjustment efforts--then Joeques' paper gives us specific guidance about what kinds of groups are likely to be vulnerable and how to direct resources to women to shift production and adapt to the rapid changes these economies are experiencing.

--The analytical approach is not only applicable to structural adjustment, but could be applied to all macro-economic policies, and should be used more widely--for example, on pricing policies or inflation.

--Ingrid Palmer's point--that the constraints on rural women's labor has limited the responsiveness of agricultural production to new export demands, and thus hampered structural adjustment efforts-- is a good example of the new perspectives that gender analysis can bring out. Failure to take gender into account can undermine macro-economic policies, not only development projects.

Making gender a variable in development is an ambitious goal, as two final comments indicated. Marty Chen argued that "paradigm shift" may be a radical concept, but that it is not daunting: "We are entering a new phase--we want a shift of perspective that will mean to others what WID has long meant to the concerned community." Jean Weidemann added that gender analysis can make our interventions more effective but that we should also see its relevance to development in the broadest sense: "We must change our notion of what is policy-relevant. We are no longer dealing with just with 'problems' but thinking about the development process and how to restructure it."

## Appendix I

### HOW TO MAINSTREAM WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The chart below was developed by Ingrid Eide to clarify the steps required to mainstream WID in development assistance, and was made available to Colloquium participants.

<u>Source of Finance</u>	Separate	Added	Regular
<u>Target Group</u>	Separate, women-only	Some women	Gender-responsive
<u>Who handles WID?</u>	Separate advocate		Regular staff
<u>When does WID enter?</u>	After-thought	Design stage	Planning stage
<u>How is WID handled?</u>	Separate projects	WID component	Women as constituents
<u>Reality in project</u>	Exploited	Benefit	Participate and benefit
<u>Continuity of projects</u>	Not sustainable	Sustainable	Replicable
<u>Development Strategy</u>	Marginalizing women		Gender-responsive

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