

PW- ARSN-862
81913

**WOMEN AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA:
HOW THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT REGIONAL OUTREACH STRATEGY (LOGROS) PROJECT
CAN HELP TO PROMOTE FULL AND EQUAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR WOMEN**

Prepared By: Sharon Van Pelt
For: RHUDO/CA
Date: 20 November 1992

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION	Page	1
II.	WHY SHOULD WE LOOK AT WOMEN SEPARATELY IN PROMOTING DEMOCRACY	Page	3
III.	BARRIERS TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FACED BY WOMEN	Page	6
	a. Historical and Political Culture	Page	6
	b. Socioeconomic Development	Page	9
	c. Class, Race, and Ethnicity	Page	10
	d. Institutional and Legal Framework	Page	10
IV.	WOMEN IN LOCAL DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNANCE	Page	12
V.	WHAT LOGROS CAN DO	Page	19
VI.	CONCLUSIONS	Page	27
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	Page	29

TABLES

Table 1:	Central American and U.S. Institutions Working in Gender Issues and Democratic Initiatives	Page	24
----------	--	------	----

I. INTRODUCTION

The recent transition to democracy in Central America, and indeed throughout all of Latin America, offers USAID a unique opportunity to support and promote democratic institutions in the region. Yet, the workings of a democracy within any nation are indeed a reflection of the culture, values, problems, and needs of its people. Thus, democracy eludes a clear and specific definition that is applicable in all countries. Furthermore, there is a vast gap between "the ideals associated with democracy and the reality of any democratic system in existence" (Schimpp, 1992, p.3).

Nonetheless, democracy theoreticians agree that there is a basic foundation which must exist for a true democracy to function. The Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) Bureau of USAID has adopted the following working definition which includes elements common to various theories on the nature of democracy: Democracy is a political system that meets three essential conditions: 1) meaningful and extensive competition for government power; 2) highly-inclusive political participation in the selection of leaders and policies through regular and fair elections; and 3) the existence and respect for civil and political liberties to guarantee the honesty of political competition and participation (Heilman & Kurz, 1991, p.3).

There is growing consensus within AID that strengthening local governments can foster and stabilize emerging democracies. It is thought that municipal governments, as permanent institutions with elected representatives, are closest to the people and can be more responsive to local needs while increasing citizen participation in development decision-making and providing better access for redress of grievances (PADCO, 1992, p.9). The Regional Office for Housing and Urban Programs for Central America (RHUDO/CA) and the Regional Office for Central American Programs (ROCAP) have developed a \$6 million, seven year municipal development project called the Local Government Regional Outreach Strategy (LOGROS) which will "support the movements in Central America toward extending democratic processes through promoting greater autonomy for local governance and more intensive and efficacious citizen participation in its process" (LOGROS PP, 1992, p.2-6, 2-7). Implicit in the project's mission, is the idea that local

governments can be more readily responsible and accountable to its citizens. Such accountability is a central feature of a working democracy and is premised on the enfranchisement of local citizenry whereby they are given a voice in the democratic process. This voice entails, at a minimum, the ability to vote in free and fair elections. Yet, beyond simply voting, there are a variety of forms of participation including involvement in political parties or local community organizations as well as more direct forms of participation such as the holding of political office.

Yet, the uneven process of democracy may lead to the disenfranchisement of certain people depending on the existent power structure within a nation (Hirschmann, 1992, p. 2-3). Therefore, while it may be true that local governments can be more responsive to its citizens, it is also necessary to take a closer look at the micro-level workings of municipalities to determine if indeed equal opportunity to participate in the political and decision-making processes exist for all citizens. Additionally, it is important to see if differences exist in the interests of constituents as well as in the ways in which these concerns are expressed and the way in which municipal leaders may respond to these varying interests.

Research has found that women and men who are not used to having a strong voice in the political system frequently do not share a common set of concerns and may prioritize common concerns differently (GENESYS, 1992, p.1). A study conducted in Honduras found that the expressed problems and concerns of women varied from those of men, and that they usually expressed these concerns through a different medium. Women tend to participate less in mainstream political organizations and interest groups and they tend to be more concerned with social problems (i.e. family well-being) which are perceived to lie outside the political realm. Such differences have led to the general belief that women are apolitical. Yet, it is important to look deeper into communities at the micro-political level where social, political, and/or economic forces may be the cause of women's lower level of political participation. These forces often lie beneath the surface of laws and regulations that merely state that equal rights and opportunities exist for men and women. They are often hidden within old beliefs and attitudes that support the existent power structure which impedes the equal opportunity for

women to participate fully in the democratic process, regardless of laws that state the contrary. Hence, establishing more democratic and decentralized institutions in Central America will not automatically guarantee that the voice of women will be heard nor that their interests will be incorporated into public policy (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.i). Efforts that seek to promote greater citizen participation must address the constraints that exist at the micro-political level if full participation for all citizens is to be realized.

The AID supported GENESYS (Gender in Economic and Social Systems) Project was created to help AID Bureaus and Missions to design interventions that consider gender a critical variable for achieving equitable and sustainable development. The Project recently completed a study on Gender and Democratization in Latin America which states that it is critical for the USAID Democracy Initiative (DI) program, of which RHUDO's LOGROS program is a part, to go beyond just increasing the number of women voters, to make concerted attempts to include gender concerns at the implementation level of the democratization process.

II. WHY SHOULD WE LOOK AT WOMEN SEPARATELY IN PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

There are many social and ethnic groups throughout the region that face possible discrimination and barriers to political participation and representation at the local as well as the national level. "The transition to democracy, and even established systems of democracy, are extremely competitive, sometimes conflictual, in nature; and the outcome of that competition will be determined by the pattern of established distribution of power within that particular society" (Hirschmann, 1992, p.2). Women remain outside the formal political system in Central America due to cultural barriers, discriminatory laws and regulations, double demands on their time as income earners and mothers, lack of education, and poverty, all of which contribute to women's lack of power in the local decision-making process (Painter, et. al., p.4). Therefore, in order to measure the impact of ROCAP/RHUDO/CA efforts to promote stronger and more responsive local governments, it is essential to evaluate its consequences for women as it is anticipated that they might be excluded from the benefits of these initiatives (Hirschman, 1992, p.3). By identifying and addressing gender based

barriers to political participation, greater progress can be made toward achieving the ROCAP/RHUDO strategic objective of "More effective and democratic local government."

Women represent, on average, approximately half of the population in any given country in the region. Yet, they are extremely under-represented in their governments. United Nations data from 1990 reveals that the percentage of women in national legislatures in Central America is far below equally representational levels, ranging from 14% and 11% in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, respectively, to 5% and 3% in Honduras and El Salvador, respectively. The notable absence of women in high political office, not only in Central America but throughout the world, has led Ruth Sivard to conclude that "women retain the distinction of being the most under-represented major population group in the top echelons of government" (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.27).

At the local level, women's involvement appears to also be quite low. A study conducted by García and Gomáriz found that the total number of women mayors in Central America varies from 8 per cent in Guatemala and Costa Rica to 28 per cent in Honduras (García & Gomáriz, 1989, p.202). Thus, though they appear to hold a greater number of positions at the local level than at higher levels, women are still greatly under-represented in local government. Given that they do not always share common interests with men and that they lack proper representation to promote their own interests, Central American women are marginalized at both political levels. Thus, without a voice in the democratic process, including proponents within the political arena, it is unlikely that either local or central governments will be responsive to women's particular needs and concerns.

As women represent approximately half the population, their specific concerns must be addressed if a government is to be considered truly representative and participatory. Even if more powers are transferred to local governments, which are thought to be more conducive to citizen participation, they can not be considered representative and participatory if they exclude the input of such a large percentage of their constituency. Indeed, a report on AID and Democratic Development stresses that what is vital to political participation is that no major adult social group is excluded from this process (Schimpp, 1992, p.3).

Given women's low participation in national and local politics, despite their mobilization and action in social movements at the local level (see Section IV of this report), it is evident that barriers exist which exclude women from greater participation in mainstream politics.

Women also represent an important economic force. Their labor force participation in Central America is estimated to be 23.3% by the ILO, which is still an under-representation of their participation level as the vast numbers of women in the informal sector remain severely under-counted (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.2). Thus, women make a large contribution to GNP, however, they remain marginal to the political decision-making process, both at the local and national the levels, and thus have little input into the manner in which economic resources are allocated and utilized.

If women are to be full participants in the development process, they must be involved to a greater extent in the political arena. Changes in the distribution of power and influence, such that women gain a stronger voice in the decision-making process, are necessarily political and demand political action in order to be achieved. Such action does threaten the existent power base but the transition to democracy, by definition, is an effort to reform the political power balance in countries throughout Central America. Transitions are "openings" that allow for a rethinking of the bases of social consensus which gives social movements an extraordinary opportunity to raise new issues and influence popular expectations (Jaquette, 1989, p.13). Thus, this is an important time for women to seize the available opportunities for increased political participation within transitioning countries. In so doing, the democratic process itself will improve, not only for women, but for the society as a whole. "Transformation from a paternalistic, clientalistic system, giving real democratic power at local levels should in the long run benefit everyone" (Painter, et. al., 1992, p. 3). Women, as a major representative group with a particular set of interests, must share in this power if the countries of Central America are to have true operating democracies. In attempting to promote the democratic process under such projects as LOGROS, reasons must be explored as to why women, who participate to a great extent in local development, particularly in the informal sector and also in important social movements, remain

marginalized from the local decision-making process and the more formal political arena.

III. BARRIERS TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FACED BY WOMEN

As noted earlier, women face numerous gender-specific barriers to political mobilization and participation. A recent GENESYS report entitled "Gender and the Democratization Process in Latin America and the Caribbean: An overview of the Literature" reports that a number of factors, including, history and political culture, socioeconomic development, and institutional factors and the law, including bureaucracy, all affect the prospects for democracy within a country and have important gender implications (Painter, et. al., p.i).

a. *History and Political Culture:* Citing Elizabeth Jelin's 1987 report on women and social movements in Latin America, the GENESYS paper notes the important role that the family plays in the culture of Latin America, with the woman confined to the private sphere (i.e. the home) fulfilling her socially defined duties as wife and mother. "The central role of the family and the culturally-predominant view of women as mothers and wives in Latin America ... historically has obfuscated the participation of women in politics and affected the levels and types of positions that they occupy" (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.6).

Further, in her article, "Gender and the State: Perspectives from Latin America," Susan Bourque discusses the powerful role that the military has played in the politics of Latin American states. The overwhelmingly male nature of military organizations and their strength within past governing institutions of Central America has helped to define the manner in which women act politically. Bourque comments that women have used the image of a "exalted self-sacrificing" mother to achieve their political goals, demonstrating that other strategies are unavailable or deemed less effective. The historically strong role of the military and the central role of the family have had a lasting influence not only on the women's political mobilization but also the issues which they pursue. Women have internalized cultural values and attitudes that define them solely as wives and mothers and have projected them into the political arena. They have

been primarily concerned with family or practical (basic needs) related issues as opposed to more strategic interests such as reproductive rights or equal presence before the law (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.6). Indeed, in her study of women in Latin American politics, Elsa Chaney (1979) found that women tended to adopt the role of *supermadres* in their capacity as political officials, as they believed that their political functions should reflect the same division of labor as in the family. Furthermore, the issues that women tend to focus on and act upon, in terms of both women involved in popular political movements and those holding office, are most often seen as social issues with little political significance. This idea coupled with the fact that far fewer numbers of women than men typically participate in politics at the decision-making level has led to the definition of women as apolitical which serves to perpetuate the cultural norms that have marginalized women in the democratic process. Thus, historical and political culture that views women as mothers and wives limits women's political voice and overshadows their participation in politics, including the holding of political office (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.i).

The GENESYS Project recently contracted the Centro de Estudios Y Promocion del Desarrollo (CEPROD) in Honduras to investigate the political participation of women in the municipal sector in Honduras. The study was concentrated in three Honduran municipalities and used various data collection and interviewing techniques to document the characteristics of citizens lodging complaints and/or requesting assistance from the respective municipalities, the type of demands that they presented, and the manner in which the municipality addressed the demand and sought solutions. It was designed to explore the difference in demands presented by women as compared to men and the difference in the manner in which the municipality responded to their distinct demands. The results of the CEPROD report showed that citizens felt, in general, satisfied with municipal response and, indeed, women reported an even greater degree of satisfaction than men. Yet, the report also found that there was a differences between the sexes in terms of their reasons for approaching the municipality in the first place. Women most often approached the local government for assistance in problems of a legal nature. These problems tended to be of a social character, for example, possession and ownership of common property, homes, etc., abandonment by long-time companions and marital problems. Furthermore, the report discovered that

women were most often concerned with issues of familial security. CEPROD found that these types of problems and demands were expressed individually by women rather than through collective means such as a local community groups or women's organization. This may be explained by the more private and individual nature of the problem, nonetheless, it points to a significant difference between the concerns of women and men and the means by which they seek redress from the local government.

Men tended to approach the municipality primarily regarding legal problems of an administrative nature and showed greater concern for the repair and construction of local infrastructure (i.e. streets, sidewalks, etc.) than women. These concerns were expressed most often by a male leader of a local community group. The collective nature of these demands may be the reason why more organized means were used to seek solutions, however, problems that are more specific to women such as domestic violence, abandonment without child support, and the right to hold title to land and homes also have a common character. One must question why, given this commonality, women have not organized for collective action to force local or national governments to address these issues which most likely require the passage of new laws or the real reinforcement of existing laws. A basic explanation may be that men tend to view politics and political participation, both in terms of voting and voicing their demands and concerns, as normal activity. Due to the patriarchal nature and the central role of the family in Central America, women tend to be primarily involved in concerns of the private sphere of reproduction and the maintenance of the family while men take responsibility for tasks relating to the public sphere of social and political life (Jelin, 1990, p.2). This division as to the acceptable areas of activity for each sex defines women's role in the political arena such that when women do mobilize, it is, in the vast majority of cases, due to practical rather than strategic concerns. Women do not typically step out of their culturally ascribed roles as mothers and family members and, thus, they continue to play a subordinate role in the formal political and collective decision-making processes.

It has long been a concern that when establishing interventions focused on women, there may be a clash between the goals of the project (i.e. the empowerment of

women) and the local culture. Yet, as David Hirschmann (1992) points put:

"...cultures are not static; nor have most cultures been completely isolated over time. Also, they are often defined by the powerful men in a community who on occasion make use of culture as a pretext for excluding women. There are often different interpretations of that culture; sometimes men define it differently; sometimes different categories of women define it in different ways" (Hirschmann, 1992, p.5).

Thus, in designing municipal development projects, culture should not be used as an excuse for not initiating specific interventions geared toward women. Hirschmann suggests speaking with a variety of women's groups before designing projects in order to understand how to implement the most appropriate intervention, both culturally and politically, and to know in what areas women wish to make progress.

b. Socioeconomic Development: In discussing socioeconomic development as a barrier to women's participation, the GENESYS report on Gender and Democratization remarks on the highly significant positive correlation between educational levels and the levels of democracy. It also notes the persistent gap between men and women in Latin America and their educational attainment which hinders equal political participation for women. Furthermore, the report suggests that women will have a better chance of influencing the distribution of society's resources, such that it reflects their concerns and interests, if they increase their voice in the political process, which is accomplished in part by increasing their incomes. Nonetheless, a study conducted by Robert Biles (1983) found that at roughly equal levels of income and education, women still are not as politically active as men (Biles, 1983, p.12). Thus, leading to the conclusion that socioeconomic development that benefits women through increased education and income does not necessarily lead to greater levels of political participation for women. While such development is important and necessary, the evidence discovered by Biles demonstrates that there are other forces at work that limit women's political activeness which cannot be addressed solely through the improvement of women's socioeconomic status. In order to overcome these barriers and to participate equally with men in the political process, specific efforts are needed to open the process to women. As noted by Bolanle Awe, the question of effective integration of women into development..., is basically a

political problem and must so be tackled" (Awe, 1991, p.4). Women must act politically at the local level, including not only participation in social movements, but also a greater voice for women in local government and the local decision-making process and an increase in the number of women holding office such that their concerns are heard and addressed.

USAID assistance in the area of Democratic Initiatives (DI) should include direct efforts that support an increase in women's political participation and, thus, open more the democratic process to women. This type of assistance, though geared towards women, is to the benefit of the entire local population because, as noted earlier, transformation of the old paternalistic political systems which existed in Central America to democratic systems that give real power at local levels to all citizens should in the long run benefit everyone (Flora, 1991).

c. Class, Race and Ethnicity: In discussing gender, issues of class, race and ethnicity cannot be completely subsumed. The GENESYS report makes an important observation when it states the "gender as a variable in determining political participation is inextricably linked to the class, race and ethnic group to which women and men belong" (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.11). These characteristics are tantamount to a persons's gender in terms of their particular interests and group identification upon which collective political action is based. Therefore, "women's interests" are not necessarily identical for all groups of women and may vary depending on socioeconomic status. Yes, some issues such as violence against women and sexual abuse cut across class, race and ethnic divisions (Painter, et. al., p.12). Nonetheless, when discussing women in politics and particularly when designing activities to promote increased participation of women in the democratic process, it is important to note that strategic interests vary among women of different class, ethnicity, and race, and that the participation of women as well as men from all groups of the society should be encouraged and supported.

d. Institutional and Legal Framework: The existing institutions and legal framework can also act as barriers to political participation for women as well as men. Decentralization and increase municipal autonomy, which LOGROS is designed to support, are important prerequisites for enfranchisement of the

entire local population. The GENESYS report notes the current lack of intermediary political institutions throughout Latin America which has had a particular effect on women. "Women are mobilizing, but the solution to the very real problems which they identify lies in the "grace" given by those in power, not the systematic application of problem-solution mechanisms or the application of universalistic rules that allows resources to be distributed in a just and efficient manner" (Painter, et. al., p.13).

Nonetheless, simply creating these institutions does not guarantee that will have a voice in the political decision-making process. As previous discussions point out, women express distinct concerns and face gender-specific barriers to political participation that may limit their ability to seek solutions to strategic as well as practical interests. Their participation on a level equal of that with men is necessary if the local government is to be truly representative and participatory. "The local government must be responsive to the expressed needs of half its population, and give equal weight to those concerns expressed by women as by men, regardless of ethnicity, race or class" (GENESYS, 1992, p.2).

An important way to increase women's voice at the local level in conjunction with the establishment of stronger municipal governments is through encouraging their participation in the electoral process. Few studies of women's voting patterns have been undertaken, yet JoAnn Aviel's 1981 study, "Political Participation of Women in Latin America," found that due to both socioeconomic status and cultural factors, fewer women than men tend to vote. The GENESYS report notes that women were excluded from voting until the early twentieth century in Latin American and Caribbean countries and, thus, given that voting is a relatively new privilege for women, it is understandable that they would need to adjust their mindset to think in more political terms (Painter, et. al., 1992, pp. 20-21).

Though it is indeed important, voting is just a first step in including women and their concerns in new decentralized and democratic institutions. As discussed by Cornelia Butler Flora (1991), what is needed is:

"...the creation of efficient, decentralized bureaucracies with access to

resources and a systematic set of principles which can then be applied to allocate those resources. It is crucial to include women in establishing those institutions, so that the principle of resource distribution can address women's practical and strategic needs."

Women's inclusion must involve their participation in the local decision-making process, promoting the discussion and the generation of potential solutions to those strategic as well as practical issues that are of particular concern to women. Simply passing anti-discrimination laws that give equal civic rights to women is not sufficient to guarantee them the same opportunity to participate in the democratic process, including the opportunity to hold political office.

As noted in the LAC working definition of a democracy, respect for civil liberties is necessary to guaranty honesty of political competition as well as participation. According to the GENESYS report on gender and the democratization process, it is in the administration of such civil rights legislation and the contradictions that still exist between the laws on the books and the reality of women's rights wherein lies the problem. "There is a large gap between the equality expressly assigned to women in constitutions and legal codes in respect of political participation, and their minimal representation in political and governing bodies" (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.13). Such a situation signifies that in order for women to enjoy full and equal political participation including their inclusion in the local decision-making process, means other the simple passage of legal rights for women must be sought. As will be discussed in the Section IV, addressing gender-specific barriers to participation may include education and training programs for women, and, in particular for women leaders, and support to groups that promote issues which are of particular concern to women.

IV. WOMEN IN LOCAL DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNANCE

Literature on Latin American women in local development and government tends to focus primarily on South American women; very few studies have been conducted in Central America. Furthermore, research on women at the municipal level is also

quite rare. Yet, despite the lack of published materials, GENESYS researchers have found a great deal of evidence that Latin American and Caribbean women have been active in sociopolitical movements since the late nineteenth century—that their involvement has grown tremendously over the past decade. Helen Safa (1990) attributes this increase in women's political activity to three principal factors: (1) the impact of the economic crisis on the livelihood of women and their families; (2) political repression brought on women and their relatives by military governments; and (3) changes in women's role associated with increased levels of education and participation in the labor force, and the resulting declines in birth rates (as quoted in Painter, et. al., 1992, p.16).

The GENESYS report states that the literature on women's mobilization usually discusses women's collective action as falling into one of three categories: (1) human rights movements, which arose in response to the repression of the military governments throughout the region; (2) popular/grassroots movements, which typically arose in response to economic conditions that have led to declines in social services and to increases in the cost of basic goods with goals centered around the well-being of the family; and (3) feminist movements, which arose principally in the 1970's in certain South American countries, partially in response to the military governments then in power, and partially in response to women's frustration with the failure of political parties to accept a feminist agenda (Painter, et. al., 1992, pp. 16-18). The latter movement is distinct in its concern for strategic, gender-based issues rather than practical gender-related concerns. The agenda of the feminist movement actually challenges the traditional position of women in the "private" domain of the family and calls for profound changes in the gender division of labor (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.18). In the book In the Shadows of the Sun: Caribbean Development Alternatives and US Policy (Deere, et. al., 1990), it is suggested that "the analysis of the emerging women's movement in the region is perhaps the most comprehensive and compelling of all current attempts to articulate an alternative analysis and agenda for the future."

Nonetheless, what is noted as the broadest and most encompassing type of women's movement is the Popular/Grassroots movement which includes many different types of poor, typically urban, grassroots NGOs, neighborhood associations, communal

kitchens, etc. (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.17). The Regional Housing and Urban Development Office for South America (RHUDO/SA) is currently in the middle of a three year program (1991-1993) which documents and studies the important role that women have played in local development and grassroots movements and their relationship with local government, in an effort to improve the understanding of and attention to the differences in the participation of the different genders. RHUDO/SA notes the increasing presence of women in local development in Latin America, where they have become involved in a diverse range of issues from housing and education to social battles against authoritarianism to definite gender issues such as equal rights and violence against women. Investigations undertaken under the auspices of RHUDO/SA's "Women and Local Development" Project document women's involvement in such issues in South America.

In the district of Caldas, Colombia, women play a role of particular importance in the Program of Hogares Comunitarios de Bienestar (Community Welfare Homes) which seek to improve the conditions of the families in the extremely poor sectors the communities, with a particular focus on children under seven years of age. The Mayor of the capital city of Caldas, Manizales, reports that through their involvement in these local organizations, women have gained a new perception of themselves as they have learned, through training provided under the program, more about nutrition, health, time management, and what it means to be part of an important community group which helps to organize and mobilize people to help their neighbors and themselves. The Mayor also states that new relationships have formed between women and their spouses (or companions) and children. Through their participation, women have gained a greater social recognition as capable, contributing members of the community. Thus, they have acquired a new sense of self-assurance and independence which affords them a new level of equality with their mates and which promotes their image as a person, as well as a mother, with equal rights and abilities.

In the district of Ate Vitarte, in the Lima, Peru metropolitan area, numerous local organizations have developed, through the assistance of the Lima Urban Development Program, within which women have been the primary actors. These include local health committees working on basic health and sanitation issues, committees of Vaso de Leche (or "Glass of Milk" which work to improve basic child

nutrition), local community kitchens and Mother's Clubs. RHUDO/SA documentation of this case study reports that despite the fact that they made a concrete and visible contribution to local development, the women of these organizations were not represented in the directive and decision-making bodies of local community associations, they were not allowed to vote the internal elections of these associations, and their voice was marginalized in the local town councils (RHUDO/SA, No. 7, 1991, p.104). Women in the Committees of Vaso de Leche, the community kitchens, and similar organization in the Ate Vitarte district joined forces to gain greater power in the local decision-making process. With the assistance of the District's Municipal Legal Department, these women gained recognition of their respective committees as autonomous organizations of women working to improve the lives of the low-income population of the district, with the right to maintain their own administrative bodies which will decide the direction of resources received under the Urban Development Program. These efforts also laid the basis for the establishment of a Metropolitan Coordinating Committee for Vaso de Leche which represents all of the district's Vaso de Leche Committees in the Lima metropolitan area. Thus, those working closest to the community, most familiar with its problems, and most able to generate potential solutions (i.e. the women of these committees), won a voice in the local political process, thus, allowing for more effective local decisions.

A similar case study in Villa El Salvador, a town also located in the Lima, Peru metropolitan area, shows the collective mobilization of women from various community organizations to gain a voice in the local political process. The town had a local Federation of Women (FEPOMUVES), the only such entity in all of the metropolitan area, which represented all the local women's groups, such as Vaso de Leche, community kitchens, and Mother's Clubs, and was involved in all decisions made and actions taken by those organizations. The members of the Federation felt that they were not represented in the local government and their particular concerns were not being addressed. Eight hundred local women leaders participated in an assembly in 1983 and decided to elect a candidate to run for Deputy Mayor in the local elections. The candidate, Maria Elena Moyano, won that seat, and with great support and assistance from the women of FEPOMUVES, the new Deputy Mayor was able to accomplish many changes within the municipality; She gained administrative autonomy for the local committee of Vaso de Leche,

increased the number of women participating in committees that comprise FEPOMUVES, won the right of women micro-entrepreneurs to maintain a small workshop in the municipal industrial park, and joined FEPOMUVES with the municipality's commission of health so as to incorporate health campaigns for women in the mainstream municipal health agenda, thus emphasizing its importance along with issues such as sanitation and drug addiction (RHUDO/SA, No.7, pp.27-30). Despite these accomplishments, Ms. Moyano has stated that women still have an intense battle with the local officials and the mayor due to *machismo*, which perpetuates the image of women as wives and mothers, working solely in the private domain (i.e. home), and envisions them as incapable of making important political decisions. She cites the need for women to gain greater power in all levels of government, from municipalities to Parliaments, in order for women to have their rightful say in the decisions made which effect their lives (RHUDO/SA, No.7, pp. 30).

The RHUDO/SA documentation also makes note of the increased number of female mayors and council members in South America who have introduced innovative and democratic methods in the business of politics and in the resolution of urban and community problems and have been instrumental in the adoption changes in the relationship of women-municipality and local development (RHUDO/SA, 1990, p. 9). Thus, while it is evident that including women in local development and community organization has been mutually beneficial to the community and to women, what is essential and, indeed what women are demanding, is their rightful ability to participate in the political and decision-making processes. Through their participation in local development and community organizations, women have become more aware of the need to participate in the democratic process at the level where decisions are made if they are to have any significant influence on the allocation and utilization of local and national economic resources and policy decisions.

One important way by which that women can increase their political activity and voice is through greater participation in political parties. The GENESYS report states that "involvement in political parties could offer women the opportunity to actively influence party ideology such that it better reflects their concerns, both strategic and practical" (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.21). Nonetheless,

overwhelming evidence points to the marginalization of women and their particular concerns within the parties, often in the form of a "women's arm or auxiliary" within the party that separates instead of incorporates women. For, example:

"Women joined the ranks of the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR) [a political party and the miners' trade union in Bolivia] beginning in 1946 and were an important part of the struggles against the oligarchy. At the same time, the Housewives Committees were organized as a arm of the miners' union. Both movements acquires national importance and opened opportunities for women to participate politically and increase their socioeconomic activities. Despite their involvement, ... the demands of women were subordinate to those of the political party and the labor union" (Painter, et. al., 1992, pp. 17-18).

As noted by the Deputy Mayor of Villa El Salvador (Lima, Peru), what is necessary is for women to fight both within and outside political parties and governing bodies to change the existing power structure in order to usurp greater political power for themselves and to play a more influential role in the decision-making process. It was through this type of struggle that the Federation of Women in Villa El Salvador was able to elect their candidate for Deputy Mayor and to affect various changes in the municipality that reflected their interests.

In her essay "Gender and the State: Perspectives from Latin America," Susan Bourque presents a number of examples which illustrate the need to also seek change in favor of greater participation for women at the highest levels of government. She cites a case study completed by Lourdes Arizpe and Carlota Botey which documents the large-scale initiatives undertaken by the Mexican government in 1983 to create PROMUDER (Women's Program for Rural Development or Programa de la Mujer para la Consecucion del Desarrollo Rural). The organization responded to rural women's needs for access to credit and technology and disseminated greater information to women about their legal rights. "Arizpe and Botey conclude that the very fact that such projects were proposed at the upper policymaking echelons and that they were initiated throughout the country with a ripple effect meant that rural women found new avenues for participation open to them" (Bourque, 1989, p. 120).

Furthermore, Bourque recounts a case study completed by Sonia Alvarez in Brazil which shows that women were able to affect policy change at the national level.

"Brazilian feminists made strategic decisions to rephrase their agenda in gender neutral terms. Thus, they allowed daycare to become a "workers" and "children's" and "health" issue rather than a women's issue, and they achieved greater state responsiveness. In the area of population policy, feminists were wary of an extensive and unchecked role for the state. They feared a male-dominated state would impose policies insensitive to women's needs. In response to these fears feminists forged contacts with sympathetic state officials to ensure policy which addressed women's concerns."

Yet, in spite of the accomplishments made by women in influencing political decisions at both the local and national levels, "it is readily apparent to observers that governmental institutions with real decision-making power are virtually devoid of women" (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.23). The presence of women in these governing bodies is necessary to institutionalize the concerns of women, both practical and strategic. It is likely that the municipality, in its role as closest to the people, would be the most accessible level of government where women can, as seen in the case of Villa El Salvador, elect a proponent to the local governing body and influence change in the municipality which leads to the greater incorporation of women's concerns into the municipal agenda. Indeed, the Project Paper for ROCAP/RHUDO/CA's Local Government Regional Outreach Strategy (LOGROS) Project states that "local governments constitute the only level of government that offers an arena in which average citizens can exercise their democratic skills; hold government accountable for its actions; make their demands for services heard; and generally participate broadly in their own government" (LOGROS PP, 1992, p. 2-2). Thus, it is at this level that women may currently have the greatest opportunity to influence decisions and to gain a greater voice in the democratic process.

A basic element of the ROCAP/RHUDO/CA LOGROS Project, is to promote political and administrative decentralization of local governments in Central America so as to increase citizen participation through: more open and participatory process for making resource allocations at the local level, more opportunities for citizens to make demands on local government and, conversely, to hold them accountable for decisions, and more democratic representation of local interests. Furthermore, LOGROS seeks to strengthen the role of community organizations and NGOs in the participatory process through education, empowerment and assuming greater

responsibility in development (LOGROS PP, 1992, p. 8-5).

Women, as a large representative portion of the local population and as important actors in the local development process, should be encouraged to participate more fully in the democratic process. At the most basic level, women should be encouraged to vote in local elections and should be educated as to their civic rights and responsibilities. Yet, what is of greater long-term significance in institutionalizing the concerns of women in local government, is the incorporation of women into the local decision-making process. Support is needed for women and women's organizations which seek to gain greater power for women at the local level, within political parties and governing institutions, but which also seek to transform those entities by incorporating their concerns as equal priorities on the political agenda and by electing more women to local government positions.

V. WHAT LOGROS CAN DO

The broad and demand-driven nature of the LOGROS Project makes it flexible enough to specifically address gender-related issues, although this is not expressly called for in the Project Paper. Three basic ways in which gender can be better incorporated into LOGROS activities are:

- (1) Disaggregate Data by Gender. As stated in the Project Paper the LOGROS PSC Project advisors will keep careful records on training activities and beneficiaries and will assure that this information is gender disaggregated. Data to be collected in the LOGROS indicator tracking system, which go beyond those strictly related to Project activities, should also be gender disaggregated to the extent possible. Examples of information that would be useful to understanding women's political participation in Central America are:
 - Women's participation in elections (esp. the number of women voting).
 - Women's participation in political parties.
 - The number of women mayors in each of the Central American countries.

All gender-disaggregated data should also be incorporated into the

ROCAP Semi-Annual Reviews (SARs).

As LOGROS is a regional Project, collecting this information, country-by-country, on a disaggregated basis, may be more difficult, but every effort should be made to obtain as much information as possible. Indeed, a concept paper on "The Use and Analysis of Gender Disaggregated Data and Indicators" prepared for the USAID/Women in Development (WID) Office states that "when base-line and monitoring data are collected, the additional cost of disaggregating by gender is minimal" (Malhotra, et. al., 1992, p.23). If short-term TA is contracted under LOGROS for data collection and analysis in connection with the LOGROS indicator monitoring system, ROCAP/RHUDO/CA should ensure that a gender specialist is included in the contract team. As further noted in the USAID/WID concept paper, "the gender specialist could serve as a technical expert with sectoral and gender expertise. He/she will support other team members' efforts rather than execute gender disaggregation for all sectors" (Malhotra, et. al., 1992, p.22).

LOGROS can promote the collection of gender disaggregated data within individual countries by including the discussion of its importance and ways in which it can be done in its training programs and/or through the publications of the regional municipal association, FEMICA, and the Regional Municipal Network (which will be created under LOGROS).

- (2) Incorporate Gender Considerations and Gender Sensitive Language in all Project Documents. The USAID/WID concept paper on Gender Disaggregated Data and Indicators states that "strategic objectives should be stated in ways to force gender-disaggregated performance measurement indicators, which in turn forces the collection of gender-disaggregated data" (Malhotra, 1992, p. 14). Yet, in the case of LOGROS, the ROCAP strategic objective has already been established and, thus, ROCAP/RHUDO/CA must work to assure that the indicators included in the program performance system, to be developed during the first year of LOGROS, measure differential impact.

Another way that gender considerations can be fairly simple incorporated into LOGROS is the restating of Project language to include gender consideration such as: "LOGROS will strive to increase participation of Central American women and men in the democratic process" as opposed to "LOGROS will strive to increase the participation of Central American citizens in the democratic process." Such language that integrates gender into Project objectives can act as a catalyst for the measurement of a differential impact of LOGROS on women as well as men.

- (3) Incorporate Gender Issues Within Each Scope of Work (SOW) for Each Project Evaluation. This will assure that LOGROS's impact on women is considered and analyzed. Besides simply collecting gender-disaggregated data, the monitoring system for LOGROS should also

include an analysis of the general progress, or lack thereof, of incorporating Central American women into the democratic process and, to the extent possible, the analysis should attempt to determine LOGROS's impact on women by relating the more general regional data to the gender disaggregated data that will be collected on specific Project activities.

Beyond these basic actions, ROCAP/RHUDO/CA may also consider undertaking the following activities under the LOGROS Project. These activities are based on suggestions of Women in Development (WID) specialists in both the WID Portfolio Review prepared by GENESYS for USAID/Guatemala and those proposed in the Gender and Democratization in Latin America paper written by GENESYS for the USAID Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) Bureau.

- (1) Undertake Studies of Women in the Democratic Process in Central America. As noted earlier in this paper, there is a great lack of literature on women in the political process, particularly in Central America. LOGROS could be instrumental in filling this gap by undertaking studies that look at women at the local level, in keeping the Project's focus on municipalities. The following types of studies are suggested in the GENESYS report (pp. 30-31) on Gender and Democratization as critical to better understanding women in the political process:

- a. *Studies of Women in the Democratization Process* - GENESYS notes that what is needed is studies on "women's status and role in day-to-day-politics and in the democratization process per se. This is important because if women make different decisions than men, and these decisions are indeed more favorable to development and to the well-being of their families as ... [some authors] suggest, then continuous input by women into the decision-making process might make a difference on the choice and success of development policies" (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.30).

- a. *Comparative Studies* - the work that has been completed consists primarily of micro-level case studies in individual countries. There is a great need for broader-based, comparative work that gives a more detailed picture of women's political participation across municipalities, political parties, countries, etc.

- b. *Middle-Level Analysis* - much of the literature focuses on either the micro-political level (i.e. education, employment, etc.) or the macro-level (i.e. public vs. private spheres, etc.) without looking at the dynamics between these levels such as how women's political participation influences public

policy. "More analysis is needed on the institutions that impede the implementation of progressive legislation and on the role and impact of women on these institutional arenas" (Painter, et. al., 1992, p.31). In particular, analysis of the interplay of gender and intermediary institutions in the democratization process, particularly with women at the municipal level, is needed.

The LOGROS Project Paper states that the Project may fund special studies to be distributed by the Regional Network's Secretariat, FEMICA. Depending on the volume published, one or more of these studies could focus on women and democracy in one of the forms listed above. In addition, ROCAP/RHUDO/CA could ensure that gender-related issues are addressed in each of the studies, or a number of them as deemed feasible, by including gender consideration as part of the SOW for the consultant undertaking the study.

Also, the Issues Papers, which will be prepared by technical specialists to facilitate decision-making at the first meeting of the Regional Network, should include gender considerations, as deemed feasible and appropriate by ROCAP/RHUDO/CA.

- (2) Initiate Public Awareness and Information Campaigns. Under LOGROS, public information materials will be developed, using a variety of media, that can be adapted for country use to increase the awareness of women and men as to municipal issues and to help them better understand the potential for their own role in local governance (LOGROS PP, 1992, pp. 3-21, 3-22). The communications effort will also assess groups that can later be given training to help them more successfully participate in their local government affairs. The material will be disseminated via the Regional Network and via interested bilateral USAID Missions.

Women tend to be less aware of the overall government process as well as their rights and responsibilities in that process. Moreover, due to a variety of factors which were discussed in Section III, of this report, women constitute a group that has great potential for disclusion from full political participation. Therefore, LOGROS may give special attention to women in formulating the communications program and the related training efforts.

Women's illiteracy rate is higher than that of men in Central America and they are typically less exposed to periodicals and written documents. Furthermore, they tend to participate less in the local political process such as in "cabildos abiertos" (town meetings). Therefore, alternative media, particularly radio, may be used to a greater extent in reaching women.

Some Central American countries have sections within the national governments that focus specifically on women and increasing their participation in development. One such organization is the Oficina

Nacional de la Mujer (ONAM) in Guatemala which supports programs to increase women's participation in civic and political groups. These entities could help in identifying the best ways in which to reach women through the LOGROS communications program and can participate in structuring training for select groups of women or local women's organizations.

Further, LOGROS could also work with the various organizations, universities, institutes, etc. in the region which focus specifically on gender issues and have done work in the area of women in democracy. These entities may be equally, or better, capable than the government departments in assisting LOGROS in reaching women through its communications program. A list of such organizations, and their contemporaries in the U.S., is included in Table 1 (see p. 24). It has been compiled using information from a GENESYS report on "Institutions Working on Gender Issues in Latin America" and from the list of participants at the January 1992 Workshop for Women Civic Leaders in the Americas, sponsored by the League of Women Voters in cooperation with the North-South Center of the University of Miami.

ROCAP/RHUDO/CA may want to work with one institution in each of the countries in the region or may carry out a pilot project in one country, based on the support network that may exist to help in undertaking such a program. Such an effort has enormous potential for replicability throughout the region. This is an important consideration for LOGROS as it is designed to make significant impact on decentralization by addressing specific, high-priority constraints that have broad potential for replication.

Finally, in an effort to also increase the awareness of mayors, other public officials, members of the Network, etc., articles and information as to the importance of considering gender issues in decentralization and municipal development activities can be included in Regional Network publications. FEMICA should strive to include gender issues in its newsletter and the association may consider including a section on women and local government that could feature articles on the subject, success stories, accounts of organized political actions taken by women in the region, new policies and/or laws past or programs initiated within countries that seek to increase women's political participation, new women mayors and/or public officials, etc. Central America women's organizations may be helpful in this effort.

- (2) Provide Technical Assistance for the Establishment of Women-Specific Branches of Government Bodies. A report completed by the GENESYS Project for USAID/Guatemala suggests that the National Legislature establish a special interest caucus system, similar to that in the U.S. Congress, which could include caucuses for women legislators,

TABLE 1**CENTRAL AMERICAN AND U.S. INSTITUTIONS WORKING IN GENDER ISSUES --
AND DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVES**

COUNTRY	INSTITUTION
GUATEMALA	Asociacion de Investigaciones y Estudios Sociales - ASIES
EL SALVADOR	Patronato Pro Integracion de la Mujer al Desarrollo - PIMUDE
NICARAGUA	Centro de Investigaciones - ITZTANI CONCIENCIA
HONDURAS	Comision Interamericana de Mujeres Asociacion ANDAR Centro de Estudios y Promocion del Desarrollo - CEPROD
COST RICA	Asociacion ANDAR Universidad Para La Paz - UPAZ
PANAMA	Centro Pro Democracia Fundacion para la Promocion de la Mujer Union de Ciudadanos
UNITED STATES	Council on Hemispheric Affairs - COHA Equity Policy Center - EPOC Institute for Policy Studies Institute for Global Communications Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom - IADF Inter-American Bar Foundation Washington Office on Latin America - WOLA Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/U.S. Section Columbia University/Center for the Study of Human Rights University of Pittsburgh/Center for Latin American Studies

The address and phone number for the majority of these institutions are included in the GENESYS report entitled "Institutes Working in Gender Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean," S. Mauze and Mary Mulhern, 1992, which is on file in the RHUDD/CA library.

indigenous legislators, etc. Although LOGROS concentrates on the local level, ROCAP/RHUDO/CA staff recognize the need to affect policy change at the highest levels of government if the institutionalization of decentralization and municipal development efforts are to be realized. Furthermore, women's concerns must be heard at both the local and the national levels if they are to gain equal consideration as priority areas on the political agenda and if policies relating to women are to be fully implemented. Technical assistance can be provided to high level officials in establishing such a caucus, which includes a section specifically for women, or in establishing a national women's commission, whichever is more appropriate. This information could instead be, included, as part of a LOGROS training activity.

Alternatively, LOGROS could provide TA or training to public officials, in the form of a Project problem-solving activity, on how to establish, perhaps, a district or department level women's commission that can work within each of its respective municipalities.

- (4) Include Gender Considerations as Part of Training Activities. The Regional Training Component of LOGROS will follow the overall demand-driven approach of the Project. In terms of training, this means that specialists will be employed to review training needs, evaluate existing capabilities of regional training institutes and propose format, based on priority needs established by the actors themselves in the municipal systems. Nonetheless, in developing the content of the individual training activities, gender-related issues can be included in the identified priority areas. For example, if workshops and/or seminars are to include a discussion on the importance of increased voter turnout in local elections, presentations may contain:

- Information as to the need to include special voter outreach and information program for women, as they tend to vote less due to gender-specific barriers.
- An explanation as to the more limited access that women have to voter registration centers as they tend to have less opportunity to travel. In order to increase access, registration tables can be set up in market centers on market day, in front of churches on Sundays, or where there are village celebrations (Alberti, et. al., 1990, p.83).
- Information as to the importance of disaggregated statistics on registered and voting citizens and ways in which this can be accomplished and the usefulness in analyzing gender disaggregated voter information in identifying patterns that could signal areas where constraints to women's participation exist.

The WID Portfolio Review completed by the GENESYS Project for

USAID/Guatemala cites a ROCAP funded training program, implemented through the Central American Institute for Business Administration (INCAE), which trains party officials on the roles and responsibilities of political parties, their responsibilities to constituents, effective management and structuring of political parties, etc. The review notes that such a program has great potential for including gender issues. Similar training activities for political and community groups, mayors and public officials, etc., could include components designed to sensitize these entities as to the needs of women and their responsibilities to women as constituents.

Furthermore, an important element of the LOGROS Training component is the strengthening of the institutional capacity of regional training institutions. Indeed, after year 2 of the Project, it is anticipated that much of the Project's needs for technical assistance, research and training (workshops, seminars, etc.) will be met through national and regional training institutions that make up the municipal training network (LOGROS pp, 1992, p. 3-20). Gender-related issues should be included in the training inputs that LOGROS will supply to several regional training institutions during Years 2-7 of the Project and these institutions should be encouraged to include programs especially geared towards women.

For example, INCAE established a Women's Program in 1988, under the auspices of USAID/Nicaragua with one primary objective being to strengthen democratic institutions by encouraging the formation of women's professional associations to influence social, cultural and legal institutions in Central America by conducting research and holding symposia on issues affecting women in the work place. In meeting this objective, INCAE planned a number of activities including: the establishment of a gender-disaggregated data base to strengthen its ability to support emerging networks of women managers in the public and private sectors in two Central American countries (Nicaragua and Costa Rica), the development of INCAE faculty sensitivity to gender issues so as to improve the integration of women's concerns into the curriculum and to attract and support more women students, a comparative study in the background and characteristics of public and private women managers, and the development and dissemination of training materials relevant to gender issues in management to INCAE and other training institutions.

LOGROS can include such gender considerations in the agreements that are drawn up between ROCAP/RHUDO/CA and the regional training institution, under which LOGROS funded training inputs will be supplied.

Finally, the training component should encourage the participation of women; they should be included in these activities in proportion to their numbers in the group being trained. ROCAP/RHUDO/CA should consider a training program(s) for women mayors, public officials,

and community leaders in order to bring them together to seriously discuss the issues of democratization that is inclusive of women and empowers them at the local level and to promote the development of a regional network of women active in this area.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The new transition to democracy underway in Central America offers women, who have typically been excluded from the democracy process, an opportunity to increase their political participation and to gain a strong voice in the decision-making process. Yet, political activity is new to women and they are often unaware of their civic rights and responsibilities. Additionally, there are barriers to participation for women which are based on cultural ideals deeply ingrained in the minds of men and women, discriminatory laws and regulations, double demands on women's time as income earners and mothers, lack of education, and poverty, all of which contribute to women's lack of power in the local decision-making process (Painter, et. al., p.4).

In its efforts under the LOGROS Project to increase the participation of Central American men and women in local governance, ROCAP/RHUDO/CA can play an important role in educating local and national officials as well as citizens as to the need to include women in the democratic process. Furthermore, the LOGROS Project can provide assistance to women and women's organizations involved in the democracy movement through training activities, technical assistance, etc. What is important to remember is the need to look for linkages in designing women-focused Project activities. "It is helpful to test to what extent the particular strategy decided upon, relates to, strengthens and is strengthened by other events of processes that are going on [in the regiona]" (Hirschmann, 1992, p.8).

In identifying the most appropriate and effective ways to incorporate women and gender-related issues into LOGROS activities, and in advising mayors and municipal officials of the same, women and women's organization working in the area of gender and democracy in Central America should be consulted and should

have the ability to provide continuous input over the Life of the Project. The easiest and perhaps most appropriate way that this can be accomplished is by including women leaders, i.e. mayors, public officials, etc., and Central American women's organizations which promote greater political participation for women, in the Regional Municipal Network. The institutions listed in Table 1 (see p. 24) may serve as a basis for the development of a Central American Municipal Network for Women, which can be an integral part of the overall Regional Network and which may be of help in identifying other similar organizations and women leaders. As the Network will be established during the first year of the LOGROS Project and regional priorities set, it is essential that efforts to include women are initiated simultaneously, as an integral part of Network development. This initial effort is crucial to ensuring the incorporation of women into other LOGROS activities and, indeed, to successfully educating the members of the region's municipal systems as to the importance and relevance of considering women and gender-related issues at the local and the national levels.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alberti, Amalia, et. al., A Women in Development Portfolio Review: - The Identification of Means to Further Promote the Integration of Gender Considerations into USAID/Guatemala's Program, Prepared by the GENESYS Project for USAID/WID, September, 1990.
- Aviel, JoAnn Fargot, "Political Participation of Women in Latin America," in Western Political Quarterly, Vol. 34, March, 1981.
- Awe, Bolanle, "Women and Politics in the Transition and Beyond," Paper delivered at the International Conference on Democratic Transition and Structural Adjustment in Nigeria, January 9-12, 1991. Lagos, Nigeria: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.
- Biles, Robert E., "Women and Political Participation in Latin America: Urban Uruguay and Colombia," Working Paper No.25, East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1983.
- Bourque, Susan C., "Gender and the State: Perspectives from Latin America," in Women, the State, and Development, Sue Ellen M. Charlton, et. al. (eds.), New York: New York University Press, 1989.
- Chaney, Elsa, Supermadre: Women in Politics in Latin America, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979.
- Centro de Estudios y Promocion del Desarrollo (CEPROD), "Proyecto Participacion Politica de la Mujer en La Esfera Municipal en Honduras, Segun Condiciones de Genero," Draft of final report prepared for GENESYS Project, 30 September, 1992.
- Deere, Carmen Diana, et. al., In the Shadows of the Sun: Caribbean Development Alternatives and U.S. Policy, Boulder: Westview Press, 1990.
- Garcia, Ana Isabel and Enrique Gomariz, Mujeres Centroamericanas, San Jose, Costa Rica: FLACSO-CSUCA-Universidad para La Paz, 1989.
- GENESYS (Gender in Economic and Social Systems) Project, Scope of Work for CEPROD's study on Women in the Municipal Sector of Honduras, 1992.
- Heilman, Lawrence C. and Robert J. Kurz, Democratic Initiatives Performance Monitoring Study for the Latin American and Caribbean Bureau, Washington, D.C., January, 1991.
- Hirschmann, David, "The Democracy and Governance Initiative: Suggestions on the Integration of Gender Concerns", Preliminary Findings of a study being completed for the USAID/WID Office, July 1992.
- Jaquette, Jane (ed.), Women's Movements in Latin America: Feminism and Transitions to Democracy, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

- Jelin, Elizabeth (ed.), Ciudadania e Identidad: Las Mujeres en Los Movimientos Sociales Latinoamericanos, Geneva: UNRISD, 1987.
- Local Government Regional Outreach Strategy (LOGROS) Project Paper, USAID/ROCAP/RHUDO/CA, 1992.
- Malhotra, Mohini, "A Concept Paper on: The Use and Analysis of Gender Disaggregated Data and Indicators," Prepared for USAID/WID, January, 1992.
- Mauze, Suzanne B. and Mary T. Mulhern, Institutions Working in Gender Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean, Prepared by the GENESYS Project for USAID/WID, April, 1992.
- PADCO (Planning and Development Collaborative International, Inc.), Regional Municipal Sector Assessment for Central America, Prepared for RHUDO/CA, June 1992.
- Painter, Flora, et. al., "Gender and the Democratization Process in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Overview of the Literature," Prepared by the GENESYS for USAID/WID, July, 1992.
- RHUDO/SA (Regional Housing and Urban Development Office for South America), Mujer y Municipio: Una Nueva Presencia Comunitaria en el Desarrollo Local de America Latina, Paper No.7, Seminario Internacional, Quito, Ecuador, August, 1991.
- RHUDO/SA, Metodos de Investigacion de Genero y Formulacion de Politicas Municipales Dirigidas a Mujeres, Paper No.9, Seminario Internacional, Quito, Ecuador, August, 1991.
- RHUDO/SA, "Program for the Project Women and Local Development 1991-1993," Quito, Ecuador, November, 1990.
- Safa, Helen Icken, "Women's Social Movements in Latin America," in Gender and Society, Vol.4, No.3, September, 1990.
- Schimpp, Michele Wozniak, AID and Democratic Development: A Synthesis of Literature and Experience, Washington, D.C.: USAID/Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE), May, 1992.
- Sivard, Ruth Leger, "Government and the Laws," in Women ... a world survey, Washington, D.C.: World Priorities, 1985.