# DO ORGANIZATIONS CHANGE? A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INCORPORATION OF GENDER ISSUES INTO DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, THE WORLD BANK, AND THE FORD FOUNDATION

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ABSTRACT

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This study is about the policy impact of the global women's movement on three international development agencies, the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the Ford Foundation. Procedural, programmatic, budgeting and staffing changes to incorporate gender issues are assessed and explained in terms of organizational conditions and internal bargaining processes. The findings reveal that the the performance levels go from relatively low to relatively high in this order: UNDP, World Bank and the Ford Foundation. This variance in performance is explained in terms of each agency's organizational environment, goals, and procedures. The organizational conditions of the UNDP are found to be least conducive to gender issues, while the Ford Foundation's are the most conducive among the three case studies.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

# INTRODUCTION

In the 1970s, an international women's movement emerged one of whose objectives was the formulation and implementation of more gender sensitive policies by governments and international development agencies. This study is about the policy impact of this movement on three international development agencies, the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the Ford Foundation.[1]

The adverse impact of policies of development agencies toward poor women of developing countries has been documented since the beginning of the 1970s. The problems were identified as a) engrained attitudes, values and perceptions of development personnel did not correspond to reality; b) a lack of information and data on women, and c) a lack of resources that were allocated to women. To remedy this situation, three major policy recommendations were made: 1. resocialization of personnel through training and education programs; 2) redirection of research and data collection on development to include women; and 3)allocation of resources to employ more women development professionals to set up and monitor programs related to women in development.[2] By the mid-1980s, there had been relatively little implementation of these proposals. Explanations too often redirected attention to the original problems, in a circular fashion.

What I propose here is to go beyond general policy recommendations to analyze how organizational conditions may affect the differential

response to gender issues. The study of international organization has concentrated on external factors and has paid little attention to how organizational conditions may affect performance. My argument is that external political pressures for change will invoke only limited response unless organizational conditions reinforce these pressures and provide a favorable context for implementation.

The response of an organization to a new issue can be assessed by the extent of procedural, programming, budgeting and staff changes. These changes require the production and dissemination of new knowledge, as well as the allocation of resources. Management provides the resources and incentives for change, while the professional staff provides the intellectual input. An internal bargaining process among the advocates of a new issue, other professional staff and the management leads to the changes in performance.

This bargaining process does not take place in a vacuum but is shaped by organizational conditions. Organizational environments, goals and their normative bases, and structure and procedures interact so that they affect the character and performance of organizations.

An organizational analysis of how the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, and the Ford Foundation have responded to gender issues in development shows that certain organizational features are more conducive to change than others. One cannot generalize, of course, from the findings of this study that those

organizational features that encouraged the incorporation of gender issues will encourage the incorporation of all new issues. But what this study does illustrate is how variance in performance is due to the particular interrelationship between an organization's environment, its goals and ideology, and its structure and procedures.

The empirical materials for this study were collected at the headquarters of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in New York, and the Ford Foundation in New York and to Washington, D.C., the headquarter of the World Bank during spring and early summer of 1986 and spring of 1988. I interviewed 50 staff members in the World Bank, 30 in the UNDP, and 15 in the Ford Foundation. I sought a stratified sample that covered the staff and management in each relevant office. The samples are not representative in the statistical sense; they are "snowball samples" in the sense that I was given names of other people to interview as I conducted my research. The women staff members in each sample constituted a higher proportion than their proportional representation in each agency, because, I assume, of their interest in gender issues as they relate to development planning. The interviews lasted from 20 minutes to 60 minutes. I generally got a very good reception; staff members were willing to spare their time to talk with me in spite of their busy schedules.

The UNDP, World Bank, and the Ford Foundation are appropriate because they represent three major categories of international

development agency: a multilateral aid agency, a multilateral development bank, and a private charitable organization. These case studies, of course, are not intended as a representative sample of all development agencies, but their organizational features are different enough so that it is possible to show how variance in performance on the same policy area may be related to different organizational features.

This study is intended to make the following contributions. It is intended as a step towards explaining the response of other donor agencies to gender-related issues and providing insights into how they respond to new issues in general. It shows how the policy impact of social movements may be constrained or encouraged by organizational conditions. It also shows how the sociology of organizations contributes and enhances our understanding of how international organizations behave.

The organization of the study is as follows. The first chapter explains the theoretical concept of organizational change as applied to the study of international organizations. The second chapter discusses the evolution of the international women's movement and the substantive field of "women in development". Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are the empirical chapters where the responses of the three agencies to gender issues are analyzed in light of their particular organizational features. The concluding chapter summarizes the central themes of the argument and discusses the findings that emerge from the analysis.

NOTES

[1] I define international development agencies as all those that work in developing countries in the field of development assistance.

[2] See, e.g. A. Germain, "Poor Rural Women: A Policy Perspective," International Affairs, 30 (2); B. Rogers, The Domestication of Women: The Discrimination in Developing Societies, London: Tavistock. 1980; K. Staudt, "Bureaucratic Resistance to Women's Programs: The Case of Women in Development.", in E. Bonaparth, ed. Women, Power and Policy, New York: Pergamon Press, 1982.

## Chapter 1:
## Policy Implementation in International Development Assistance Agencies

This study is about the policy impact of a "social movement", the international women's movement on the performance of international development agencies. The study of social movements and that of public policy are two fields that have heretofore been treated primarily as distinct and unrelated areas in the scholarly literature. While some writers have envisioned social movements as incipient interest groups and/or political parties,[1] few have tried to trace out the exact relationships between the two and the way in which each affects the other.[2]

Social movements are one of the primary means of socializing conflict; of taking private disputes and making them political ones.[3] A social movement aims to enter the political arena and expand "the scope of conflict".[4] McWilliams argues that "previously nonpolitical issues will almost inevitably become political whenever two conditions apply: (a) when reality comes to be perceptibly discordant with social myths..and (b) when there is the opportunity to compare notes on personal unhappiness."[5] Freeman builds on the second point above and proposes three criteria regarding the origins of social movements:[6]

1. The need for a preexisting communications network.

2. Receptivity of this network to the new ideas of the incipient movement.
3. A crisis that galvanizes the network into spontaneous action in a new direction or the existence of skillful organizers.

The international women's movement, according to the above criteria, is a "social movement". It has been described as a "global social movement" whose center of gravity in the West have been at the United Nations Decade for Women Conferences in 1975, 1980 and 1985. It is not one single or national pressure group. As a phenomenon of the 1970s and 1980s, it has taken many forms and there have been many different stimuli to indigenous activity all around the world.[7]

The international women's movement has formed around a "crisis" situation in the 1970s, of increased poverty in developing countries and uncertainty about the effectiveness of the conventional development strategies. The participants in the movements documented that the situation of women had actually worsened as a result of "development" and that the reality of the situation of women in the Third World no longer corresponded to the descriptions and definitions propogated by development planners and practitioners. The existing women's networks adopted these new issues and have attempted through the fora of the United Nations conferences, to convince governments and international development agencies[8] that women and men are affected differently by development policies and that those policies need to consciously take the special needs and capabilities of women into account. Leaders emerged who, as "policy activists", put pressure on the American Congress and the United Nations.

Once a social movement enters the political realm, it is usually constrained by the limitations of this realm. There already exist many concrete, accepted "rules of the game" which newcomers are expected to abide by.[9] These rules are manifested not only in values and norms of behavior but in the very institutions which govern the system and manage the conflicts within it. Thus, social movements have to frame their demands within existing definitions and within existing institutions. These institutions, of course, by their ability to "reward" or "punish" efforts for change with "success" or "defeat" often can reshape social movements so that movements who conform themselves to the norms of behavior in order to participate successfully in political institutions often forsake their major goals for social change.

Gelb and Polley, in their study of how policies towards women are enacted in the U.S. Congress, stress the importance of fitting demands into existing theoretical frameworks and existing distributions of power.[10] They point out that feminists have been reformist in focus and nonradical in method and have presented their demands without threatening the displacement of existing power configurations. For example, they have found that role equity issues (those policies that extend rights now enjoyed by other groups, men or other minorities, and which appear to be relatively delineated or narrow in their implications) have been more successful in the Congress because they have permitted policy makers to seek advantage with feminist groups and voters with little cost or controversy. In contrast, role change issues that appear to produce change in the

dependent female role of wife, mother and homemaker holding out the potential for greater sexual freedom and independence in a variety of contexts have been frought with political pitfalls, including perceived threats to existing values, in turn creating visible and powerful opposition.[11] Barbara Nelson, in her study of child abuse issues and agenda-setting, claims, in the same vein, that careful labeling and promotion of the child abuse issue helped it to achieve acceptance on professional and governmental agendas.[12]

Similarly, the international women's movement has defined and advocated changes within the confines of given institutions. As Jaquette has observed:[13]

> While U.N. women's conferences, and their mix of liberal and socialist feminists, New International Economic Order advocates, and others spend considerable time identifying and debating the source of women's subordination, from male prejudice to international capitalism, their solutions are limited to practical, incremental bureaucratic reform and women's pressure group activity.

Thus, the international women's movement has to not only work within existing institutions but also frame the issues in general, vague and ambiguous terms in order to build consensus:[14]

> United Nations policy documents on WID issues tend to be comprehensive statements that embrace all aspects of women's lives while failing to establish any meaningful priorities and operational objectives.

The aim of the movement has been to affect policy changes at both the national level and international levels. But a social movement

has difficulty devising concrete rules and regulations that are implementable. This is also true in the case of the American women's movement. For example, on the impact of the women's movement on the American Congress, Costain and Costains noted[15]

> The power of social movements to focus diffuse public pressures is tremendous, especially at the agenda-setting stage of the policy process. But the dynamism of a strong social movement may alienate legislators and other top decision-makers. Groups that emerge from movement politics must learn to convert their strength into concrete proposals, actual laws and implemented policy, and many social movements encounter considerable difficulty in changing the thrust of their activism to deal effectively with these 'nuts and bolts' concerns.

The aim of a social movement is to enter the political realm and change "the rules of the game" in a way that takes the interests of its participants into account or use the existing rules to its own advantage. Ideally, the international women's movement aimed to create an "international regime". "Regimes" are defined in international relations as "systems of principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations." [16]The women's movement has not created a "regime", where the same "norms, principles and rules" are applied across the board, but it has succeeded in sensitizing states and international development agencies at varying levels.

The impact of international social movements on states is a fascinating topic that is beyond the scope of this study. The realist trend in international relations literature would say that

only other states, as the major international actors, would be in a position to affect state policies. The "transnational paradigm" in international relations would, on the other hand, include a range of international actors, that may influence state policy, including non-governmental organizations and international governmental organizations. If we accept this point of view, social movements, through such organizations, may be able to influence state policy. There is, for example, research on how Latin American states' policies have changed as a result of the UN Decade for Women and how they have affected rural women in Latin America.[17] This research analyzes the scope and consequence of "women in development" projects, especially income-generating projects. Studies have also shown that when women can attain economic and political power internally, state policies are more likely to be favorable to them. Otherwise, women's movements are likely to be coopted and directed by the state.[18]

The focus of this study is how the women's movement has attempted to change the behavior of international development assistance agencies and to what extent it has been successful. The case studies examined in this study show that "women in development" issues have been incorporated into agency activities at varying levels. The question I will address is this: how do we explain the variance in the response to WID issues of the three agencies, the World Bank, the UNDP and the Ford Foundation? My thesis is that external political pressures for change will invoke only limited response unless organizational conditions reinforce these pressures and provide a

favorable context for implementation. These organizational conditions can be analyzed by employing the concepts and tools of "organizational sociology", and examining an organization's ties with its environment, its structure, procedures, staff and goals. The extent of implementation can best be understood as an interplay between the organizational conditions and the internal bargaining process.

## International Organizations and the Explanations of Organizational Change

Even though both could learn from each other, the gap between the study of international organizations and the sociology of organizations has been deep and persistent. Political scientists have attempted to use concepts from organizational sociology, but these attempts have remained limited and underdeveloped.[19] Generally, the study of international organization has not included the study of organizational features and how these may affect performance.[20] Sociological literature, on the other hand, has not focused on the international system.

In international relations, the study of international organizations has focused on how external factors, mainly states, shape their behavior. A "realist" perspective, in which states are

the major actors , has dominated international relations. From this perspective, the organizations of the international scene are seen as merely creatures of the dominant actors, with little independent initiative, power and effectiveness. If only states shape the behavior of international organizations, this perspective can't explain the impact of global social movement on international organizations.

The "regime perspective" in international relations broke with the realists over the latter's exclusive consideration of the nation-state as the actor and military force as the dominant resource to promote national power in what appears to be a rational game of interstate contract formation. It proposed, rather, that there are, as mentioned above, "norms, principles and procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations".[21]

One could argue that the international women's movement aimed to change the "norms" of the "development assistance regime" so that gender differences and issues are taken into account. However, there is little evidence that "actors expectations have converged", and that there is any "across the board" acceptance or implementation of gender policies by all relevant actors. There is however, a varying degree of acceptance by international development agencies, as well as governments, of the importance of gender issues in development. "Regime analysis" does not offer the conceptual tools to analyze this difference because it assumes that once a regime is established at

the international level, the rules, regulations would be followed by all members of the regime.

To analyze this difference, then, we have to direct our analysis to the organizational level, and examine the different organizational conditions that might affect performance. What is usually not sufficiently taken into account when the behavior of international organizations is analyzed is that they have full-blown bureaucratic structures, large professional-technical staffs, and engrained routines, all of which may be influenced by a variety of professional and organizational norms distinct from "state interests" and "regime norms and principles".

In the sociological view,[22] organizations are not simple mechanical tools obediently doing the work of their creators, or following the norms, rules and procedures by the "regime" that they are part of. Instead, they are live collectivities interacting with their environments, and they contain members who seek to use the organization for their own ends, often struggling with others over the content and allocation of the product. These dynamics produce a distinctive organizational character over time. Due to these dynamics, they differ in their performance.

Organizational sociology can be helpful to the study of international organizations because of its two major foci. One is organizational performance - effectiveness and efficiency. This emphasis has provided the field with a dependent variable, which brought about the second major development: the recognition of an

interrelated set of conditions that affect performance. Organizational environments, technology, structure and goals have been found to interact so that they affect the character and performance of organizations. As Richard Scott has shown, all of these concepts have provided important insights, even though they are difficult to operationalize and pin down as real variables.[23] I will discuss each of these conditions and their interrelationships and how they may affect performance below.

## Organizational Conditions

### 1. Linkages with the Environment

Work on international organizations has generally defined the external environment as consisting of states. In their work on influence in international organizations, Robert Cox and Harold Jacobson has conceived of the general environment in terms of states, their characteristics and broad policies.[24] They do recognize, however, that this focus on states has some limitations, since it excludes transnational corporations, religious groups or other "emerging forms of behavior and value". Likewise, another prominent study in international organization by Jacobson treats the environment as a "collection of sovereign states which limits the autonomy of international organizations."[25]

The environment can more usefully be defined as all other

institutions. including the institutions that provide funds, the clients and the constituents of an agency. Since this study focuses on international development agencies, this definition would include other international development agencies, multilateral, bilateral or private, governments, university research centers, social movements, interest groups among the actors in an international development agency's environment.

Organizations function in a "political environment"; they influence their environment and in turn are influenced by it. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that an organization's relationship with its environment will affect its responsiveness to a particular issue. When we try to understand how an organization's relationship with its environment affects its performance, we need to examine both how it attempts to control its environment, and how it is, in turn, influenced by its environment. This view is supported by the "open systems perspective" in organization theory.

In organization theory, the shift from closed to open systems marked the important recognition that environments vary and can have a decisive impact on organizational behavior and performance.[26] This shift also recognized the "interdependence" of the organization with its environment. The "open systems perspective" stresses the reciprocal ties that bind and interrelate the organization to those that surround and penetrate it. "Interdependence" does not necessarily imply equal relations but also takes into account the existence of assymetrical relations. However, asymmetrical relations

may change so that neither the organization nor the environment is the determinant of the other's fate at all times.[27]

If the nature of the relationships can be characterized by "interdependence", the nature of the environment can be characterized as a "network" within which organizations exchange political support, information and financial resources.[28]Meyer and Scott call the "institutional environment" as "..including the rules and belief systems as well as the relational networks that arise in the broader societal context."[29]Within this "network" actors enter alliances with others in pursuit of certain goals. These alliances may be in formal or informal contexts, within or beyond the organization.[30]

Organizations attempt to shape the external environment in a manner that will safeguard the organization:[31]At the same time, environmental forces shape goals, boundaries and the internal activity of organizations. In the case of international development agencies, their activities are influenced by other multilateral, bilateral, or private funding agencies which may cofund their projects, supply research or personnel or both. Donor and client governments also affect the activities of donor agencies. How important actors in an agency's environment see a particular issue will affect its treatment within that agency. How a new issue furthers or fits an organization's own goals will also affect its treatment within that agency.

2. Goals

Do organizations possess goals? If they do, who sets them? And how can they be characterized? Some organizational scholars have questioned the value of goals, noting that they are often formulated after the fact to justify past actions.[32]

I believe "organization goals" can provide insights into performance if they are defined with care. All organizations are created to achieve some identifiable ends or goals. Overt goals are what organizations are set out to do. But goals have a normative basis, what one could also call organizational ideology. For example, Ford Foundation's overt goals are related to improving human welfare and not to generating profit (like an international bank) or supporting U.S. foreign policy (like the U.S. Agency for International Development). It defines itself as a "private, nonprofit institution dedicated to the public well-being."[33]The Foundation's goal is to derive innovative solutions to persistent social problems of inequity, discrimination and poverty. This goal has a normative basis in that the Foundation's vision of the "good society" is one that is equitable and free of discrimination. It works mainly by "granting funds to institutions and organizations for experimental, demonstration and development efforts that give promise of producing advances in various fields".[34]

Organizations, as the Ford Foundation example above illustrates, are not just concerned with delivering a good or service but also

with changing or creating values or attitudes. Etzioni terms this a "cultural goal", requiring a normative compliance structure. The "cultural goal" requires a high degree of internal loyalty or commitment to the organization, which gives it something of the character of a religious movement. "Cultural goal" may be another term for "organizational ideology" defined as "sets of beliefs that provide explanations for phenomena, suggest appropriate action and bind together their adherents".[35] Thus, the Ford Foundation's goal to provide innovative solutions to social problems is based on a liberal ideology that recognizes the legitimacy and rights of all social groups, and this ideology also binds the staff members together in their commitment to achieve the Foundation's goals.

The goals of the World Bank can be defined as increased profitability as a bank, and fostering increased economic growth in developing countries. This latter goal is based on the dominant ideology of neoliberalism. As Ayres comments, this ideology, widely shared throughout the Bank, stresses economic growth as its principal objective.[36] The principal routes to growth are seen to lie, domestically, through capital accumulation and, externally, through export expansion and diversification. The prescriptions include reducing the reach of the state and allowing free reign to "economics" in the form of market forces.

An organization's goals are very important in determining its structure, procedures and staff. For example, the different goals of the World Bank and the Ford Foundation have led to different

structures, procedures and staff. The goals of the Bank have encouraged a centralized structure, procedures that emphasize technical and economic analysis, and the calculation of returns to investment in project activities, and staff that mainly consists of technical specialists. Meanwhile, the Ford Foundation's goals encourage a flatter structure, procedures that stress experimentation and staff that has a commitment to "social change".

3. Structure and Procedures

Both environment and goals affect the structure of the organization. Paul Lawrence and Lay Lorsch, for example, showed how environmental and techonological variance determined what type of structure would be most effective for an organization. They showed that a flat organizational structure produces higher performance when it operates with a new, changing, and not readily routinizable technology in an environment that is unstable and rapidly changing. Where the environment is homogeneous and stable and the technology well know, however, a tall Weberian type bureaucracy or hierarchic structure tends to provide higher performance.[37]

Hierarchical structure may promote certain strategies to control the environment. Greater rationalization or bureaucratization may, in fact, be a defense mechanism to deal with political uncertainty in an agency's environment.[38]Organizations may use "feigned rationality" and comprehensiveness as a way of protecting and promoting their autonomy.[39]

The structure of an organization reveals regularized patterns of interaction, whether they are formally or informally generated. Farley uses complexity as a concept that deals with the number, variety, and the interconnection between structures in an organization. Many terms have been developed by social scientists to describe certain aspects of complexity.[40] These include size, centralization, and hierarchy and they affect the way organizations respond to change.

The notion of size is one of the most frequently referenced yet least well-defined concepts in the organization literature. Clearly differences in the size of organizations exert a pervasive impact on nearly all other organizational variables and small size is generally related to innovative behavior.[41]

Two major approaches to organizational size have emerged in the literature. The first defines size in terms of the amount of structure observed within an organization. In essence, the "scale of operations" or the volume of task activity is the measure of size. The other approach treats size from the point of view of individual attitudes towards size. Thus, member or employee perceptions of organizational size may be related to satisfaction, productivity, absenteeism and other variables.[42]

Centralization deals with the connection between the central and peripheral structures in an organization. There has been considerable discussion in organization theory about the relationship between decentralization and the volume of innovation within

organizations. The staff in a decentralized organization can take more initiative because superior-subordinate demarcations are blurred, access to superiors is easy, considerable responsibility is assumed by subordinates, and usually there is a physical separation of field offices from the main office that promotes independence.[43]

However, there are costs to decentralization as well as benefits. Wilson, for example, suggests that decentralized organizations tend to propose more innovations but adopt fewer of them.[44] A decentralized organization would also encourage ambiguity regarding definition of responsibilities, making it easy to "pass the buck" or declare a situation as "not my problem".[45] Furthermore, in a decentralized system, a major organizational goal becomes the maintenance of political alliances which may interfere with "experimentation" and "learning". Regardless of organizational goals, the most effective organizational structure probably is one that combines characteristics of centralization with decentralization.

Hierarchy can be defined in terms of the layers that exist. A flat hierarchy would have fewer layers. Organizations are often conceived of as layered pyramids - with the rulers at the top and several strata of subordinates below.[46] In a "tall hierarchy", the amount of stratification is high, whereas in a "flat hierarchy" the layers are fewer and access to management is easier. On the whole, the literature suggests that organizations that are small, have a flat hierarchy, and are decentralized tend to be more innovative.

In order to achieve their goals, organizations adopt certain

procedures, methods. I will broadly define procedures and methods to include the skills, knowledge, training of employees, the approaches and strategies utilized; and the characteristics of the objects (inputs and outputs) on which work is performed.[47] Procedures are related to both organizational structure and the nature of staff.

As organization theory tells us, to maintain performance, more complex procedures demand a more complex, differentiated structure or greater reliance on professionals; more uncertain, less routinizable procedures demand a flatter (that is less hierarchic) organization with more effort given to the coordination of relatively independent parts.[48]

Organizations whose procedures emphasize experimentation may set up decentralized structures and procedures and hire personnel who are activists and reward them for innovation. Such a goal would clearly make an organization more responsive to new issues. The goal of "experimentation" would mean that organizations develop a capacity for responsive and anticipatory adaptation, and a)embrace error; b)plan with people and c)link knowledge building to action,[49]

The structure and procedures of an organization are closely related to the kinds of personnel hired. Personnel patterns in international organizations vary along three patterns: career vs. temporary employment; staff vs. line and home vs. field.[50]

The trend in many international agencies, especially the U.N. specialized agencies, has been toward the hiring of temporary,

fixed-term employees with the consideration that security of tenure weakens performance.[51] Related to this issue, the addition of new members would have an impact on an organization. According to Farley, the impact of new members upon an existing organization varies with the number of new and prior members, the relative strength of the new and prior members, and the preexisting distribution of authority among the prior members.

Regarding the "home vs. field" pattern, the literature suggests that field staff, having intimate knowledge of local conditions, would be in a position to be innovative. However, this may not always be the case. As Judith Tendler showed in the case of the U.S. Agency for International Development, the staff in the field could not be innovative"[52]

> The task at hand required an organizational environment that could produce learning; the organizational level at which learning behavior was required was much lower, or at different points, than in a more typical government bureaucracy; and the type of person recruited for these positions was no different from those recruited for similar-level and similar-function positions in a home-based bureaucracy, where routine behavior at these levels is more functional.

The distinction between line and staff personnel is a reflection of the authority pattern or "chain of command" in an organization. Line personnel are the administrators or managers of an organization while staff personnel are the specialists, the technicians whose job it is to perform the tasks of the organization but do not themselves exercise "line" authority. In organizations, where the "delivery of

goods and services" requires complex technology and procedures, the staff personnel become the larger group with the capacity to influence organization policy.

I believe, a special focus on the professional staff is necessary to understand organizational change because it is they who make use of new information and ultimately decide on the intellectual value of new policy and decide to offer or withdraw their support. We know that it is the professional staff in agencies who are charged with designing and implementing policies. According to Rourke, for example, management can only provide guidelines but, in fact, it is the professional staff who implement policies.[53] Different professions bring different policy definitions, data and methodologies to the policy arena[54] so that the professional norms, values and paradigms that the staff work with in particular agencies and how new policy fits these norms becomes very important.

There are studies dealing with the effect of professional conceptions of policy on outcomes in both international organization and policy literatures. For example, Ascher's study on the World Bank demonstrates that adding new criteria (e.g. equity, the role of women in development, environmental protection, human rights) to the desiderata of development has met with resistance because "many professionals in the World Bank have been reluctant to incorporate new considerations in formulating development strategies if they require modes of analysis less rigorous than the traditional economic framework."[55] For example, Levy, Meltsner and Wildavsky argue that, in

several policy areas in urban government, professional conceptions of policy determine the types of actions taken by city departments and the outcomes for citizens.[56] At the federal level, studies of government regulatory agencies support this view of dominant professional influence on policy.[57]

## The Internal Bargaining Process

The organizational conditions set the stage within which individual actors bargain over implementation. Who are the actors who take part in this bargaining process? I define them as the advocates for a new issue both in their formal and informal roles, other professional staff and the management who may or may not act as opponents. The interaction of these actors can be conceived as a political bargaining process. As Bardach has argued, implementation is an assembly process of program elements that are in the hands of many different parties, most of whom are in important ways independent of each other. The only way that such parties can induce others to contribute program elements is through the use of persuasion and bargaining.[58] If advocates are found among management, they can also manipulate organizational incentives. As Wilson has pointed out, innovation requires influence as long it requires getting persons to accept the ideas.[59] Wildavsky goes further: Unless building support for policies is an integral part of designing them, their proponents

are setting themseves up for disappointment.[60] In short, policy change requires both information and clout.

The organizational conditions shape this internal bargaining process by encouraging or constraining the responses of bureaucratic actors and by setting the range of bargaining strategies available to them. If the consideration of a new issue furthers the organization, if the relevant actors in the environment support it, the management is more likely to respond positively. If a new issue is justified within the organizational ideology and fits the organizational goal, both management and the professional staff may react more favorably. Furthermore, conditions related to organizational structure, procedures and staff have to be conducive to change.

Even though the nature of the organizational characteristics define the range of bargaining strategies available to staff members, one should not see the outcome of the bargaining process in completely deterministic terms. The actors involved in the bargaining process are individuals who, within the limits set by the organizational characteristics, can choose different courses of action.

Who are the "policy advocates"? Polsby suggests that policy innovations tend to belong to interest groups and persons who take an interest in identifying new issues and who specialize in acquiring and deploying knowledge about policies. He calls those people "policy entrepreneurs" who, by the skillful mobilization of substantive justifications and the accurate identification and thoughtful cultivation of allies, can and do bring a policy into

being.[61]

Policy advocacy may be employed formally or informally. In their formal roles, policy advocates are the advocacy administrators. Advocacy administration is the method by which change theories can be linked to actual practice. Drawing on Anthony Downs, advocacy administrators promote nonroutined programs. As such, advocacy administration is a necessary part of the life cycle of new programs.[62]

Policy advocates may also form informal structures both within and outside the organization. In organization theory, formal structures purposefully designed to regulate behavior in the service of specific goals are seen to be greatly affected -supplemented, eroded, transformed- by the emergence of informal structures. One way to distinguish between formal and informal structures is to equate formal structures with those norms and behavior patterns that exist regardless of the characteristics of individual actors. Informal structures are those based on the personal characteristics or resources of the specific participants in the situation.[63]

Participants in informal networks, just as those within formal ones, enter alliances with others in the pursuit of certain goals.[64]One such goal is to affect change by acting as "policy entrepreneurs".

Policy advocates interact with other professional staff and the management to convince them of the importance of the issue at hand.

Convincing the management is more important because once the management is convinced, they can alter the incentive system for the professional staff. But without the support of the management, convincing the professional staff is much harder unless there is general agreement that the new issue needs to be considered. Of course, convincing the management is necessary but not sufficient because those who "perform" the tasks set forth by the management are the professional staff. The question is what sorts of action are most likely to persuade professional staff and the management and how do policy advocates go about it?

Policy advocates need both "new information" and "political clout" and "new information" to promote a new policy. These can be done through both formal and informal methods. A range of strategies to enhance bargaining power can go from reviewing policy documents, providing input to these policy documents, attending high level management meetings, suggesting new policies to the management, to interviewing all new candidates. To promote understanding and interest for the new issue among the staff, strategies could range from holding seminars, writing background papers, inviting outside speakers, attending staff meetings and providing an input into program development, and stressing how new issue fits the goals of the organization.

To summarize, it is the "policy advocates' who must bargain with other professional staff and management in order to acquire the resources necessary for change with the parameters allowed by the

organizational conditions.

The assessment of "responsiveness"

How can we assess an organization's responsiveness to a new policy? The responsiveness to a new issue can be judged in terms of its implementation as a new policy. The indicators of implementation are the programming, procedural, budgeting and staffing changes on behalf of new policy.

The questions that need to be addressed here are: Has programming (for example, for the World Bank they would be country programs, projects, sector work, research and publications) activities incorporated gender issues? Have there been separate programs for women or have women been included in ongoing programs or both?

How have procedures (for example, the project cycle) been changed to take gender issues into account? Have mechanisms to insure women's consideration been put into effect?

Is there a separate budget for women's programming? What percentage of the whole budget does this consist of? Have new staff members been hired to the new advocacy office (if there is one) or to work on gender issues in the relevant offices of the organization? What is the structural location of the advocacy office and what

resources does it have?

Based on these indicators, it is possible to compare the performance of different organizations. More extensive implementation would mean gender incorporation into more programs and procedures, more resources and staff members working on gender issues.

## Summary

Three major conclusions can be drawn from the discussion above about the relationship between organizational variables and responsiveness to new policy. First, a change in policy requires the cooperation of the professional staff who provide the intellectual input and the management who provide the resources and incentives for change. Thus, advocates of new policy have to persuade and bargain with both the professional staff and the management so that necessary implementation in the form of procedural, programming, budgeting and staffing changes, can occur. Second, even though these actors have a range of strategies available to them, these may be circumscribed by organizational conditions. Organizational conditions shape the internal bargaining process within which the actors bargain over implementation. The above discussion suggests that the incorporation of a new issue is furthered by the support of relevant external

actors, a favorable organizational structure, the fit into organizational goals, procedures and the skills, knowledge and training of the employees. Therefore, the third and last conclusion is that the extent of implementation of a new policy can best be understood as the result of an interplay between organizational characteristics and the internal bargaining process.

The next chapter will discuss the evolution of the international women's movement and its theoretical basis as a substantive issue. The three chapters that follow will employ the theoretical framework to analyze the responses of the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the Ford Foundation to women in development issues.

# NOTES

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## Chapter 2:
## Gender Issues in Development Theory and Practice

Since the early 1970s, the international women's movement's activities have brought about the adoptation of policies on the "integration of women into development" in many multilateral, bilateral and private assistance agencies have adopted policies on the integration of women into their programs and projects. Even though no "regime" with its own norms, principles have been established at the international level to deal with women in development issues, the movement has affected individual development agencies' behavior. Depending on their particular organizational features, some have responded more extensively than others. The question that I am interested in is: What is the poicy impact of the international women's movement on specific development agencies and why have some donor organizations been more responsive than others?

Before exploring this question in detail however, it is appropriate to discuss how the international women's movement placed gender issues on the agenda of international development agencies in the early 1970s.

Gender issues on the agenda of donor agencies

Gender issues entered the agenda of international development agencies as a result of the political and academic activities of an emerging international women's movement who used mainly United Nations conferences to voice their concerns.[1]

In the early 1970s, an informal network of mostly women development professionals, and researchers documented the experience of women as a result of development that contradicted with the conceptions of modernization theory and appealed directly to development planners to recognize and account for women's roles in economic development lest the development process be less effective.

Buvinic outlines three priority shifts in development thinking during the 1970s which created a more receptive climate to women's issues. Increased focus on the world population "problem" was accompanied by the realization that women are key actors in determining population trends. Acknowledgement of the failure of the "trickle down" approach to improve the lives of the poor highlighted the need for more information on the poor. Research on the lives of Third World women would provide this base. Furthermore, women's traditional importance in meeting the basic needs of the family was recognized.[2]The need for attention to women in development issues was justified on the basis of efficiency and equity. It was argued that

discrimination is not economically rational; if women are marginal to economic development programs, it is at the cost of greater productivity. Ignoring women also hinders equitable development:[3]

> ...integrating women in development efforts permits a full realization of an equitable development strategy in two ways. Many economists and international assistance agencies are now committed to promoting "development with equity". Women's proportional contribution to household maintenance is highest among low-income families where survival depends on the active participation of all members. Moreover, female-headed households are often disproportionately concentrated among the low-income segments of society. Development strategies which include women address low-income households within a society, whether female- or male-headed. Growth with equity should not be conceptualized solely in economic strata terms, but also in terms of gender. Any strategy that disproportionately favors men cannot be considered an equitable approach.

The main objective of a "women in development policy", is defined by Staudt:[4]

> The essence of a Women in Development approach is to ascertain what women actually want and do within a society and provide them with opportunities and skills and resources to enhance that participation...The WID strategy rests on creating more rational and even-handed planning which takes into account the sex division of labor, fair returns for labor, and the equitable infusion of new opportunities and resources to all members of a given community.

The scholarly efforts to substantiate the importance and relevance to include women in development assistance activities as both contributors and beneficiaries, were accompanied by the pressure group activities of policy activists and non-governmental organizations on both the national and international levels.

The term "Women in Development" was coined by the women's committee of the Washington, D.C. chapter of the Society for International Development (SID/WID). [5]This group moved to influence the policy of the U.S. Agency for International Develpment by testifying at the Congressional hearings which shape U.S. foreign assistance policies. From this group came the concepts which underlay the Percy Amendment of the 1973 New Directions legislation.[6]The Percy Amendment stipulated that bilateral and multilateral assistance programs be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries and mandated the Agency for International Development (USAID) to implement it.[7] Furthermore, AID's bureaus and field missions were asked to encourage international development institutions and other donors and private voluntary organizations and foundations to give specific attention to the role of women in development.

The following factors made the passage of this amendment possible. First, there were strong and influential individual women who supported it and who came from mainstream and scholarly organizations. These women testified at congressional hearings which frame U.S. foreign assistance policies. The Percy amendment was supported by two influential women in particular, Mildred Marcy of the United States Information Agency and Arvonne Fraser, political activist and founder of several women's groups in Washington, whose husbands respectively were Chief of Staff of the Foreign Affairs

Committee and member of Congress. Second, these women had the backing of the women's movement in the U.S. Since the women's movement in the U.S. had acquried some political clout, Senator Charles Percy (the Republican senator who sponsored the 1972 Foreign Assistance Bill) had an interest in satisfying women voters. Third, the request to "integrate women into development" fitted the values that the "New Directions" legislation embodied. Anyone concerned with reorienting foreign assistance to help the poor could readily grasp the importance of reaching women who usually constitute the poorer and less powerful sections of populations. Finally, the amendment did not entail any political cost for its sponsor and it carried no apropriations. The monies were attached to the New Directions; thus adding the amendment carried little fiscal cost. As a result of the Percy Amendment, an Office of Women in Development was established in the U.S. Agency for International Development. The field missions, officies and bureaus of A.I.D. were charged with integrating women as both agents and beneficiaries into the mainstream of the agency's programming process from concept and design through review, implementation and final evaluation.

The passage of the Percy Amendment should be seen in the context of the growing women's movement in the U.S., as well of the failure of the first United Nations Development Decade and the criticisms of liberal development theory. Concern for equal opportunity for women was juxtaposed with criticisms of the neglect of liberal development theory in examining the human factors in development. These two concerns provided the impetus for pressuring both the U.S. Congress

and the United Nations system to take women's concerns into account. According to Irene Tinker, the formation of the "Women in Development" (WID) group in the Society for International Development was a replication of the trend in all professional associations to form women's caucuses for the dual purpose, first of increasing the participation of women in the professional activities of the society and their employment in the field, and second, of ensuring that topics related to women appeared on the agenda of annual meetings.[8] This trend, coupled with the dissapointment in the achievements of the First Development Decade, provided the ground for the proliferation of United Nations activities related to women, as well as non-governmental organizations concerned with women.

Beginning in 1970, the activities within the United Nations system increased substantially. Members of the United Nations and members of specialized agencies and all organs and agencies with the United Nations system were invited to cooperate in achieving the objectives and targets and to make available adequate staff and resources for "the advancement of women". The 1970 resolution of the General Assembly on international action for the advancement of women led to the organization of an "Interregional Meeting of Experts on the role of Women in Economic and Social Development" by the U.N. Division of Social Development and Section on the Status of Women in the Division of Human Rights, in June 1972. In 1974, an "International Forum on the role of Women in Population and Development" was held as part of the activities of the World Population Year.

In 1975 the World Conference of the International Women's Year was held in Mexico. The official view of the U.N. is a narrow one as to where the impetus came from for the International Women's Year Conference. The U.N. regarded the conference "..as the culmination of a trio of conferences"[9]These U.N. sponsored conferences included the U.N. Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm held in 1972, the World Population Year Conference in Bucharest in 1974, and the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974. Additionally, the U.N. noted that since 1949, its Commission on the Status of Women had been given assistance to the "advancement of women".[10]

However, many observers have noted that the impetus to include women's issues in U.N. conferences came from the informal women in development network, particularly supporters in nongovernmental development agencies.[11]This network is reported to have organized "counter meetings" because women and women's issues were continually excluded from U.N. Conference agendas.[12]Boulding noted that "most of the women, no matter how much knowledge they had, stood aside these conferences as petitioners and protesters."[13]

Likewise, the impact of the work of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women was questioned. Tinker reported that for years it was "the only place where women in the U.N. could meet"[14]and during that time it labored in obscurity generating important but overlooked studies.[15]In short, contrary to official U.N. claims, the impetus for the International Women's Year conference originated not from the male-dominated U.N. leadership but from pressure from mainly women

develoment professionals, researchers, activists and feminists. An International Women's Year Tribune sponsored by non-governmental organizations held simultaneously with this conference was attended by some 6000 women.

The non-governmental organizations which have attended the meetings of the U.N. Commision on the Status of Women and other regional and international meetings and conferences and submitted supporting statements WID issues are numerous. In order to give an idea, I will cite the names of a few: International Council of Women, International Alliance of Women, International Council of Social Democratic Women, Pan-Pacific and South-East Asia Women's Organization, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Meanwhile, various U.N. organs and specialized agencies were preparing reports on women and participating in the meetings of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women. The most active ones, based on participation at these meetings, were the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Food and Agricultural Organization(FAO).

While providing limited financial support and commitment, the U.N. nonetheless put its prestige and machinery in support of women in 1975. An immediate outcome of the Mexico City Conference was the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year. In addition, the conference called for a U.N. Decade for Women, 1976-1985, during which the World Plan would

be implemented. According to conference documents, the purpose of the Plan was:[16]

> ..to stimulate national and international action to solve the problems of underdevelopment and of the socio-economic structures which place women in an inferior position...

This plan called for the achievement of equality between the sexes within the context of changed relations beteen the North and the South. The declaration of the International Women's Year by the U.N. and the Mexico Conference is widely credited for bringing women out of obscurity and according women's issues legitimacy in international fora. "The World Plan of Action" adopted at this conference recommended that "conferences, seminars and similar meetings at the regional and international levels be organized with the participation, wherever possible, of ministers, high government officials and specialists concerned with development, of representatives of non-governmental organizations concerned with this problem, to consider ways and means of promoting the status of women within the framework of over-all development".[17]

Subsequently, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution titled "World Conference of the International Women's Year" that urged the relevant organizations to consider women in development seriously and take concrete action. It urged all financial institutions and all international, regional and subregional development banks and bilateral funding agencies to accord high priority in their development assistance, in accordance with the requests of

governments, to projects that would promote the integration of women in the development process, in particular, of women in the rural areas.[18] Finally, all relevant organizations within the U.N. system were invited "to submit, within the framework of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, to the Economic and Social Council at its 62nd session their proposals and suggestions for implementing the World Plan of Action and related resolutions of the Conference during the U.N. Decade for Women".[19]

The U.N. committed its machinery to the Decade for Women in several ways. The Voluntary Fund for Women, supported by pledges from member governments, was established

In 1980, the UN Mid-Decade World Conference on women was held in Copenhagen. In preparation for this conference, several international meetings of women took place. Each U.N. region held an official conference and feminist meetings were held in many places, including Thailand, the United States and Norway. The Copenhagen Conference passed a Program of Action for the second half of the decade. Simultaneously with this conference, a Mid-Decade Forum for non-governmental organizations drew some 10,000 participants.

In July 1985, the third UN World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace met in Nairobi, Kenya. Overlapping the official intergovernmental conference, the non-governmental organizations sponsored "Forum '85" that drew 14,000 people from all over the world, individuals and representatives from a multitude of

organizations. Examples include: Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era; Women's Studies International, General Federation of Jordanian Women, National Nurses Association of Kenya, Third World Movement against the Exploitation of Women; Housewives in Dialogue, and Seven Sister College Delegation, USA. Participants attended over 1,500 workshops and seminars on a wide variety of subjects.

As many participants of the Nairobi conference have observed, by the end of that conference, a consolidation of the international women's movement on a global basis had taken place. The "Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women" adopted by the Conference formulated the following guidelines regarding development assistance and women. These guidelines were much more comprehensive and detailed than the earlier recommendations for action :[20]

> Bilateral and multilateral aid agencies should take a corporate-wide response to the integration of women in development. Bilateral aid agencies' policies for women in development should involve all parts of donors' organizations and programmes, including participation of multilateral and bilateral programmes, training, technical assistance and financial aid. Polices for women in development should be incorporated into all applicable aid and agency procedures relating to sectoral and project levels....They should establish monitoring capabilities and procedures to analyse the situation of women in their sectoral and geographical areas... Such guidelines and procedures should apply to all aspects of the project cycle. Existing guidelines and procedures have to be applied more vigorously and consistently; in particular each project document should contain a strategy to ensure that the project has a positive impact on the situation of women. Substantive staff training is needed to enhance the ability of staff to recognize and deal with the centrality of women's role in development, and adequate resources must be made available for this

> purpose. Implementation of policies concerning women is the responsibility of the particular organization as a whole. Responsibility is not merely a matter of personal persuasion. Systems should be developed which allocate responsibility and accountability.

Clearly women's issues are now on the international agenda. At the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, member governments have adopted the "Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women". This document includes measures for the implementation of these strategies at the national level, as well at the regional and international levels. By signing this document, governments have agreed to "establish appropriate machinery with sufficient resources and authority at the highest level of government".

The international women's movement have had limited impact on government policies. Even though member government of the United Nations have signed conference recommendations on women, and set up women's bureaus within the governments, so far studies show that such bureaus have few resources and are marginalized.[21] Other research showed that states have shaped policies on women and at times have coopted women's movements to fit their own interests and objectives.[22] However, as a result of the international women's movement, more women have begun to organize and make demands on their governments. When women are politically and economically active, their governments, as well as development assistance agencies are more likely to take them into consideration.[23], pp. 2, 10; the findings of this study also point in the same direction.)

Before turning our attention to the response of specific development assistance agencies to gender issues, it would be appropriate to briefly discuss where the concepts and assumptions on gender issues in development assistance came from. How have major development theories treated gender issues and what criticisms were advanced by feminists regarding these treatments?

Gender issues, as they are formulated on the agendas of development agencies, mostly reflect a liberal feminist perspective. The "women in development" field, of course, is not solely the concern of liberal feminists. Others who see the nature of development, as well as the experience of women quite differently have made important contributions to this field and offered challenging questions on how or whether gender issues should be part of development assistance. What follows is a discussion of major development theories and their feminist critiques.

## Liberal development theory and gender

Economic development, from the perspective of liberal development theory entails the integration of Third World countries into the international economic system through industrialization. The economic goal is to achieve maximum growth using available resources in the most "efficient" manner, while the political goal is to

achieve a democratic system in the style of Western liberal democracies. The social goal is the social integration and stability of Third world populations in order to ease the assumed consequences of rapid change. In the early 1950s, the economic and political integration of Third World countries into the Western developed world was ostensibly justified in terms of the containment of communism [24] so that modernization, Westernization and development came to be used as synonyms.

To correct the problems of "backward" social and economic status, the "modern" experts recommended rapid economic growth, thereby increasing the overall economic well-being of the nation which, in turn, would permit the redistribution of wealth, promote political stability and provide the foundation for a democracy with broad-based political participation. The preoccupation with political stability of fragile Third World governments, however, led to "development" being equated with strong central institutions. For Huntington, for example, the primary problem of politics is the lag in the development of political institutions behind social and economic change.[25] Thus, at the macro-level, political scientists emphasized the creation of central institutions (the term state was not yet in vogue) and their ability to transform society. The existence of many authoritarian states in the Third World was then explained by Huntington in terms of the necessity to control the population in the face of "demand overload".

At the micro level, scholars tried to assess the impact of

development on the individual. They argued that the value systems of individuals needed to change from "traditional" to "modern" personality characteristics. [26]According to this categorization, the traditional society is characterized by affectivity (looking for immediate gratification), particularism (focusing on the immediate social environment), ascription (social roles based on gender, status in a hierarchical fashion), diffuseness (maintaining diffuse roles rather than specific, differentiated roles). On the other hand, a modern society is characterized by affective neutrality (holding back immediate gratification in favor of discipline), universalism (identifying with the larger political unit, the nation-state, rather than the immediate social environment), achievement orientation and functional specificity (progressive separation of roles). The adoption of modern personality characteristics are assumed to prepare individuals for a democratic-capitalist society.

Few modernization scholars have been directly concerned with women's experience in develpment, but those that did pointed out that women are an anomaly less easily made into modern economic or political participants than men.[27]Women's "resistance to become modern" was, however, seen as a positive factor for development by some modernization scholars who argued that some of the more traditional values that are present in and necessary to modern societies are maintained by women's roles in the family. First, women will serve integrative functions in society by helping to cushion the negative effects of differentiation through their familial and marital roles. Women will hold the role conflicts

experienced by men to a minimum by their warmth, affection and adherence to the traditional. As Coleman argues, a traditional trait, attitude, or behavioral pattern can be typologically identical and fortuitously supportive of or instrumentally exploitable for modernization, either for a particular phase or permanently.[28] In short, although familial norms emphasizing nurturance and emotional support are seen as contradictory to the efficiency and task orientation required at the work place, family nevertheless holds an important mediatory role between the fluctuating labor demands of the occupational structure and the constant subsistence needs of the individual.

Modernization theorists also saw women as instrumental in socializing the next generation into new values. McClelland, in his study of achievement motivation, argues, for example, that those women who could not act out the desire for autonomy and success in their own lives would inculcate "need achievement" in their sons. To put this in context, I should mention that modernization scholars argued that an "innovative elite" in society must emerge who successfully undertake activities of entrepreneurship. The innovative personality was described as a deviant individual who belongs to a rejected group. He is a member of some social group which perceives that its purposes and values in life are not rightfully acknowledged.[29] According to Hagen, this normlessness affects men more than women because of the differences between the normal social roles of the sexes. Reacting to the ineffectiveness of their husbands, the women will have an intense desire that their sons

be more effective and will respond with delight to each achievement in infancy or boyhood.[30]

Even though it is primarily men who need to be instilled with modern values, it is recognized by modernization scholars that women need to be educated in modern values in order to perform their socialization functions effectively. It is also argued by McClelland that both women's legal and social rights, should be promoted to undermine the absolute dominance of the male. Authoritarian fathers impede need achievement in their sons - one of the ways to undermine the dominance of the male is to strengthen the rights of the female.[31]

Modernization theory predicts that women's status within the family will improve, and women will acquire legal and political rights. The predictions about women's economic participation, however, are not as clear. As a result of development, the differentiation of economic activities will result in the loss of some of the family's previous functions. The family in modern society would no longer be an economic unit of production. This leads to the lessening of direct control of elders over the nuclear family; an aspect of this loss of control is the growth of personal choice, love and related criteria as the foundation of courtship and marriage. The result of the differentiation of the family from its other involvements is presumed to change women's status, who generally become less subordinated economically, politically and socially to their husbands than they had been under earlier conditions.[32]

Regarding economic activities, women's participation in agriculture will decline as industrialization proceeds. Regarding women's nonagricultural work force participation, modernization scholars maintain two different views. On one hand, female employment is assumed to be a function of the level of economic development.[33] Hence, female employment in economic activities outside agriculture will occur as a result of increased opportunities accompanying industrialization. Increases in women's labor participation is not only a consequence of development but is supposed to be instrumental in bringing about development: "Women should be freed from home for the cause of economic development to participate in the working force."[34] On the other hand, the introduction of the nuclear family as a result of structural differentiation and the separation of the economic (public) and familial (private) functions of the household predict a decline in women's labor participation as income levels rise. The assumption is that the male breadwinner earns enough income to support the family as the level of economic development rises. The contrasting views above are reconciled by the following argument: the course which women will eventually adopt with respect to labor participation will depend on the extent to which they are able to make adjustments between their family and their economic roles. Opportunities resulting from development are open equally to both men and women on the basis of personal achievements since modernization is supposed to break down all ascriptive criteria including the assignment of roles by sex.[35] The low level of economic participation of women in the

Third World, especially among middle income groups, is justified by the argument that women themselves prefer to stay home and tend to their familial responsibilities.

Regarding political participation, the same forces which make men modern - such as education, work in complex organizations and mass media exposure- also serve to make women more modern. It is expected that within a modern democratic system, juridical and legislative reforms will grant women equality before the law and give them the right to vote, to acquire and inherit property, to be employed and to be educated.[36] In short, scholars who turned their attention to the effect of development on women generally found positive effects.

## The feminist critique

The modernization approach to development encountered many criticisms in the late 1960s and early 1970s as it became apparent that its predictions were not coming true. The conditions in many developing countries after a decade or more in quest of rapid rates of growth showed that their development was unbalanced in the sense that benefits mostly accrued to already privileged minorities. Thus, the inequities in the distribution of income became an important issue in the 1970s as disenchantment with the merits of conventional growth theories increased. The latter justified the necessity of

inequities on the presumption that the middle classes had a higher propensity to save than the lower classes. However, the assumption that inequality would diminish as the level of aggregate growth increased did not prove to be valid, for empirical studies could not detect any connection between the growth rate of GNP and the degree of income inequality.[37] For many countries income distribution, as measured by indicators of relative inequality or by measures of absolute impoverishment, appeared to worsen. In short, the impressive growth rates and sectoral achievements in many countries were apparently not translated into an improvement of the living conditions for the "absolute" poor who constitute, according to a rough estimate, at least 40% of the population of such countries. Helping the poor, by meeting their basic needs through focusing on aid programs on food, nutrition, health, population and education, and human resources became the new thrust of development policy.

In 1973, The U.S. Foreign Assistance Act was significantly amended to reflect these concerns:[38]

> United States bilateral development assistance should give the highest priority to undertakings submitted by host governments which directly improve the lives of the poorest of their people and their capacity to participate in the development of their countries.

Besides focusing in general on the poor of developing countries, the Foreign Assistance Act (also called "New Directions legislation") passed by the American Congress specifically calls for an increased emphasis on agricultural cooperation, equitable land tenure patterns,

small-farm labor intensive agriculture, and equality in income distribution.[39] It requires that aid programs focus on food, nutrition, health and population, education and human resources.

Many international fora focused directly or indirectly on poverty-oriented issues during the 1970s. These included a conference in Mexico held by the United Nations in 1974, where the objective was to "redefine the whole purpose of development....to ensure the quality of life for all"; the Third World Forum, organized in 1975 "to facilitate the creation of a more just world order"; the 1975 report of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, which argued that the satisfaction of people's basic needs should be at the core of the development process; the 1976 World Employment Conference of the International Labor Organization, where the central theme was the importance of making basic needs satisfaction the prime focus of national and international development efforts.[40]

Paralleling the general critique of modernization theory, feminist critiques of conventional liberal assumptions emerged in the early 1970s. Ester Boserup's pathbreaking Women's Role in Economic Development, published in 1970, argued that improved technology in farming actually lowers women's status by reducing their access to productive work. She also argued that other aspects of modernization are also detrimental to women: urbanization cuts women off from their kinship support networks, there are fewer jobs in the modern sector, and the jobs that are available are often closed to women because of sex stereotyping. Urban women throughout the world are the main

participants in the so-called informal sector, which is primarily petty trading and often prostition. Colonial administrators, contributing their own definitions of appropriate roles for women, reinforced the process of female marginalization by training men only, and by structuring access to credit and other resources to the male as "head of household".[41]

Studies documented how women's status often declined as a result of development because development planners treated women mainly in their reproductive roles, failing to take into account women's productivity and failing to provide them with resources such as access to credit and to new technology, even in activities traditionally performed by women.[42]These studies argued that women are not recognized as a development problem because it is assumed that they will be cared for by male heads of households and that their marginalization from economic activities is both inevitable and appropriate; or arguments that favor directing resources to women are denied on the grounds that women are "less productive" or "too traditional". These studies showed that development assistance programs may be directed toward women, but only as mothers (nutrition and maternal and child health programs) or potential mothers (population programs). Women are seen as reproducers, not producers; welfare cases, not workers.

These critiques were formulated from a liberal feminist view, supporting equality of opportunity for women and advocating "increased political and economic participation for women." The

solutions proposed emphasized "integrating women into development activities" based on practical, incremental bureaucratic reforms, and women'pressure group activities. This definition of women in development issues, the definition of problems and solutions, got on the agenda of development assistance agencies. Staudt suggests some explanations why this was the case. She argues that contemporary international feminism makes no great demands but instead presses for issues within the confines of given institutions:[43]

> The explanation for this reticence is obvious to those working with existing bureaucracies, states and international institutions. The resistance to a redistribution of social values and resources along gender egalitarian lines and a redefinition of politics itself is profound, and politically weak women's groups are easy to ignore or dismiss. Consequently, active women articulate narrow goals, using grounds for which the institutions will be receptive. This results in building on existing conceptions of men and women, and using arguments which advance the interests of institutions, which may or may not conflict with those of women. The politics of contemporary feminism is implicitly a politics of pluralism, and its goals of more egalitarian policies are "reformist, pluralist, and incremental, through separate women's interest groups.

## The Marxist and Socialist perspectives on Development and Gender

The Marxist perspective on development places focus on capitalist economic relations. Whether capitalism is called international

division of labor, international capitalism, or dependent development, the major assumption here is that development is not taking place and that Third World countries are not becoming (and will never become) like the industrialized democratic-capitalist countries of the West. From this perspective, the economic consequences of capitalist growth differ in the center (Western developed nations) from the periphery (Third World nations). The basic hypothesis of this body of literature is that capitalism creates greater wealth, while in the periphery it creates underdevelopment or dependent development.[44]

The Marxist perspective argues that the so-called "development" reinforces the power of the ruling classes at the expense of the marginal classes. It is argued that the expansion of the international capitalist system brings about a dual process of center-periphery polarization. As Sunkel argues:[45]

> The evolution of this global system of underdevelopment-development has, over a period of time, given rise to two great polarizations which have found their main expressions in geographical terms. First, a polarization of the world between countries: with the developed industrialized, advanced "central northern" ones on one side, and the underdeveloped, poor, dependent and peripheral southern ones on the other. Second, a polarization within countries between advanced and modern groups, regions and activities and backward, primitive, marginal and dependent groups, regions and activities.

The marginal and dependent groups are usually involved in pre-capitalist activities and among them, the majority are women. Many studies have contended that under dependent capitalism, there is

an intensification of women's economic participation in non-capitalist economic relations (subsistence agriculture, petty commodity production and circulation).[46] As the structure of the rural economy becomes more capitalized and commercialized, men take the place of women on large farms and the total number of both male and female workers decreases.[47] In rural areas, the transition from preindustrial to capitalist relations of production in agriculture creates a large number of small holder peasants more often than not on the edge of economic survival. tends to create a large class of small holder peasants. Among this group, men seek seasonal wage employment, often migrating to cities, while women specialize in subsistence agriculture, child rearing and petty commodity production and trading. When women migrate to cities, their employment opportunities are usually limited to the informal sector as petty traders or domestic servants.[48]

There is one area where a high level of female labor participation can be found and that is in specialized export-oriented industries vulnerable to international fluctuations. Female workers are preferred in these industries because they are cheaper, more docile and are more willing to put up with the tedious and meticulous work typical of export-oriented light manufacturing.[49]

The Marxist feminist perspective on women has aptly demonstrated how capitalist processes have had a major role in shaping the experience of women from different classes in the agricultural subsistence sector, the urban informal sector, and in certain

industries. In the Marxist view, the role played by women as unpaid family workers and in reproducing the labor force makes it possible to pay workers less than subsistence, and thus to increase capital accumulation. The implication of this literature is that, given the nature of capitalist development, women's subordination and exploitation cannot be overcome under capitalist development, and that the dependent status of women will be altered primarily by a transformation to socialism.

Socialist feminists, on the other hand, have argued that women's experience cannot be understood solely on the basis of economic factors. They argued that the failure to incorporate women into the revolutionary societies of the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba proves that socialist revolution does not by itself liberate women.[50] The critique of capitalism must be joined by a critique of male domination. As Eisenstein argues, women's inequality arises not out of biological differences between men and women, but out of the social assessment and valuation of these dfferences.[51] The synthesis is "socialist feminism" which links the relations of production to the relations of reproduction.

State-society Relations and Gender

Another approach to development focuses on state-society relations and reflects the growing general recognition of the importance of political, as opposed to economic and social determinants of development, and of the nation-state as the point at which political power is concentrated and can most effectively be deployed to resist

metropolitan pressures, promote development or at least shape the kind of economic and social changes that occur.[52]

This approach highlights states as organizational structures or as potentially autonomous actors and views the state as an agent which, although influenced by the society that surrounds it, also shapes social and political processes. If the state has considerable autonomy to shape outcomes in society, we would expect state autonomy turned into "policy choices" would have a potential impact on the experiences of women.

Many feminist studies, utilizing the statist perspective, have documented how Third World states have formulated policies that fit their own interest. For example, policies stressing the importance of the traditional sexual division of labor and the strengthening of women's familial role were really attempts to stabilize the adverse effects of rapid change. Mazumdar reports that reformers in India believed that education and the removal of discriminatory and seclusive treatment within the family would enable women to develop into better wives and mothers. Since women were the custodians of traditional culture, greater efficiency on their part would strengthen the family as the basic unit of social organization and insulate the younger generation from the destructive influences let loose by modernization.[53] Vaughan points out that the Mexican state strove to make the family the central focus of emotional and social life in place of class and community. General Alvarado of Mexico, for example, envisioned a paternalistic state which would arbitrate

conflicts between labor and capital and suggested the importance of the working class family as the primary focus of emotional life and consuming unit in the expanding market economy.[54]

Differing levels of economic participation of women have been explained by specific development policies of states. For example, the high level of women workers in industry in countries like Singapore, Thailand, South Korea are conceivably the result of government policy directed towards export-oriented development. Croll explains the high level of labor participation in China as a function of state policy:[55]

> Rural development strategies in the People's Republic of China that aimed at establishing the collective as the unit of production, increasing agricultural production and diversifying rural activities were all planned on the assumption that China is uniquely rich in labor power and that women constitute one of the most underdeveloped of China's resources.

Studies on women's political participation demonstrated that laws enacted by the elites have usually been ineffective except in ameliorating upper class women's status. They are enacted from the top. In other words, the government "grants" rights to women usually for the purpose of appearing "Westernized". For example, Gallin reports that laws were enacted in Taiwan to alter traditional patterns of inheritance to benefit women but customary law continued a de facto practice.[56]Part of the reason for the ineffectiveness of laws is the fact that most reforms are aimed at middle-class women and did not take into account the needs of lower class women:

"Reforms in marriage, property laws and the elimination of purdah were aimed at middle-class women as evidenced in Pakistan, India, Turkey and Bangladesh." [57] Laws in general were made by the modernizing elite (who were mostly men) who defined the limits for women. Bald, for example, argues that "Reformers in India took it upon themselves to define the nature and sources of disabilities under which Indian women lived and to provide leadership for organized activities that sought to address what they consdered the women's question. As such, from its inception, what was perceived as the "women's movement" acquired the biases of its urban male, upper-caste, upper class advocates".[58]

There is evidence that women's organizations are directed by governments. In Bangladesh, for example, the women's organizations never took an independent position on political issues. Most of them were non-political; some were closely tied with various political forces and followed the corresponding party lines. The socialist states are similar in this respect. Evidence cited by Molyneux on North Yemen, and by Rogers on Tanzania support this argument.[59] In the case of Tanzania, for instance, the UWT's (The National Women's Organization) role was to mobilize women for the drive to independence and teach them TANU (the ruling party) objectives.[60] The same type of evidence is cited by Manderson on Maleysian women's organizations as adjuncts of political parties.[61] It seems that governments mobilize women when necessary and demobilize them when no longer necessary. There are many examples of massive incorporations of women's movements into the state, to be dropped when the state no

longer needed their support, such as in Argentina and in Iran.[62]

There is, however, another facet to state-society relations that may imply political and economic power through organizing. States, even though they are the primary institution to shape society, do not have the exclusive domain of influence or authority. Government has an impact on other social institutions and in turn is affected by them.[63]

The policy implication for women is that the state's need for development may provide a potential wedge for mobilizing women, enhancing female access and ultimately transforming politics. At the very least, women's organizations can make demands on the state and on international development agencies in order to start to gain access to economic and political benefits of development.[64]

## Summary

The different theories of development, and the feminist studies that support or criticize them are all critical to the understanding of how gender issues affect and are affected by the process of development. Feminist studies from Marxist and State-Society perspectives document the effect of international economic relations and of state policies, respectively, on women. For the purposes of this study, feminist perspectives on liberal development theory are

central.

It is mainly from this perspective that scholars and policy activists have pressured international development assistance agencies to consider gender issues in their activities. They have focused on women's contributions to and participation in development assistance programs and projects. By choosing this focus, they have also implicitly accepted the basic premises of the liberal capitalist development theory in its reformist version, along with the necessity to work within the existing development assistance agencies.

The common agenda for development agencies women in development effort can be summarized as the integration of women into the development process, especially to increase poor rural women's economic contribution and their income through research, education and training. By the mid-1980s, the general consensus was that there had been minimal implementation of these proposals. Recommendations continue to be phrased in a general way unrelated to the specific circumstances of development agencies. What I propose here is to go beyond the identification of "problems" and general policy recommendations to analyze how organizational conditions and the internal bargaining process may affect the response to gender issues.

The next three chapters examine the response of three development agencies, the UNDP, the World Bank and the Ford Foundation, to women in development issues. I argue that the responses can best be understood as an interaction of organizational conditions and

internal bargaining strategies. External pressure for change produces limited change unless organizational conditions provide a favorable context for the implementation of a new policy. Organizational conditions "circumscribe" and shape the kinds of strategies available to internal "policy entrepreneurs" or the "advocates" of a new policy. I assess the extent of change in performance by the programming, procedural, budgeting and staffing changes on behalf of new policy.

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## Chapter 3:
## The United Nations Development Programme's Response to Gender Issues in Development

To set the following discussion in context, I will briefly describe the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP). The second section of the chapter will describe the extent of implementation of women and development policy. Explanations of the implementation in terms of UNDP's organizational conditions and the internal bargaining process will follow.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was created in 1966 to coordinate and administer the U.N. resources for technical cooperation within a trilateral system made up of UNDP, U.N. specialized agencies contracted by UNDP to execute projects, and recipient governments. UNDP was born out of the convergence of two organizations, the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for Economic Development of Under-Developed countries founded in 1950 (which became known as EPTA) and the United Nations Special Fund founded in 1959.

The EPTA was set up as a result of a call for technical assistance by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. Citing the lack of expert personnel and technical organization in underdeveloped areas, the General Assembly on 4 December 1948 authorized funds to enable the Secretary-General to organize international teams of experts through the United Nations or its specialized agencies to

advise governments on economic development; to assist in training experts and technicians both abroad and in the developing countries themselves; and to assist governments in obtaining technical personnel, equipment and supplies and in organizing their development efforts, including the exchange of information on common problems.[1]

A report titled "Technical Assistance for Economic Development" was issued in 1949 that laid out the basic guidelines for United Nations development activities that are still operative today. These principles stress the sovereignty, independence and self-reliance of the developing countries as participants of development programs.

Structurally, UNDP is a decentralized organization with a relatively small head office in New York and 116 field offices around the world. Approximately 450 of UNDP's 750 professional staff members are located in these field offices. Field offices are managed by "Resident Representatives". The UNDP staff rotate between field offices and the headquarters. The latter, located in New York, is organized along four regional bureaus, with desk officers for countries. These regional bureaus are for Africa, the Arab States, Asia and the Pacific, and Latin America and the Caribbean. The head office also houses the Bureau for Program and Policy Evaluation which provides policy guidance, the Division of Global and Interregional projects, which deals with projects that are initiated at UNDP headquarters in response to worldwide needs identified at global conferences, the special unit for Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, and the Office for Project Execution which

executes a small number of projects on behalf of UNDP, instead of contracting them out to U.N. specialized agencies.

Assistance from UNDP and its predecessors comes on grant terms, but recipient governments must make counterpart allocations from their domestic budgets to meet such project needs as local infrastructure, salaries of national personnel, recurrent expenditures, etc. UNDP's resources are allocated to countries on the basis of an internationally agreed formula. This is called the "indicative planning figure", or IPF and is the projected amount that will be available for program activites in a country over a five-year period. The IPF is based on a country's population and per capita gross national product level, ensuring that the largest amounts of assistance go to the poorest and most populous countries.

UNDP receives its funds in the form of voluntary contributions from the member governments of the United Nations. Contributions pledged for UNDP core and UNDP administered funds totaled $790.1 million in 1986. The top contributors are United States, Sweden, Netherlands, Norway and Japan.[2] It is accountable to a Governing Council with representatives from 48 developed and developing countries. The Council functions on a one member, one vote basis. The developing countries, which are also the recipient of UNDP funds, have a dominant role due to their numerical majority.

UNDP estimates its volume of contributions and plans its activities on the basis of five-year development co-operation cycles. Programs are drawn up jointly by the recipient governments at the country

level, the Resident Representatives, and the participating organization. These country programmes seek to coincide with the country's own development plan, identifying the role and phasing of UNDP's inputs which falls within the country's development objectives. The governments in cooperation with the UNDP field office present a plan of projects to be undertaken with UNDP funding, which is then appraised by the Head Office. The regional and global programs are funded through regional IPFs allocated by the Governing Council and are drafted by UNDP regional bureaus in the headquarters and finalized in consultation with governments concerned, U.N. regional commissions and the U.N. specialized agencies.

## UNDP's Performance: the extent of implementation of women in development policy

UNDP's performance regarding the incorporation of women in development issues into its activities will be assessed below in terms of procedural, programming, budgeting and staffing changes.

1. Procedures regarding women in development policy

a. Policy guidelines

The first UNDP guidelines on women in development issues was produced in 1977. These guidelines were stated in general terms and

did not provide any specific guidelines to staff on how to implement a "women in development policy". New, more specific guidelines were not formulated until 1986. The 1977 guidelines are titled "Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development" and are included in the Policy and Program Manual, the operations manual of UNDP.[3]

It is indicated in the introduction of the "Guidelines" that the Administrator is anxious to see all projects examined from the standpoint of women's role in development. Areas where women should be particularly considered are identified as "education, agriculture, food production, handicrafts and health services".[4]

The first two parts of the guidelines contain a general discussion of the problem of women's role in development but there are no specific recommendations for staff members. Below is a typical paragraph:[5]

> ...there is, of course, a price tag on the correction or reversal of the tendency to exclude women from the modernization process. All change carries a cost of some kind. In view of the nature of the problem, the process is generally one of reallocation of resources across the board--with the obvious goal of increasing the overall return on development investment in so doing. The timetable and magnitude of the reallocation will have to be considered on a case by case basis. For certain activities the basic problem may be as simple as giving women access to existing services - for training and credit, for example. Often special or complementary facilities are called for. In all instances, the solution will be facilitated by improved information about women's role in society and by women's inclusion in the public decision-making process.

Regarding specific guidelines on how to include women in UNDP's

activities, this document indicates: "More specific advice concerning the diverse problems of how to better integrate women in the development process has been given the form of an annotated list of references."[6] This section refers the reader to guidelines of other development agencies such as the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), recommendations produced by United Nations conferences and literature on women in development issues by scholars.

The vague nature of the guidelines is an indication that no particular procedural or programmatic changes had been planned on how to deal with "gender issues" in UNDP's development assistance activities. These guidelines were revised nine years later in 1986, at the request of UNDP's Governing Council to the new Administrator, William Draper III, by Gloria Scott, the former Adviser of Women in Development at the World Bank. This document titled "UNDP Programme Advisory Note - Women in Development" is much more extensive than the earlier guidelines. The Program Advisory Note (PAN) on "women in development" is directed at the governments, the UNDP and other organizations in the U.N. Development system. The PAN suggests the following roles for the U.N. system in the implementation of WID: a) the introduction of WID issues in donor consultations/round tables where they can be discussed as part of the examination of development priorities of the particular country and its related needs for technical cooperation and, b) consideration of WID issues at project identification and design, when general questions about women in the country/region/type of interventions being considered are raised.

It then provides a framework for project analysis that includes an Activity Profile and an Access and Control Profile on women. Finally, it provides an extensive account of how women may be considered and what questions need to be addressed in the identification, design, implementation, and monitoring, review and evaluation stages of projects in eleven different sectors and areas. These sectors and areas are: development planning; education and training; agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries; forestry and energy; industry; small-scale enterprises in the informal sector; population, health and nutrition; water supply and sanitation; credit; employment; data base.

The report, submitted to UNDP's Governing Council in June 1986 titled "Programme Implementation - Women in Development: Implementation Strategy" expands on these policy guidelines:[7]

> 1. The issues of WID will be considered as part of the preparation of each country programme. The Resident Representative will make proposals on the subject in the note submitted to the Government as part of the planning procedure. These proposals, as well as proposals by the Government, will subsequently be discussed in detail as the planning of the country programme proceeds. In the final country programme proposal, the nature of women's participation in each project or area of assistance will be identified. These issues will be translated into specific work plans at the time or preparation of the project document.
>
> 2. WID issues will be monitored and reviewed in the course of implementation of country programmes and the results will be included in all implementation reports and assessments.
>
> 3. The same principles will be applied in the preparation of regional, interregional and global

> programmes, i.e. women's interests will be taken into account at all stages of preparation, implementation and evaluation of these programs.

This report also mentions that action will be taken on the following areas to increase women's participation and responsibility will be allocated to appropriate bureaus: training programs, data base planning, reporting system on project implementation, fellowships and training programs for women, recruitment of women consultants and experts, evaluations that address the issue of women's participation, non-governmental organizations and grassroots participation, Round-table meetings, Focal point for women in development in the Bureau for Programme Policy and Evaluation, Promoters of women's interests in the regional bureaus and operational funds and programmes under the authority of the UNDP administrator, information support program on women in development.

b. Evaluations and Reviews

The present evaluation system of ongoing projects in UNDP provides no information on women's participation in project activities clearly and on a systematic basis. But there have been two "thematic" evaluations of women's participation in UNDP activities. Thematic evaluations are done on a selective basis as warranted and the responsibility for it is shared by the governments concerned, UNDP and the UN Executing Agency concerned. There have been two "thematic evaluations" of women's participation in projects in the U.N. system that UNDP coordinated.

In 1978, UNDP undertook a joint agency/UNDP assessment of rural

women's participation in development. The assessment proceeded by means of regional reviews; country case studies and a reivew of relevant parts of the global and interregional program of UNDP. The results and recommendations for action were presented to the Governing Council of UNDP and to the World Conference of the U.N. Decade for Women at Copenhagen in 1980.[8] The full report was issued as UNDP Evaluation Study No. 3 under the title Rural Women's Participation in Development. The UNDP Governing Council endorsed these recommendations and the Administrator of UNDP issued instructions to UNDP staff. The recommendations included the following:[9]

> 1.Training of UNDP and Agency Staff at all levels through the incorporation of components of special relevance to women's role in development into UNDP's staff training program. 2. Inclusion of programmes and projects of particular interest to women in the country and inter-country programmes; ensuring that women are involved in all projects where their participation is desirable; attending to women's special requirements {e.g. training, education, health, income-generation, water supply etc.} This would be accomplished throuh a review and revision as appropriate of relevant instructions in the Policy and Program Manual, especially those concerning project formulation, tripartite reviews, evaluation and collaboration with non-governmental organizations to ensure that women's interests are taken into account. 3. Improved data base for the planning of women's participation in UNDP-supported programmes and projects, especially intensive and extensive studies on women's work situation and more comprehensive country profiles on women's situation. This is to be accomplished through the preparation of Addendum to Program Guidelines issued in 1977, further elaborating on the subject in the light of the findings of Rural Women's Participation in Development. 4. Improved flow of information to enable women's groups around the world to become better informed of one another's activities and to permit UNDP to assess possibilities of collaboration with such groups. To achieve this objective, UNDP would

> collect and distribute information on women's participation in development. 5. To continue to pay special attention to the recruitment and training of women staff in UNDP in order to obtain a more equal distribution between the sexes at all levels. 6. To evaluate the implementation of recommended activities; review and appraise the extent of implementation in reports to the Governing Council.

In 1985, another evaluation study, Women's Participation in Development: an inter-organizational assessment was presented to the 1985 "World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women". UNDP coordinated this study, but it was not included among the organizations that were assessed because projects were categorized according to the agencies that funded and/or executed them. Since UNDP is primarily a funding agency, it wasn't included in the list of agencies that were assessed.

215 projects operational in 1984 executed by eleven executing or participating U.N. agencies in four countries (Rwanda, Democratic Yemen, Indonesia and Haiti) were assessed. The total budget allocation for these projects was $168,334 million. The projects were divided into four categories in terms of the inclusion of women: A1 - Projects of exclusive concern to women; A2 - Project activities designed to include women; B - Project activities will affect women but no provision made for their direct participation and C - Project activities of no immediate interest to women.

The findings show that 56% of projects come under category B i.e. projects that have not made any provisions for women's direct participation and have received 63% of the total resources. 27% are found to be of no immediate interest to women. Category A1 that

targeted women comprise 4% of projects and command 0.6% of the resources and Category A that included women in its design comprise 12% of the projects and received 11% of the resources. The number of projects in this category are 27, compared to 121 in category B; this means that less than one in six projects that were reported to affect women were planned to involve them in their implementation.[10]

The major obstacle to gender sensitive programs and projects that was cited in this study was "the continuing failure among United Nations organization staff to perceive the significance of women to the achievement of many national development plans, or once this is perceived a lack of experience or guidance as to how to action the perception effectively".[11]

2. Programs

a. Women in UNDP project and sector activities

UNDP has identified 40 country projects that were operational sometime between 1978 and 1986 as involving women. Below is a table that classifies these projects by sector and geographical area.[12]To put this table in context, these 40 projects represent a miniscule number of UNDP-funded projects during this period. Given that UNDP approves approximately 680 country projects a year[13], the projects related to women represent .009 of total country projects approved during this period.

Table 1

UNDP Projects that involved women by geographical area and sector

| Sectors | Number of Projects |
|---|---|
| **Agriculture and Rural Development:** | |
| East Asia and Pacific | 1 |
| East and South Africa | 4 |
| Europe and Middle East and North Africa | 2 |
| Latin America and the Carribean | 1 |
| South Asia | 3 |
| West Africa | 4 |
| | 15 |
| **Small scale enterprises:** | |
| East Asia and the Pacific | 1 |
| East and South Africa | 2 |
| Europe, Middle East and North Africa | 1 |
| Latin America and the Carribean | 3 |
| South Asia | 1 |
| West Africa | 2 |
| | 10 |
| **Education:** | |
| East Asia and the Pacific | |
| East and South Africa | 2 |
| Europe, Middle East and North Africa | 2 |
| Latin America and the Carribean | 1 |
| South Asia | 1 |

Table 1 (cont'd.)

| | |
|---|---|
| West Africa | |
| | 6 |
| **Water Supply and Urban Development:** | |
| East Asia and Pacific | |
| East and South Africa | 4 |
| Europe, Middle East and North Africa | |
| Latin America and the Carribean | |
| South Asia | |
| West Africa | 1 |
| | 5 |
| **Population, Health and Nutrition:** | |
| East and South Africa | 2 |
| **Technical Assistance:** | |
| West Africa | 2 |
| TOTAL | 40 |

*This table is compiled by the author using the information furnished by the UNDP Division of Information. The classification of geographical areas follows World Bank's classification to facilitate comparison.

b. The nature of women's participation in projects

I have divided the projects that are listed above into three categories to analyze the extent of women's participation: a) projects where women are classified as automatic or natural beneficiaries; b) projects where women are provided access and resources; and c) projects where women constitute the major or sole beneficiaries. The table below shows how the 40 projects are divided according to these categories.

Table 2

The extent of participation of women in UNDP funded projects

| Type A | Type B | Type C |
|---|---|---|
| 14 (38%) | 9 (21%) | 17 (41%) |

*compiled by the author.

Type A projects are those that do not provide special resources or access or include women in the design but indicate that women benefitted as a result of the project. An example is the Burma Crop Development project that aims to increase the production of maize, pearl millet, sugarcane, sorghum and sunflower and an increase in

farmers' incomes. The project summary indicates that farmers' incomes have registered substantial hikes, including those of most of the 4.3 million rural women in farm families who have traditionally been involved in Burma's agriculture. Another example is the Beijing Vegetable research center that provides technical guidelines for vegetable production. This project will also provide training and extension services to commune extension workers and officials in charge of vegetable production, many of whom are women.

Type B projects are those that provide specific provisions of resources and access to women. For example, one of the objectives of the Tihama Agricultural Extension Services Project in Yemen was to provide rural women with income-earning skills, and to train them to improve family nutrition and household hygiene. Another example is a Liberian self-help village development project where labor-saving devices for women are introduced and training and credit are provided to enable women to undertake income-earning activities. Consciousness raising activities will also be carried out.

Type C projects target at women. Projects such as "Organizing Mothers' Clubs and Co-operatives" in Bolivia, "Women's Handicraft Centre" in the United Arab Emirates enter into this category. Another example is a project in Indonesia aimed at the development of the productive role of women. More than 1,850 women in 12 villages have received training, equipment and management and marketing advice that has enabled them to increase their earnings by an average of 30 percent. In Bangladesh, "Women's Training Centers" have provided

1,000 women with skills training for income-generating activities such as weaving, sewing, fish-net making and tin-smithing.

The above table shows that 21% of the projects that claim to involve women have included women in mainstream projects. 41% are women only projects and 38% claim to include women but no provision was made for their direct participation.

c. Regional and Interregional programs related to women:

UNDP has provided funding to a few regional and interregional programs related to women. It provides funding for the African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW) of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa and the Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development of U.N. Economic and Social Commission of Asia and the Pacific. (APCWD) ATRCW provides assistance in strengthening or creating national competencies to design and evaluate programmes; identifying sources of funds and technical assistance; many kinds of training for women and introduction of technological innovations to ease women's workload. The APCWD carries out research, prepares case studies, holds training workshops and publishes materials.

Another program that receives funding from UNDP is the "Programme for the Integration of Women in Development" (PIWD) that was launched by the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa in 1979. This program operates through four coordinators of women's programs based in the four Multinational Programming and Operational Centres (MULPOCS). This program was evaluated by a mission in 1984.[14] This program was

mandated to undertake the following activities.

a. Training and research
b. Strengthening of national machinery
c. Operation of subregional machinery and participation in regional structures
d. Development of projects in the field
e. Inclusion of the "women" component in the projects of UNDP and other agencies
f. Flow of information

In addition to the Programme for the Integration of Women in Development based in the MULPOCs, UNDP finances two other projects launched and implemented by ECA which are of direct concern to women: a project of support to the Africa Regional Coordinating Committee for the Integration of Women in Development, ARCC (regional project) and a training project on women, management and development planning: an African perspective, a subregional project set up within the Eastern and Southern Africa Management Institute (ESAMI) at Arusha, Tanzania and implemented jointly with ESAMI. Finally, a project entitled "Women's World Banking" receives support from regional, as well as interregional funds.

UNDP has provided administrative and technical support to a project entitled "Promotion and Support for Women's Participation in the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade". This project has received funding in the amount of $2,800,000 from the governments of Norway and Canada.[15] is supported by the Governments of Norway, Canada and the Netherlands. Its aim is "to demonstrate the value and ways of achieving women's effective involvement in

planning, designing, implementing, operating and maintaining drinking water and waste disposal schemes." This project works with U.N. system organizations including UNICEF, WHO, World Bank and INSTRAW and non-governmental organizations. It provides advisory and technical support at the country level to sixteen countries. For example, in Nepal, it provides support to Women's Development Section of the Ministry of Rural Development, to organize women's groups for water improvement schemes. In Sri Lanka, it is associated with the Women's Bureau to promote women's involvement in all phases of UNICEF-assisted water supply and sanitation improvement activities in the country's driest zone. In Zimbabwe, the project trains women volunteer health workers and support the water and sanitation improvements in commercial farm areas, through Save the Children (UK). In Kenya, the project is involved in community participation and training activities of the Kenya Water for Health Organization with UNDP, World Bank, and SIDA assistance. The project's global activities include the preparation of case studies of country experience in Asia, and a software monograph for engineers and other technical personnel, in cooperation with the World Bank Technical Advisory Group.[16]

d. Publications and Research related to women:

UNDP is not primarily a research organization. Its Division of Information publishes information related to its activites intended for external audiences.

Information on women in development has been included in some UNDP

booklets, newsletters, background papers and other publications. The first one was the booklet by E. Boserup and C. Liljencrantz, "Integration of women in development: why, when, how" in 1975. UNDP has also published Development Issue Papers titled "Women and the New International Economic Order", "Sharing of experience among women" and "Women and Technical Co-operation Among Developing Countries. UNDP has also co-sponsored a seminar that resulted in a publication issued by the Overseas Development Council in Washington D.C. entitled Women and World Development".

3. Budgeting

The amount of UNDP funding for the 40 projects between 1978 and 1986 listed as relevant to women is $43,129,000 . This represents .006 of the whole amount ($7,038,056,000) that UNDP has spent during this period.[17]

4. Personnel

Regarding staffing, a position for a "women and development officer" was established within the Bureau for Policy and Program Evaluation. The officer in this position is supposed to work with the regional promoters in the headquarters. Special "promoters" of women's interests have been designated in 1977 in each of UNDP's four Regional Bureaus. These "promoters" do not receive any additional resources but are asked to keep track of the regional bureaus' work regarding gender sensitivity. They are supposed to assess project proposals from the point of view of women's participation and monitor

and report progress.

In 1986, the new UNDP Administrator, William Draper III, established a new Division for Women in Development within the Bureau of Policy and Planning. The new Division will be responsible for seeing that women's needs and capabilities are systematically considered in project designs and programming. Draper also announced that there will be one national and one international officer in each UNDP country office specifically responsible for seeing that UNDP-supported projects and programmes of development in that country take women into consideration as part of their designs as a major new thrust. Furthermore, every new project presented for approval will include an analysis of the project's contribution to increasing women's share and role in development. [18]

UNDP has also attempted staff training programs on women in development issues. At the start of the U.N. decade for women, UNDP produced "Women in development courses for action" which included two 16mm motion pictures for orientation and training, as well as six sound-slide films, accompanied by discussion guides. These were distributed to all UNDP country offices with the recommendation that the material be used to train both UNDP and other UN agency staff. UNDP conducted one training seminar on women in development in collaboration with the World Bank, using the framework of analysis originally developed by the World Bank with the assistance of the Harvard Institute of International Development. Its training program in 1980 comprised of a number of courses, which mainly address

themselves to problems of administration and management: "Only one course concerns programme management and even here there is very little emphasis on substantive aspects of pogramming. Techniques of project formulation and appraisal and development of managerial and decision-making skills are given major emphasis.[19]

In 1986, a workshop on women in development that would include the executive management of a number of U.N. agencies, including UNDP, was planned with financing from Canada, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. Even though the Administrator promised to implement a "comprehensive staff training programme" in 1986 he also indicated that contributions were being sought to cover this training estimated to cost between $300,000 and $400,000 "from donor governments that have expressed special interest in WID issues".[20]

5. Summary

As the preceding account shows, the response to women in development issues in the UNDP has been very limited. There has been no concrete guidelines until 1986, and no evaluation procedure to account for women's participation. There have, however, been two thematic evaluations on "women in development" coordinated by UNDP. The most recent one found that less than one in six projects that were reported to affect women were planned to involve them in their implementation.[21]

The number of projects that involve women is tiny (.009) compared to UNDP's overall portfolio and have commanded .006 of UNDP's

resources. UNDP has supported one global project and two regional projects related to women. Again, considering that UNDP had 40 global and interregional projects in operation in 1985, one global project indicates limited support.[22] Up to 1986, only one person, a women in development officer, was formally assigned and paid to integrate gender issues into UNDP programs and projects.

In the last few years, there have been considerable changes that promise more extensive implementation of a women in development policy. In 1986, the new guidelines have stated that women will be included in all programming activities of UNDP, and in all stages of the programming process. These guidelines prepared in 1985 included all sectors of development activity and contained specific instructions on how to include women in the design of projects. The establishment of a new Division for Women in Development and assignment of responsibility to UNDP field offices all are indications of more extensive change; however, it is too early yet to make an assessment of how the new procedures and personnel changes will affect programming.

I will now turn to a discussion of UNDP's organizational conditions and attempt to explain how these may have affected UNDP's performance in the area of women in development.

Organizational Conditions

1. The Influential Actors in UNDP's Environment

The nature of UNDP's programs and projects are affected by the attitude of its partners. Therefore, whether the host governments, donor governments, executing agencies and other funding partners support gender isssues becomes a central issue.

UNDP, as a member of the United Nations system, was requested to consider women's participation in its development activities by the U.N. General Assembly during the U.N. Decade for Women. All U.N. Agencies were asked to submit reports appraising the implementation of their women in development policies to the Decade for Women Conferences, in 1980 in Copenhagen and in 1985 in Nairobi. UNDP is accountable to the governments that make up the United Nations and particularly those that sit on its Governing Council.

UNDP's Governing Council specifically endorsed the recommendations for action that resulted from these evaluations and asked UNDP to report to it regarding the implementation of its women in development strategy. The increased interest and pressure of particular donor governments, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands and Canada have been influential on UNDP. The governments of Sweden, Netherlands,

Norway and Denmark also are four of the top six donors of UNDP.[23] These governments have promoted women in development issues through their bilateral aid agencies, as well as through the United Nations agencies in their capacity as member governments. They have provided resources for UNDP supported activities for the participation of women in development. For example, the project on the Promotion and Support for Womens' Participation in the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade was started by $2.5 million funding from the Government of Norway. Six of the 26 UNDP supported projects that have allocated resources to women in either mainstream or women-only projects were funded (in excess of UNDP funding) by the governments of Norway and Netherlands.

These governments have recently pressured UNDP to demonstrate its commitment to implementing its women in development policy and have indicated their dissatisfaction with UNDP's implementation of women in development policy in the June 1986 meeting of the Governing Council. The women in development implementation strategy submitted to the Governing Council of the UNDP in June 1986 contained a comprehensive statement of action, but no details regarding its implementation and no intention of resource allocation. Instead, it was indicated that donor governments interested in women in development issues would be approached for additional resources.[24]

The Nordic countries of the Governing Council expressed their displeasure at this lack of interest in institutionalizing women in development policy by UNDP in a speech to the Governing Council: [25]

> ..we welcome the implementation strategy for UNDP as outlined in document DP/1986/14. We are in fact somewhat surprised, however, that after so many years of talking about the importance of ensuring the role of women in development so little has been done in a systematic manner. We endorse the strategy in its totality...We would, however, have expected a more detailed outline on how UNDP intends to succeed in these important tasks....The Nordic countries cannot, however, accept the proposal contained in the document regarding the financing of the activities to be carried out under the strategy....It is our firm conviction that the Council as well as the UNDP administration must live upt to its responsibility and accept the consequences of its position. The strategy cannot be implemented unless staff time and other resources are allocated for this purpose. The Administrator must ensure that the highest possible reallocation of existing resources for these activities be made.

There is evidence that these countries are prepared to use this influence to promote UNDP's implementation of women in development. The draft of UNDP's "Programme Advisory Note" on women in development states:[26]

> Many of the major donors have been re-examining their policies, procedures and mechanisms for women in development. There are indications that as they are trying to improve the efficiency of women in development in their bilateral programmes, they are also determined to make multilateral technical cooperation on women in development more effective than they have been to date. It is suggested that they may even be preparing to use performance on women in development as one of the criteria on which they will base their support to multilateral agencies.

UNDP administrator's response to the increased pressure to consider women in development issues by its Governing Council in June 1986 was the following:[27]

> If one message comes through more clearly than any other, it was that Council members want to see UNDP implement in full its plans for bringing half of humanity - women- fully into the development process. To succeed, our proposals require, not more rhetoric, but a strong commitment by UN Agencies, donor and recipient countries. As far as UNDP is concerned, I have already given that commitment. The Australian delegate has proposed that we identify for practical implementation two country programmes per region where we would have the active support of the Government concerned. I have asked Regional Bureau directors to give this idea their attention, and I will report to the Council in our choice of countries and any results achieved in the coming year.

The bilateral aid agencies of Canada, Netherlands and Norway have also demonstrated their support for WID issues by funding a high level management training seminar for U.N. agency on WID in December 1986 in New York. This "Inter-Organizational Top Management Seminar" on Women and Development brought together the heads of UNDP, United Nations Fund for Children (UNICEF), United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) and the World Food Program (WFP).

It is clear that the pressure from some donor governments has had an important role in the recent changes that UNDP's new Administrator has undertaken. Even though the encouragement and pressure of some donor governments have been positive, one must keep in mind that they are not the only actors relevant to UNDP. UNDP's is set up to fund and coordinate technical assistance in the United Nations system. It is part of a tripartite system that includes recipient governments and executing agencies. This tripartite system accords voice to governments and United Nations executing agencies so that support and interest of both these actors become necessary to make changes. UNDP's insistence alone is not sufficient in the implementation of

women in development policy. Within this system, project proposals are a government prerogative and the technical expertise called for in the process of project formulation is primarily the responsibility of the U.N. Executing and Participating Agencies.

Many staff members pointed out the importance of government attitudes for women in development policy. Some suggested that UNDP could do little for women in development if host governments and executing agencies were uninterested. On the average, host governments themselves fund more than half of project budgets through cash and in kind contributions. UNDP's voice is also weakened by the fact that recipient countries have a dominant voice in the UNDP Governing Council with respect to both policy-making and selection of the UNDP administrator. Even though the Resident Representatives (ResReps) are supposed to initiate the local UNDP development activities by writing the ResRep's note, in practice, the principle of the sovereign rights of governments to determine their own priorities has tended to be interpreted as giving governments responsibility and the right to decide the specific content of country programs. This means, in effect, that the UNDP has an essentially advisory role in the programming process and is often unable to enforce standards for sector/subsector analysis, problem identification and diagnosis and project identification and formulation.[28]

Generally, staff members perceive governments to be uninterested in WID issues. One staff member made the following remarks regarding

the attitude of developing country government representatives:[29]

> In a meeting in a developing country, [where I was the only woman] I asked why no one considered or mentioned "women in development". There was an uproar. The responses ranged from: "Madam, you don't really mean that do you?", "We have a women's ministry who pays attention to women, and that is different from development", to "We are the decision-makers; when we have enough resources, we will see what we can do about women". In general, prejudice and ridicule are the prevalent attitudes.

Unless women in development is politically or financially attractive to recipient governments, there is little incentive for them to pay heed.[30]

Governments tend not to include any women in development component in their project proposals unless there are strong women's organizations in the country. Many staff members that were interviewed mentioned that governments themselves have to be held politically accountable in order for them to consider allocating resources to women out of the UNDP funds.[31] In countries where strong women's organizations exist, development activities have tended to include women. For example, in Honduras, Jamaica, Bolivia and Malawi, there are strong women's groups and women are at decision-making level positions in governments; therefore, there is more political commitment to women in development. Honduras was cited as one country where women's activities are drawing funds because there are many women's organizations which are organized and economically active. In Bolivia, mothers' clubs and cooperatives receives UNDP assistance in income generating activities in

agriculture and crafts and marketing, as well as in the organization of cooperatives and other small businesses. Malawi is another example where the government shows interest in incorporating women into its development programs and where there is a strong national women's organization down to the village level and these women's organizations work with community workers.[32]

In general, governments agencies that deal with women's concerns are perceived to be generally weak with little resources. They are usually not implementing agencies and don't have technical expertise. In such cases, even if women are written into programs or projects as a result of UNDP resrep's initiative, it tends to be dropped first if the resources are perceived to be insufficient by the recipient government. For example, one staff member who had been a ResRep pointed out that resources originally planned for research on women in the UNDP budget in a particular instance had been dropped from the budget by the recipient government and allocated somewhere else.[33]

In some countries that are more developed, such as Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia or where the UNDP resources represent a "drop in the bucket" like India, the likelihood of UNDP influence is perceived to be even lower.[34]In smaller and poorer countries, the resrep may have more leverage. But at the same time, some see an opening for executing agencies' influence on the use of UNDP funds in such instances:[35]

> ...in countries where UNDP does have some influence on the planning process, host country governments often lack central direction and control. Consequently, executing agencies are able, through their contacts with sectoral ministries, to promote programs of interest to them, without regard necessarily to priorities established by the central planning agencies of the recipient governments and/or to UNDP program considerations.

Executing agencies have the technical know-how and are responsible for executing projects. The U.N. General Assembly has stipulated that UNDP give priority to U.N. executing agencies for development activities within their sectoral emphasis and otherwise to explain why a project within an executing agency's specialized area is not given to it: "Whatever technical expertise may be called for in the process of project formulation is primarily the responsibility of the executing and participating agencies.[36]

Many UNDP staff felt that executing agencies had a major role in implementing women in development policy and that their attitude is very important. As one staff member put it:[37]"UNDP does overall programming but project formulation and sector work is the responsibility of the executing agency so that the orientation of the executing agency and whether there are allies in that agency is very important."

U.N. executing agencies are not perceived by the UNDP staff as enthusiastic to implement women in development. Some even see them as the main stumbling block. But there are some agencies perceived as being more successful than others. When asked which agencies show interest in women in development and are willing to cooperate, those most often mentioned were UNICEF and ILO and FAO in that order.[38]This

is supported by the fact that out of the 26 projects that provided by women's participation, 15 were executed by FAO, ILO or UNICEF.

The decentralized system that UNDP is part of provides the opportunity for external actors to influence it. In this case, except for Nordic governments and Canada, other actors have not used their influence in support of WID issues.

2. UNDP's Goal of "Coordination" and the Tripartite System

UNDP's goal is to act as a central funding and coordinating mechanisms for UN technical assistance. This goal offers both opportunities and constraints for the incorporation of gender issues as a result of UNDP's role in the decentralized tripartite system.

An example of how the difficulty of coordination in a decentralized system affects gender policy comes from a report on the UNDP/ECA (The Economic Commission on Africa) Programs for the Integration of women in development which evaluated women's programs in the MULPOCs (Multinational Programming and Operational Centers) in Africa. This report concluded that no real success could be reported on the inclusion of the "women" component in UNDP projects and on the flow of information between the MULPOCS. It identified the following problems : 1) Dual dependency of the Program for the Integration of Women in Development on UNDP and ECA without adequate harmonization of the positions of these two organizations on essential aspects of project organization; 2) Dual responsibility for the Program within ECA: the Economic Cooperation Office (ECO) and ATRCW (African

Training and Research Center for Women) do not always succeed in properly coordinating their instructions to the directors of the MULPOCs and the coordinators on women in development.[39]

There are difficulties to coordination but there is also the possibility that the "lack of interest on the part of governments and UN executing agencies" may be used as an excuse by UNDP staff members. The tripartite system may, in fact, encourage ambiguity regarding definition of responsibilities, making it easy to "pass the buck" or declare a situation as "not my problem".[40]

UNDP's relationship with the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) exemplifies such a situation. This Fund was perceived by the UNDP as the major implementors of WID policy across the U.N. and has been interpreted by some UNDP staff as absolving them of responsibility to be concerned with women in development issues. I will discuss UNIFEM and its relationship with UNDP in more detail below.

In 1976, the United Nations General Assembly established the "Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women" to ensure support for women in productive activities that directly assist the poor women of developing countries. UNIFEM's resources have been about $3-4 million annually, and is derived from voluntary contributions from governments and non-governmental organizations and special earmarked funds.

It has up to 1985 reported to the U.N. Division of Social and Humanitarian Affairs. In 1984, UNIFEM became a UNDP-administered fund

along with other special funds such as the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) or The United Nations Fund for Science and Technology Development (UNFSTD).[41] UNDP administers some 90% of UNIFEM projects since 1979 and UNDP, U.N. Regional Commissions and U.N. specialized agencies provide technical and geographical support to project appraisals and execution.

It is not yet clear what the authority relationship between UNDP and UNIFEM will be. The ambiguity of UNIFEM's place in UNDP's organizational structure creates the lack of a clear perception on the part of the UNDP staff on how to deal with UNIFEM. One group within UNDP wants UNIFEM to come under more direct control of UNDP through the appointment of a UNDP staff member to oversee its activities. Another group wants to let UNIFEM implement women in development policy for UNDP. Yet another group sees a place for both UNIFEM and UNDP in implementing women in development.

The division of labor regarding the supervision and implementation of UNIFEM projects by UNDP country offices has been characterized as ambiguous. The interviews revealed that some staff felt resentment for having to appraise UNIFEM projects or implement them without commensurate authority. This can lead to a lack of attention to UNIFEM projects. At the same time, the existence of UNIFEM has led to the assumption by UNDP staff that they don't need to be concerned with the implementation of women in development policy. This sometimes led to the overlooking of women as active participants in the mainstream of UNDP-supported development programs as mentioned in

an internal memo.[42]

> ...Voluntary Fund for Women has too often been seen a the principle source of WID. This may have led to an unintended bias against projects the main objective of which is the promotion of women's interests by their direct participation in the design and implementation of projects. Because of the Voluntary Fund, it is not uncommon to overlook women as active participants in the mainstream of UNDP-supported development programs. The Voluntary Fund should be seen as an opportunity to further women's participation in the UNDP country programming through the provision of services and facilities that are related to UNDP projects and programs but for which IPF funds may not be available but consultant funds are available from VFDW.

The perception of UNIFEM and its influence within UNDP varied widely among the UNDP staff members. Some indicated that UNIFEM was very effective and that they enjoyed working with it. Others suggested that even though the Fund is weak in programming and is dependent on UNDP to appraise and execute its projects, as well as for financial and personnel services, it pays little attention to the field offices' advise or comments. Some mentioned that the staff resented doing project appraisals for UNIFEM when the Fund has done no prior preparation. UNIFEM staff members, on the other hand, mentioned the difficulty of making any inroads in the UNDP and the general resistance to women in development implementation.

Since 1985, the mandate of the Fund has been expanded to include "acting as a catalyst to promote greater participation by women into UNDP's mainstream development activities".[43]The influence of UNIFEM in the UNDP in the future may be greater due to this expanded mandate which includes providing consultants to Donor Round Tables and

participating in Fund/UNDP joint programming missions and country programming exercises.

There have been instances where the "tripartite sytem" has offered opportunities to individuals to take the initiative for change. For example, a group of women in different U.N. agencies who support WID issues, have worked with Nordic and Canadian aid agencies to organize the WID seminar for top management of four UN agencies, the "Inter-Organizational Top Management Seminar on Women and Development" in December 1986.[44] Even though governments and executing agencies have considerable voice in the tripartite system, that doesn't exclude initiative on the part of UNDP staff members who are supportive of women in development issues.

Other examples come from the initiatives of ResReps in country offices. The individual country ResRep has a lot of room to take initiative. As one staff member explained:[45]

> The UNDP team in a developing country writes a "resrep's note" including a conceptual framework of development planning, to the Ministry of Planning. Then the Ministry convenes sectoral ministries and they have to get to work and design projects. So UNDP can have a lot of initiative. UNDP obliges everyone to go through this process, but it doesn't always happen this way due to different circumstances. The UNDP staff can, in fact, provide input into country programs and projects; they approve or disapprove them before they can be implemented.

One staff member involved in country programming in Senegal mentioned how the UNDP field office there was able to influence programming at one time. Three priority areas were laid out in the

course of the planning and women in development was included as a criterion within those priority areas:[46]

> This was a strategic approach; instead of telling the government to pay attention to women in development, the UNDP staff laid out priority areas where women in development criteria was included and the government got funding depending on whether they paid attention to these priority areas.

Furthermore, even though UNDP field offices have primary responsibility for country programming, the headquarters allocates funding for regional, interregional and global programs. Those staff members sympathetic to WID issues have taken the initiative in making sure that gender issues are not ignored in these programs. As one staff member pointed out:[47]"In regional programs, there is a lot of scope for UNDP to take the initiative on women in development. While acting on the priorities of Third World governments, staff members also screen projects so that they are more in the driver's seat." One regional programme officer mentioned that she made sure that reports from executing agencies included women in development concerns and otherwise she turned them down. She mentioned that very few regional projects on women's activities are proposed by governments:[48]"Among the 900 projects submitted by governments for the current program cycle, only 2 were on women. UNDP put in a project for women and it got third priority from governments. It could partly be political, but governments may also welcome the initiative from UNDP".

In summary, the multiple actors in UNDP's environment and their

capacity to influence UNDP means that their support of WID issues is important for their incorporation in UNDP programs. In fact, the recent changes (in procedures and the establishment of the Division of WID in the UNDP) that have come about largely as a result of the pressure by a few donor governments supports this point. But, in general, both the decentralization of the tripartite system and the lack of interest of the members of this system have produced an unfavorable situation for WID implementation except in individual cases where WID "policy advocates" have been willing to cultivate alliances with other supportive actors in their network.

3. UNDP's Goal and its Ideological Basis

UNDP's goal can be defined as the funding and coordination of technical assistance for the purpose of promoting "self-reliance" and "self-determination" in developing countries. "Promoting self-reliance", clearly, has a normative basis. This normative basis is the organizational ideology.

Organizational ideologies provide beliefs about cause-and-effect relations that explain events. UNDP's staff commonly believe that the conditions in the Third World can best be explained by the problem of its political and economic dependence on external forces. Such ideological explanations provide bases for action and understanding. Second, ideologies have evaluative and prescriptive components that differentiate among alternative actions. In the case of UNDP, it prescribes change strategies that will help Third World governments help themselves. Its basic guidelines include

self-determination, self-reliance and neutrality and respect for sovereignty. The principle of self-determination reads: "Development in each country must grow out of that country's particular needs, desires and potentialities. It is impossible to transfer a given pattern of development intact from one area to another". The principle of self-reliance says: "The proposed technical assistance activities are intended to help the underdeveloped countries to help themselves..This purpose cannot be achieved unless the countries concerned are willing to themselves willing to take vigorous action to establish the internal conditions upon which sound development".[49]

Ideologies also have a social consequence - they bind together individuals who share them. In the case of the UNDP staff, they pride themselves on being non-prescriptive and respecting the sovereignty and rights of developing countries and not imposing their own version of development on them.

How does this ideology affect gender policy? This emphasis on not imposing a particular version of development on developing countries and letting them decide on what to emphasize has turned UNDP into an eclectic organization with little substantive focus. UNDP's work encompasses virtually every aspect of economic and social development under a large number of resolutions from the United Nations General Assembly and/or U.N. Global Conferences which have invited specific action by the Programme. These range from industrial training (GA Resolution 2090, 1965), natural resources development (GA Resolution 2158, 1966), tourism (GA Resolution 2529, 1969), public

administration (GA Resolution 2824, 1971) to integrated rural development (World Food Conference, Rome, 1974), technical cooperation among developing countries (GA Resolution 3251). In short, many other issues besides women in development are part of UNDP's mandate; therefore, none has any particular priority unless it is declared a priority policy area by the management.

3. Procedures and Personnel

UNDP's procedures, as the central funding and coordinating mechanism of the United Nations, emphasize management functions. The nature of procedures determines the kind of personnel hired and the UNDP personnel are first and foremost "administrators". The training program for the staff contains administrative and management issues with little concentration on substantive program management.[50] This means that the staff does not concentrate on substantive issues but on "management" (Substantive issues is the realm of UN executing agencies).

The nature of the staff has several implications for gender issues. As a new issue, "women in development" requires intellectual experimentation. In order to be intellectually innovative, one has to have commitment to a new issue and one has to be in a position to produce research and knowledge on it. The UNDP staff is not expected to be specialists in a particular area. They are not expected to produce research. This means that they are "receivers" of new knowledge. For WID policy, this means that the professional staff is not in a position to provide intellectual input and

reconceptualizations that are necessary for the integration of gender into development programs. For example, UNDP used the World Bank's framework for analysis in a training workshop for UNDP staff; World Bank's Adviser on women in development drafted the "Programme Advisory Note on Women in Development" that contained the revised guidelines. In short, the UNDP's emphasis on "administration and management" does not encourage "experimentation" and "production of new knowledge", and therefore does not encourage dealing with a new substantive issue.

Constraints for WID implementation are also evident in the composition of the staff. The high level staff members in the UNDP are appointed by governments and generally governments appoint men who are not necessarily sensitive to gender issues. The women staff members interviewed in UNDP reiterated this point. They mentioned that men in high level positions in UNDP think like the men in governments and in most instances come from those governments and that their general attitude has been at best disinterest and at worst ridicule.

Although, there is no one to one parallel between percentage of female professional staff and the internalization of women in development policy, in general, more sensitivity to gender issues is demonstrated by women professionals. Some women staff members indicated that women in development issues are not taken seriously by male colleagues and that the response has often been laughter when "women in development" was mentioned . A good example of the general

attitude toward gender issues by the largely male-dominated UNDP is contained in the 1975 UNDP News article "Female imperatives in development". A sample of staff members were asked the following question "What can UNDP do on women in development issues?" and below are some of their answers:[51]

- What's the fuss all about? Women in Asia don't have any problems. Two Asian Prime Ministers are women.
- We are already helping governments with the training of women.
- African women don't want to be liberated. They are the backbone of African society.
- Don't export Western problems or solutions to LDCs.
- What do you mean by the integration of women into development?
- Why single out women? Development is people and it is an integrated process of itself.
- UNDP can do nothing unless and until governments ask us for help.
- This is too controversial.
- We can't do everything.
- Are you prepared to go to the field?

The gender breakdown of the UNDP shows that women comprise 18.7% of the professional staff in UNDP.[52] The table below shows the gender breakdown by field and headquarters.

Table 3

Women's Share in Management Positions in 1985

| | Field | | Headquarters | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Directors | 24 | 0 (0%) | 32 | 2 (6%) |
| Deputy Directors | 50 | 5 (10%) | 44 | 3 (7%) |
| Deputy Chiefs | 67 | 3 (5%) | 81 | 9 (11%) |

* The table is from Equal Time, published by the Group on Equal Rights for Women in the United Nations, Mid-Year Issue, 1987, p. 4.)

The above table shows that the percentage of women professional staff is low in the UNDP.

## The internal bargaining process: The WID policy advocates, management and other professional staff

I have argued that the organizational conditions in the UNDP, its ties with the environment, its goals and procedures have in general

been unfavorable to the incorporation of gender issues. These organizational conditions set the stage for internal bargaining on behalf of WID and limit the available strategies for WID policy advocates to acquire "information" and "resources".

There were a few women in the UNDP, including the WID officer and promoters who allied themselves with women professionals in the U.N. system to bring about change. Some of these women are members of the Group on Equal Rights for Women in the U.N.; some of them are also formally responsible for women's programs in different agencies of the U.N. They publish and disseminate information, hold informal meetings and also have been instrumental in the organization of the recent seminar on women in development attended by four of the U.N. agency chiefs. Those UNDP field staff that supported WID issues have succeeded in integrating these issues into projects and programs by bringing together women's organizations, governments and U.N. executing agencies in particular instances. Others in headquarters have used their influence in shaping regional and global programs and projects by making sure gender issues are included before resources are allocated. In order to acquire resources and put pressure on the UNDP management, the WID advocates have solicited outside support, namely of Nordic governments and Canada. Thus, they have used networks in the environment to their advantage to elicit management support.

Interviews conducted before the establishment of the Division of Women in Development revealed the widespread belief that there has

been little serious commitment from the management:[53]

> If policy was that every resident representative was required to make proposals on women in development in the "resrep's note" submitted to the planning procedure and then to come up with an impact report on women, then something would happen. In other words, if performance was affected, they would do something. This is a bureaucracy and people do what they are told.

An internal memo on women in development training programs states that unless decision-makers decide on the desirability of attention to women's issues, the staff responsible for project design and evaluation will have little motivation to build it into project design.[54] As one staff member said:[55]

> "There should be procedures. With no procedures, women in development is not central to development issues. This is the responsibility of the management and there isn't sufficient commitment at the top.

As mentioned earlier, the UNDP Administrator has established a Division for Women in Development in 1986 and the Head of the Division participates in senior staff policy meetings. Furthermore, informal working group sessions have been established to exchange views on new experiences and approaches to Women in Development projects.[56]

There is still the issue of convincing the professional staff of the importance of WID. The lack of emphasis on experimentation and knowledge production in UNDP tends to inhibit this process.

In short, the WID advocates in the UNDP have been unable to get

internal support; instead, the allied themselves with WID advocates in other multilateral bilateral development agencies who were in a position to influence UNDP's management.

## Conclusions

To summarize, UNDP's environment necessitates the support of multiple actors. This support, specially from the recipient governments and U.N. executing agencies in general have not been forthcoming. A few important actors have more recently supported the incorporation of gender into UNDP's activities. These are the Nordic governments and Canada. Being also the principal funder of UNDP, they have been able to pressure UNDP's new Administrator to make some procedural and programming changes. Since these changes are very recent, they remain to be evaluated. Up until 1986 when these changes were instituted, however, the response to WID issues have remained minimal.

The decentralized tripartite system within which UNDP undertakes its activities has generally constrained UNDP's response, both due to the lack of interest of its partners and the tendency to place responsibility elsewhere in such a system.

However, the decentralized nature of this system has also offered opportunities for cooperation to "WID advocates" to promote the

consideration of WID in individual cases. Country ResReps that were gender sensitive have been able to bring together other gender sensitive actors within this system. For example, a resrep in Honduras was instrumental in bringing together three national women's organizations, the Dutch and Italian governments as donors and UNIFEM to launch an experimental, and so far successful, women's income generating project.[57]

> In Honduras, there is an innovative project called "Participation of women in the development process". By using a revolving fund, loans are made to groups of women for various economic activities. The executing agency is FAO and the government agency is the National Agrarian Institute. There is also an organization of peasant women. The women are asked what types of economic activity they want to start and are helped in preparing projects. For example, they started a successful bakery.

The interregional project initiated by the UNDP under the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade is another example of successful cooperation. This project provides advisory and technical support by holding workshops, distributing information material and working with non-governmental organizations to ensure women's effective involvement in drinking water and waste disposal projects. It is assisted by the governments of Norway, Canada and the Netherlands and cooperates with international development agencies such as the World Bank, UNICEF and WHO (World Health Organization).

Generally, the involvement of women propogated by the coming together of gender-sensitive actors at particular times and places.

The findings indicate that women were incorporated into UNDP activities when a combination of actors supportive of women in development concerns came together.

18 out of the 26 UNDP supported projects that provided access and resources to women involved U.N. agencies who have shown gender sensitivity in their activities (International Labor Organization, World Food Programme, UN Development Fund For Women (UNIFEM) UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), donor governments who have supported "women in development (Norway and Netherlands) and women's organizations in some combination.

UNDP's goal of coordination of technical assistance rests on a particular ideology which values "self-reliance" and "self-determination" of developing nations. This ideology constrains UNDP personnel from experimenting with new issues without the support of the developing country governments because the pride themselves for "not imposing their own version of development" on developing nations.[58] Its own decentralized structure with 116 field offices has also encouraged it to practice "local decision-making" where outcomes have depended on the particular interaction between the ResRep, the recipient government and executing agencies. The implications for gender policy of these organizational features is that gender issues have been considered on an ad hoc basis, generally shaped by the external pressure of gender-sensitive member governments and the personal interest of individual UNDP staff members.

NOTES

[1] Generation, Portrait of the United Nations Development Programme, 1950-1985, UNDP Division of Information, New York, 1985, p. 12.

[2] UNDP, A Better Environment for Development - 1986 Annual Report.

[3] UNDP, "Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development, G3100-1, 25 February 1977.

[4] UNDP, Guidelines, 1977, p. 1.

[5] UNDP, Guidelines, p. 2.

[6] UNDP, Guidelines, 1977, p. 1.

[7] UNDP, "Programme Implementation - Women in Development: Implementation Strategy", DP/1986/14, 26 February 1986.

[8] United Nations, General Assembly, A/36/485, 16 September 1981, p. 17.

[9] UNDP/PROG/79 and Add.1, 12 February 1981.

[10] UNDP, Women's Participation in Development, Evaluation Study No. 13, pp. 36-43, New York, June 1985.

[11] UNDP Evaluation Study No. 13, June 1985, p. 8.

[12] This information was received from the Project Achievement

Reports furnished by the UNDP Division of Information.

[13] I arrived at this approximate figure by first noting in the UNDP publication Portrait of the United Nations Development Programme, 1950-1985, New York, 1985 that it approves approximately 800 projects a year and that 15% of these are global and regional projects.

[14] UNDP, Report of the Mission to Evaluate the UNDP/ECA Programmes for the Integration of Women in Development, 7 May - 7 July 1984.

[15] UNDP, Summaries of Global and Interregional Projects, New York, May 1985.

[16] Promotion and Support for Women's Participation in the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade,[Is There a Better Way?], UNDP: New York, June 1985.

[17] UNDP, Portrait of the United Nations Development Programme, New York, May 1985, p. 30.

[18] Development Forum, "Aid Where It Works", Vol. XV, No. 2, March 1987, p. 4.

[19] UNDP, UNDP/PROG/79, Appendix II, p. 1.

[20] Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme, DP/1986/14, p.7.

[21] UNDP, Women's Participation in Development, Evaluation Study No. 13, pp. 36-43, New York, June 1985.

[22] This global project called "Promotion and Support for Women's Participation in the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade" received only administrative and no financial support from UNDP.

[23] The other two are the United States and Japan.

[24] "Programme Implementation - Women in Development: Implementation Strategy", DP/1986/14, 26 February 1986.

[25] UNDP Governing Council, 33rd Session, Statement by Denmark on behalf of the Nordic countries, pp. 3 and 4.

[26] UNDP, Bureau for Programme and Policy Evaluation, Technical Advisory Division, May 1986, p.5.

[27] UNDP, "Responsse by William H. Draper III, Administrator, UNDP, to the High Level Debate at the Thirty-third Session of the Governing Council, 12 June 1986, Geneva.

[28] Patrick Demongeot, "U.N. System Development Assistance", in U.S. Foreign Assistance: Investment or Folly?, New York: Praeger, 1984, pp.318-319.

[29] UNDP interview, New York, June 1986.

[30] See, e.g. Pressman and Wildavsky, Implementation and Martha Derthick, New Towns in Town where the tensions between the recipients and donors of funds are discussed.

[31] UNDP Interview, New York, June 1986.

[32] UNDP Interviews, New York, June 1986.

[33] UNDP interview, New York, June 1986.

[34] Interview, UNDP, New York, June 1896.

[35] Patrick Demongeot, 1984: p. 317.

[36] UNDP/PROG/FIELD/120.

[37] UNDP Interview, New York, June 1986.

[38] UNDP interviews, New York, June 1986.

[39] Report of the mission to evaluate the UNDP/ECA Programs for the integration of women in development, 7 May - 7 July, 1984, p.ii.

[40] See E. Bardach, The implementation game, Cambridge, Mass: The MIT press, 1978.

[41] United Nations General Assembly resolution 39/125, 14 December 1984.

[42] UNDP memorandum from the Administrator to UN Executing Agencies, UNDP headquarters staff and field offices, 14 September 1982.

[43] A/RES/39/125, General Assembly, 14 December 1984.

[44] Equal Time, published by the Group on Equal Rights for Women in the U.N., Double mid-year issue, 1987, p. 7.

[45] UNDP interview, New York, June 1986

[46] UNDP interview, New York, June 1986.

[47] UNDP interview, New York, June 1986.

[48] UNDP interview, New York, June 1986.

[49] Generation, Portrait of the United Nations Development Programme, p.13.

[50] UNDP/PROG/79, Appendix II, 12 February 1981.

[51] UNDP News, "Female Imperatives in Development", Jan/Feb 1975, pp. 15-16.

[52] Equal Time, United Nations, Mid-Year issue, 1987, p. 4.

[53] UNDP interview, New York, June 1986.

[54] UNDP, internal memo, 1986.

[55] UNDP interview, New York, June 1986.

[56] Equal Time, Mid-Year Issue 1987, p. 6.

[57] UNDP interview, New York, June 1986

[58] UNDP Interview, June 1986, New York.

## Chapter 4:
## The World Bank's Response to Gender Issues in Development

This chapter will examine the incorporation of women into World Bank activities. First, I will provide some background information on the World Bank. Then, an analysis of its performance on women in development issues will follow. Finally, I will attempt to explain this performance by reference to the World Bank's organizational conditions: its ties with the environment, its goals, procedures, structure and staff.

The common expression, "The World Bank" as used in this study, means both the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and its affiliates, the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Finance Corporation. (IFC). The common objective of these institutions is to help raise standards of living in developing countries by channeling financial resources from developed countries to the developing world. The Bank's charter spells out certain basic rules that govern its operations. It must lend only for productive purposes and must stimulate economic growth in the developing countries where it lends. It must pay due regard to the prospects of repayment. Each loan is made to a government or must be guaranteed by the government concerned and the decisions to lend must be based on economic considerations.[1] In 1985, the Bank's lending reached $14,386 million.[2]

The Bank, whose capital is subscribed by its member countries, finances its lending operations primarily from its own borrowings in the world capital markets. A substantial contribution to the Bank's resources also comes from its retained earnings and the flow of repayments on its loans. Regarding the capital subscriptions of member countries, the Bank makes a distinction between "paid-in" and "callable" capital. Each country joining the Bank is assigned a capital subscription following consultation between the Bank and the applicant and the approval by the Bank's Board of Governors. Upon joining, the country pays in 10 percent of its subscription - 1 percent in gold or U.S. dollars and 9 percent in the country's own currency. The remaining 90 percent of its subscription is callable, not paid in but subject to call by the Bank if it is required to meet Bank obligations for borrowings or guaranteeing loans.[3]

The World Bank was established in 1945 and is owned by 145 member countries. Each member receives 250 votes plus one additional vote for each share of stock it holds. According to this formula, the U.S. obtained the largest number of votes in 1980 (21.11%).[4] The World Bank is furthermore situated in Washington and its president is always an American citizen. All powers of the Bank are vested in a Board of Governors, which consists of one Governor appointed by each member country. With the exception of certain powers specifically reserved to them by the Articles of Agreement, such as decisions on membership, allocation of net income, and changes in the capital stock, the Governors have delegated their powers to a Board of Executive Directors who meet regularly at the Bank's headquarters in

Washington, D.C. Five of these Directors are appointed by the five largest stockholders (France, Japan, the United Kingdom, West Germany and the United States), and the remaining 16 are elected by the other members.[5] The Executive Directors meet under the chairmanship of the President of the Bank. In practice, they reach most of their decisions by consensus. Formal votes are rare. The Executive Directors are responsible for the conduct of the general operations of the Bank. They decide on Bank policy and on all loan and credit proposals.[6] In reality, however, the Executive Directors seem to have relatively less power in the Bank compared to the management.[7] As Ayres suggests:[8]

> The Bank was very much a management-run institution. This was despite the fact that the directors were required to approve every commitment of funds for development projects, as well as major changes in Bank policy..But the directors' approval of these things was more or less a formality. In practice projects were approved by the operational management of the Bank and ratified by the directors. During the course of this research for this study no single instance was discovered of a project's being turned down by the directors. Management also had great flexibility in determining what matters of general policy it would submit to the directors for review.

Structurally, the Bank is centralized institution and is headquartered in Washington, D.C. Of the Bank's professional staff approximately 94 percent are located in its headquarters. Although the Bank has 26 resident missions in individual member countries, three regional missions (in East Africa, West Africa and Thailand) and offices in New York and Geneva, these are staffed by only about 150 professional personnel out of a total professional staff of

2,552.[9] The vast bulk of the Bank's most important decisions come from the missions that periodically go out to visit the developing member countries.

The management is made up of the president, senior vice-presidents for operations and finance, vice-presidents and division chiefs. Under the senior vice-president for operations are seven vice-presidents including those who oversee regional activities, a vice-president for operations policy and a vice-president for cofinancing. Under each regional vice-president are country programs and projects departments. These could be termed "line units"; they are either responsible for the design and appraisal of specific projects, usually in one geographic region and one or only a few functional sectors; or programs divisions, responsible for the development of, and Bank-governmental relations over, the Bank's portfolio or projects in one or a few countries.

The departments under the vice-president for Operations Policy, on the other hand, are "staff units"; they are the functional units that include the following departments: projects policy, country policy, economic development institute, agriculture and rural development, education and training, population, health and nutrition, transportation, water supply and urban development. Operations Policy staff are responsible for reviewing, on a continuing basis, the Bank's functional policies and programs in the sectors to which it lends. They are involved in the project cycle of identifying, appraising and supervising project work, in advisory, monitoring,

research or other support capacities. They are charged with using their expertise in a particular substantive area to provide intellectual input into the Bank's work. These functional units are designed to check and balance the country programs and projects staff.

The Bank's activities takes place on a number of different levels. It aims to be a leading institution in development theory and practice. The annual addresses of its president, the sector policy papers on development issues, the annual "World Development Report" and the its general research program all contribute to this perception. A second level of the Bank work is the "country dialogues", the Bank's country economic work the most well known of which is the country economic reports on individual borrowing countries. These reports assess macroeconomic performance and provide a frame of reference for subsequent Bank operations in the country, particularly at the project level. The third component of the World Bank's work is related to the development projects it funds. Economic development projects require identification, preparation, appraisal, negotiation and supervision. Project work entails two major activities: field missions and the preparation of reports. Identification missions, frequently including the staff of other international development institutions seek to locate promising projects or stimulate their development. Preparation of a project covers all the steps necessary to bring a project to the point where its technical, economic, financial, social and organizatinal feasibilities have been established and it is ready for

appraisal.[10] The formal appraisal of a project is undertaken by an appraisal mission to the field. Once a project has been negotiated and approved, its implementation is overseen by supervision missions, detailed at least every nine months or more frequently in the case of active projects.

## The Bank's response to "women in development" issues

### 1. Procedural changes

#### a. Guidelines

The Operations Manual of the World Bank is supposed to guide staff members in their work. In January 1984, guidelines on "women in development" under "Sociological Aspects of Project Appraisal" appeared for the first time in this manual. These guidelines were drafted by the Adviser on Women in Development in cooperation with the members of the Sociological Group, an informal group of staff members in the World Bank, who meet and discuss sociological issues in the Bank's work. Women are discussed in this section along with other specific target groups that projects should pay attention to such as resettled populations and minorities.

> Women are sometimes a particularly important group of project participants and beneficiaries. Appraisal should therefore determine whether the project design takes into

> account adequately a) the local circumstances that impede or encourage the participation of women; b) the contribution that women could make to achieving the project's objectives; c) the changes which the project will introduce that might be disadvantageous to women, and d) whether the implications for women are included in the provisions for monitoring the impact of the project.

The 1984 Annual Report states that the Bank's approach to the issue of the role of women in development is to try and ensure that staff are aware of the roles of women in the project area that are relevant to the objectives of the project. Staff members are asked to tailor projects in order to

a. Prevent effects that are detrimental to women, for example, where the process of individualized titling to land discriminates against women;
b. Create opportunities for women to participate and share in project benefits - for example by making appropriate provisions provisions within loans and credits for the generation of income.
c. Respond to women's needs and to make use of their capacities - for example, by recognizing the particular health problems of women, and by upgrading the skills and status of traditional female health personnel; and
d. Address the problems posed by potential limitations on women's access to funds and services - for example, by recognizing that in certain cultures, they must be delivered within the narrow sphere of relationships permitted to women.

The Bank policy states that efforts are also made to ensure that these operational concerns are brought to bear on other Bank work that contributes to the data base for lending operations; such work might include general economic studies of countries and of performance and potential of particular sectors, Bank-financed research, and staff development programs.[11]

b. Gender Issues in the Project Cycle

Are gender issues included in the Bank's project work, i.e. in project identification, appraisal, negotiation, supervision and implementation stages? The Adviser on Women in Development is not involved in a systematic way in project identification. It is the projects staff that play a pivotal role in the identification of projects. Staff members mentioned in interviews that the consideration of women in development depends very much on the individual discretion of the project officer.[12]

> New projects that are identified are usually follow-ups to old projects or spinoffs from old projects. Usually it is a personal decision so that the individual project officer decides whether, for example, there will be a health component to a project. Even though there are guidelines, there is a lot of discretion.

The first women in development adviser, Gloria Scott, once pointed out that if she happens to hear about missions going out, she would call the relevant people and suggest possible issues to consider. Thus, there is no systematic way for the WID Adviser to provide input at the identification and preparation level of projects. The WID office does, however, review projects at the preparation and appraisal stage and can bring up problems with projects it reviews. Those projects can't advance before those criticisms are addressed.

Between 1979 and 1984, the WID office reviewed 302 project appraisal reports that discussed the integration of women in six different sectors: agriculture and rural development, education, urban development and water supply, population, health and nutrition, water supply and sewerage and energy. The other sectors in which the

Bank makes project loans are development finance companies, industry, nonproject, small scale enterprises, telecommunications and transportation. It should be noted, however, that many projects include activity in more than one sector or subsector. Appraisal reports are the key reports in the Bank's project work, because all future work on the project -from project supervision to project evaluation at the time of completion of project- is carried out in terms of the guidelines contained in the appraisal report. The World Bank approves approximately 250 projects a year; thus, 289 out of about 1250 projects (or 23% of all projects during this period) mentioned the participation of women in the appraisal reports. (Mentioning women in one way or another in project appraisal reports does not, of course, mean that these recommendations were exactly followed in implementation and there is no way to know what actually happened in implementation in each of these projects within the context of this study.)

The following table presents the projects reviewed during 1979-1984 by sector and by geographical area.

Table 4

Project appraisal reports reviewed by the WID office
by sector and geographical area

| | |
|---|---|
| Agriculture and Rural Development: | |
| East Asia and Pacific | 14 |
| East and South Africa | 29 |
| Europe, Middle East and North Africa | 20 |
| Latin America and the Carribean | 28 |
| South Asia | 18 |
| West Africa | 33 |
| | 142 |
| Education: | |
| East Asia and Pacific | 6 |
| East Asia and South Africa | 24 |
| Europe, Middle East and North Africa | 21 |
| Latin America and the Carribean | 11 |
| South Asia | 6 |
| West Africa | 11 |
| | 79 |

Table 4 (cont'd)

| Urban Development and Water Supply | |
|---|---|
| East Asia and Pacific | 3 |
| East and South Africa | 8 |
| Europe, Middle East and North Africa | 3 |
| Latin America and the Carribean | 11 |
| South Asia | 4 |
| West Africa | 3 |
| | 32 |

| Population, Health and Nutrition: | |
|---|---|
| East Asia and Pacific | 10 |
| East and South Africa | 1 |
| Europe, Middle East and North Africa | 4 |
| Latin America and the Carribean | 6 |
| South Asia | 6 |
| West Africa | 4 |
| | 31 |

Table 4 (cont'd)

| | |
|---|---|
| Water Supply and Sewerage | |
| East and South Africa | 4 |
| Europe, Middle East and North Africa | 1 |
| Latin America and the Carribean | 1 |
| South Asia | 1 |
| West Africa | 2 |
| | 9 |
| Energy | |
| East and South Africa | 1 |
| Europe, Middle East and North Africa | 1 |
| Latin America and the Carribean | 1 |
| South Asia | 3 |
| West Africa | 2 |
| | 8 |
| Technical Assistance: | |
| West Africa | 1 |

* Compiled by the author using data made available by the Office of the Adviser of Women in Development, World Bank, May 1986.

Besides the sectors and the number of projects that include women, it is also important to know how they are included in order to assess how the role of women in development was approached in the Bank's project work. I have divided the circumstances under which women are considered in appraisal reports into three types: a) when women are mentioned as "natural" or "automatic" beneficiaries; b) when special arrangements are made to ease access of women to project benefits such as women are offered training and education; and c) when women constitute a major group of beneficiaries for the whole project or a particular activity under the project.

The table below shows how women have been mentioned according to the above criteria in the different sectors.

Table 5

The extent of women's inclusion in appraisal reports by sector

| | women as natural beneficiaries | women receiving resources | women as major beneficiaries |
|---|---|---|---|
| Education | 39 | 33 | 7 |
| Urban development and water supply | 11 | 11 | 7 |
| Population, health and nutrition | 9 | 18 | 3 |
| Water supply and sewerage | 6 | 3 | |
| Technical assistance | | 1 | |
| Total | 138 (48%) | 114 (39%) | 37 (13%) |

According to the above table 48 % of the projects mentioned women as "automatic" beneficiaries but did not provide for women's participation. For example, a rural development project stated that women would benefit because the project aimed at improvement of homegardens, improvement of family nutrition, community participation, training courses and adaptive trials at the home gardens. Another agricultural project in the Phillipines would benefit women as a result of the treatment and prevention of anemia

and diarrhea. Appraisal reports on education projects in this category mention that expansion of school enrollments, improvement of the quality of primary education by increasing the number of teachers and textbooks will benefit women. Eleven projects in urban development and water supply mention that women will benefit because of the provision of primary schools, credit, community participation centers, water supply, and day care. Nine project appraisal reports in the area of population, health and nutrition claim to benefit women because they provide nutrition education, family planning clinics, maternal and child health care, day care facilities.

39% of projects made provisions that allow women access to resources. One example is an agricultural extension project in Thailand where visits to women's groups by home extension agents to teach information on vegetable gardens, fruit production, food preparation and preservation and home economics are planned; about 15 -25% of extension agents are planned to be women. Another example is an agriculture project in Ethiopia:

> "Extension programs would be designed with attention to training needs of women, help women set up their association for income generation, labor savings devices, more efficient household management, health care, child care, birth control".

A Bangladesh education project in primary education provides free uniforms for girls so parents send them to school and 50% of new primary school teachers are reserved for women. In Nepal, free education and free hostels are to be provided for women up to

secondary level; 30 spaces out of 400 would be reserved for women to be trained in agricultural and animal science.

Eighteen project reports in the population, health and nutrition area indicate planning of specific resources directed at women such as incentive funds for reduced fertility, training of traditional birth attendants, paramedics and nurses, training in vocations for women. For example, an appraisal report on a population, health and nutrition project on Malaysia states:

> The project aims to improve the socioeconomic status of women in order to give them alternatives to childbearing, to train village community workers, set up experimental community service centers to provide training in various vocations in addition to childcare, nutrition, housekeeping and handicrafts, training for midwives.

In Sri Lanka, the appraisal report of an energy project states:

> Women work in construction. The project would train new entrants in basic construction skills and also train experienced construction workers [two levels at which women workers seemed to be in significant numbers]. The government of Sri Lanka agreed that trainee selection for the project would be undertaken according to criteria that would encourage the participation of women in training courses at least in proportions similar to those of their participation in the industry's labor force. Cooperation of Sri Lanka's Women's Bureau would be obtained.

13% of the project appraisal reports cite women as primary or major beneficiaries of projects.. An example of such a case is a basic agricultural services project in Lesotho where 50 to 60 % of the male labor force is in South Africa; therefore, major beneficiaries will

be women. Another is an integrated rural development project in Burundi where five social centers would be upgraded and 75% of the students in these centers are women attending courses on home economics, sewing, cooking. Seven urban development and water supply projects cite women as major beneficiaries. For example in Thailand, the small scale business component of a project would provide employment opportunities for about 1500 residents, primarily women, wishing to work within the community who would be unable to find employment otherwise. In Botswana, a project provides for vending shelters, low cost industrial areas for small scale entrepreneurs. As the report indicates, women predominate among traders who will want to rent at the low-cost commercial site. Preference will be given to women in making loans and monitoring and evaluation would include analyzing the opportunity for women to obtain formal and informal employment. In the population, health and nutrition sector, three appraisal reports indicate women to be the primary beneficiaries. For example, a project in Sao Paolo, Brazil provides for a basic health unit and hospital and training for hospital personnel who are primarily women. A project in population education in Pakistan would promote programs for women's groups and provide for skill development or income generation activities for women.

In the industry sector four projects provide women access to resources. In the Arab Republic of Yemen, a study on women's employment to see if they can be employed in administration and textiles would be conducted; in Bangladesh, training for women extension workers to work with small scale jute industry. The

appraisal report on this project recommends the following:

> women are involved in handicraft production using jute; women could earn much more if marketing and production organization was introduced. In addition, expansion could build on a larger production base if training was introduced.

The Bank's project work includes identification, appraisal, negotiation, supervision and evaluation. How are women in development issues considered in the latter three stages? There is no systematic way in which these issues may come up during negotiations between Bank missions and borrower governments unless they are brought up by either party. My research reveals only one case where an issue related to women were made part of a loan agreement, and this was a loan agreement of a population, health and nutrition project in the Dominican Republic. The agreement included the training of nurses as part of the project and stipulated that the salary structure of nursing personnel would be periodically reviewed so that there is incentive to remain in the profession. Supervision is the weakest part of Bank's project work; there is no continuous supervision since the majority of the Bank staff is in the headquarters. Thus, the inclusion of the role of women in appraisal missions and reports is not an automatic guarantee that implementation would reflect it.

c. Evaluations

Evaluation of the Bank's project work is done by the Bank's Operations Evaluations Department. This department is an independent

unit within the Bank which conducts reviews, on a selective basis of Bank-supported projects, programs and operational policies. Such reviews attempt to determine whether the objectives of these programs and policies are being realized and how they might be made more effective, efficient and responsive to the needs and concerns of member countries. The department reports directly to the Bank's Board of Executive Directors. So far, no evaluation study has been done with the Bank's experience with "women in development".

The evaluation of "Agricultural Research and Extension" by this department is an example of an area where women are considered relevant. This evaluation points out that recognition of women's role in agriculture has been poor at the operational level.[13]

> For example, in India's Sixth Five-Year Plan, considerable attention was given to women's role in agriculture. More agricultural extension and training resources were to have been allocated for women farmers. However, not one female agricultural extension worker was encountered during the mission to India. Even in a sericulture project in the southern state of Karnataka where women have been largely involved with silk production and processing, there was no mention of women in the project reports, nor of the need to have women extension workers. A small pilot project in Karnataka funded by the Ford Foundation has involved female extension workers in sericulture; it appears to be quite successful. The situation is not very different in other countries, except in Thailand. In Thailand, 14 percent of the field-level extension agents are women, and women are represented at all professional levels of the extension system. Among the Bank project documents reviewed, many included recommendations that facilitated access by women farmers to extension services. Such recommendations, however, needed to be translated into specific programs, particularly in training women extension staff.

At the end of each year, Project Performance Audit Reports are

collectively reviewed and the results are organized in a single report—an Annual Review of Project Performance Audit Reports. The review of two such reports, "Tenth Annual Review of Project Performance Audit Results 1984" and "1985 Annual Review of Project Performance Results" reveals the following. The latter mentions that in education, some project components were aimed primarily at women. "For example, 90% of the adults in the rural education centers in one project were women; there was high female participation in a mass media project; and two primary teacher training colleges especially for women were included in another project." The report points out that "efforts at promoting female participation in education need to be vigorously pursued in view of the importance women have in size of family, nutrition and health.[14]

The Tenth Annual Review of Project Performance Audit Results 1984 "synthesizes and critically examines the experience of over one thousand projects whose results have been evaluated over the last ten years." This report mentions women in the section of Agriculture under the subheading of "suitability of technology:[15]

> Sometimes new technologies which were capable of providing much higher yields were found unattractive because they gave an inadequate return to the farmers' labor, or involved too much risk, or failed to take account of sociological issues, such as the roles of men and women in production or attitudes toward communal production systems.

2. Programs

a. "Women in development" issues in sector level work:

The major sectors where the staff's work have included women are population, health and nutrition, education and training, agriculture and rural development and urban development and water supply.[16]

The Bank's initial interest in the role of women has been in the area of population, health and nutrition. My research reveals that the first activity related to women that the Bank participated in was an "International Forum on the Role of Women in Population and Development" held in 1974..[17] Bank studies have demonstrated that maternal and child health care, better employment and education opportunities for women have been related to a decline in fertility. For example, the 1984 World Development report focusing on the Population and Development theme documents the significance of improving women's status, through education and employment for reducing fertility.[18]

This emphasis has continued with the appointment, Barbara Herz, the new Adviser on Women in Development in 1985. Herz has indicated that she will focus on population, health and nutrition, along with agriculture, and employment. One of her "theme initiatives" is "safe motherhood" aimed at poviding maternal health and family planning services at the local level. This initiative led to a senior level conference in Nairobi, Kenya in February 1987 sponsored by the World Bank, the UN Fund for Population Activities, and the World Health Organization. The participants included members of the donor community, multilateral and bilateral and non-governmental organizations such as U.S. Agency for International Development, the

Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, and senior government officials of developing countries.[19]

The two background papers for the "Safe Motherhood Conference" published by the Bank are titled "Preventing the Tragedy of Maternal Deaths" and "The Safe Motherhood Initiative: Proposals for Action".[20]

Education is a second area where women's role has been considered. Education for women has generally been related to population issues in the Bank. The Bank's research has established that more education for women is one of the strongest factors reducing fertility. The Bank's 1980 World Development Report that focused on "Human Resources Development discussed the importance of women's education in attaining developmental goals. The 1984 World Development Report indicates that in all countries, women who have complete primary school have fewer children than women with no education, and everywhere the number of children declines regularly as the education of mothers increases above the primary school level.[21]There have also been a number of studies done by staff members and consultants on the relationship between education and fertility.[22]

Turning to agriculture and rural development, the 1975 Rural Development Policy Paper mentions women in relation to training and research. This document cites a Staff Working Paper on rural poverty and nonformal education on how it draws particular attention to[23]"the need for greater equity to avoid widening the socioeconomic gap in rural areas. Worthy of particular note is the neglect of training

for women, although the importance of their roles in making decisions and doing farm work is acknowledged."

The Office of the Advisor on Women in Development produced a sectoral review on "Forestry Projects and Women" in September 1980.[24] This report reviews forty-three projects for issues related to women's involvement in forestry and wood using activities and found that 19 had "included" women. The report's criteria on the "inclusion of women" in projects is a combination of the following conditions: specific reference to women, social community, rural forestry components, use of agricultural residue and dung as fuel, promotion of increased use of charcoal, introduction of alternative fuels, introduction of improved stoves, local participation in project implementation, extension services, training and research and studies. This report recommended that women be trained as interviewers for forestry related surveys and approached as informants, and that efforts should be made to involve women in project activities through their participation and training.

Barbara Herz has proposed to focus on agriculture and rural development as one of the important sectors for women, specifically agricultural extension services and credit. She has indicated that an effort "to assess experience, identify promising approaches and perhaps highlight some cases" will be made with the cooperation of the agriculture and rural development department and the regional offices.[25]

Water supply and urban development is another sector where women's

issues have been considered. A staff report on "women and development in the water supply and sanitation sector in Latin America" points out that women are the primary users of the water and sanitation systems and have principle influence on family sanitary habits and experiences have shown that they should contribute a great deal to the better planning, the functioning and the utilization of the improved facilities.[26]

> Women's involvement in water supply and sanitation projects is not simply as beneficiaries, i.e. merely profitting from the time and energy saved or the health improvement gained from the new or improved facilities...The Bank should exercise leadership in helping women's share in development to improve the efficiency of its total development efforts.

This paper suggests that women should be trained and supported for higher levels of involvement in their communities and that Bank strategies should be based on country level experience. It points out that more than half of the improved water and sanitation facilities in rural areas in Latin America are unused or inoperative within a few years of their installation. This is partly due to a lack of understanding of socio-economic conditions which influence acceptance, rejection or misuse of improved systems. Since women are involved with water and sanitation issues in the family, they have to be consulted:[27]

> In Honduras, for instance, a sanitation project initially failed because the latrines were used as bean storage areas. Nevertheless, the proct succeeded when the project engineer discovered after meeting with village women, that they felt going to the latrine was a

> private function and since the walls of the latrines did not cover their feet, they refused to use it. In the Dominican Republic a very high percentage of the hand pumps installed were breaking down. Investigation showed that the pump handles were designed for men when in fact, women and children were the main users. Because they needed a lower pump handle position, they used the pumps inefficiently causing damage and eventual breakdown. Had the women been consulted they could have helped to develop a design that would have made the pumps easier to use.

This paper ends with a women's participation checklist to help staff be more sensitive to the participation of women in projects that includes women's involvement in setting project objectives, and the consideration of constraints on women, of increasing women's access to project benefits, of awareness of women's needs, of creating opportunities for female participation in project management positions, of the involvement of women in the collection and interpretation of data.

As part of the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade (IDWSSD) sponsored by the United Nations, the Bank and the United Nations Development Programme established a program to conduct research in, and demonstrate, lower cost approaches in water supply and sanitation technologies. This technical assistance program is active in thirty-five countries and operates at a level of $7 million a year with funding from the UNDP, UNICEF, ten bilateral donors, and several Bank borrowers. In connection with this project, a UNDP project work titled "Promotion and Support of Women's Participation in the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade" has been established mainly by the support of the Norwegian government. With the support of this project, the Bank has published a discussion

paper titled "Involving women in Sanitation Project Planning and Implementation", [28]Other Bank publications on water supply and sanitation also stress the importance of community participation and the role of women.[29]

b. Country level work:

There is no systematic way in which women are considered in country studies and country economic reports. However, studies which focus on countries where women's economic roles are recognized (such as Nigeria, the Gambia), where the women head families and men are employed elsewhere (such as Lesotho and Yemen) have begun to include women. The Staff Working Papers that have focused on women's economic participation are "Women and the Subsistence Sector: Economic Participation and Household Decision-Making in Nepal", "Women in the Urban Labor Markets in Africa: The Case of Tanzania, "Labor Participation in a developing Metropolis: Does Sex Matter" and "The Impact of Technology Choice on Rural Women in Bangladesh: Problems and Opportunities".[30]

Women's economic participation at the country level is one of the theme initiatives of the new WID adviser. She has proposed to undertake "WID country strategies for two countries:[31]

> A WID country strategy would examine the situation of women in the country and their relevance for the country's development strategy. It would suggest how to assist the country's women, to increase their contribution to its development, and would offer focused recommendations for action in key sectors. The strategy would be prepared in a close collaboration with the

> country concerned. It would be based on our CPPs [Country Program Papers] and economic and sector work, the country's own plans and project experience, plus some special analysis on women's issues. It would influence our future advice and lending - and hopefully prove useful to the country and other donors. At the request of Netherlands, which chairs the donor consortium for Indonesia, we prepared such a paper last year - a pioneering effort well received by the Government of Indonesia and donors. But we need to put in enough resources to be more thorough and analytic.

The above-mentioned report describes the economic and social situation of Indonesian women and suggests ways in which these issues could be considered between the Indonesian government and development cooperation agencies and incorporated effectively into the design of development projects. Some of these recommendations include orientation programs for government and development agency personnel, establishment of an adequate data base on women, promoting economically viable opportunities for women to earn income through training and assitance with organization management, administration, credit and marketing support, establishment of WID centers in universities and institutes, integrate the activities of non-governmental organization in the develoment process and strengthen their capabilities.[32]

In early 1986, a mission to Kenya was undertaken to develop a country strategy on women in development. This is the first mission for this purpose out of which came a "strategy paper" suggesting ways to strengthen development programs in several sectors in Kenya by more effective inclusion of women. These strategies include a) expansion of agricultural extension services and credit for women to improve agricultural productivity; b) development of a "safe

motherhood initiative" to reduce maternal mortality and encourage family planning and c) selection of 6-10 model projects in agriculture, education and population, health and nutrition to test methods of involving women in projects on a larger scale.[33]

c. Publications and research programs:

The Bank has a large research program that is conducted in collaboration with academics and experts from around the world. The research program is divided into the following categories: development policy and planning, international trade and finance, agriculture and rural development, industry, transportation and telecommunications, energy, education, population, health and nutrition. As the foreword of the 1984 Abstract of Current Studies states:[34]

> Now in its fifteenth year, the program covers a broad range of development-oriented issues in about sixty countries, with most research undertaken by the Bank's own staff. To the extent possible, collaborators from client countries are also actively involved in the research process. The wide-ranging topical interest of the research portfolio is a reflection of the types of policy advice and information sought by member countries, according to their needs and prioirities, and of the data requirements of the Bank as a leading development institution.

An examination of the 1978 and 1984 "Abstracts of Current Studies", reveals that research related to women has been in the field of population, health and nutrition related to understanding the determinants of fertility.[35]This may be changing, however. For example, one of the staff members interviewed, who is an education

economist in the Middle East Country Programs division was working on a proposal to be submitted to the Bank research department that would look at women's employment in five countries in the Middle East where the worsening economic situation pushes women towards employment (such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Syria and Turkey). If the proposal is accepted, the next step, according to this staff member, is to organize regional workshops and integrate the findings into the high level policy advise that the Bank gives these countries.[36]

How do Bank publications treat women? As the Bank new publications brochures indicate, the Bank's research is designed to broaden its capacity to give policy advice to its developing member countries and to support education and indigenous research in those countries. Therefore, inclusion of women in the Bank's research program and publications have important implications. These publications are disseminated widely and may be considered as indications of the thinking and foci within the Bank. World Bank publications include annual reports, world development reports, country studies, staff working papers (now called discussion papers), operations evaluation studies, policy studies, technical papers, abstracts of current studies and journels titled The World Bank Economic Review and the World Bank Research Observer.

My research reveals that among this extensive research produced by the World Bank and its consultants, the publications directly related to women do not exceed ten. But as mentioned before, women also are mentioned in some publications related to agriculture and rural

development, population, health and nutrition, education and training, and water supply and sanitation.

An example is the 1984 World Bank Annual Report that carries a two-page section on "women in development" in the section on Bank Activities. This section indicates that development practitioners have become aware that women's status influences three major determinants of development: a)the extent to which returns on developmental investments are maximized. Investments in education and agricultural productivity will be wasted if school places are unused because girls are not permitted to attend and when women, who have the main responsibility for providing a family's water still collect, transport (often over long distances) and store it in dirty vessels. b) the rate of population growth. Evidence exists that there are correlations between fertility and the situation of women. The lower the level of education, the higher the rate of fertility; the lower the threshold of economic well-being, the higher the rate of fertility; the greater the likelihood of an urban residence, the lower the rate of fertility and the higher the labor force participation of women, the lower the rate of fertility. c) the relationship of social equity to economic growth. If the aim is to benefit the poorest groups, women generally constitute the poorest and sociocultural factors constrain women's ability to take advantage of new opportunities.

The Bank's 1984 World Development Report which focuses on population change and development has a section on "women's

employment and status." The report argues that decline in fertility is associated with increased development and decline in fertility is associated with increased status for women. Studies show that better education and employment opportunities for women are associated with reduced fertility.[37]

3. Budgeting and staffing changes

a. Project expenditures

The total loans and credits approve by the World Bank group (IBRD and IDA) between 1979 and 1984[38] $76,803 (In US$ millions).[39] Given that the Bank approves approximately 250 projects annually, and the number of appraisal reports that include women are 289), there was at least some consideration of women's participation in project loans and credits of about $12,800 million. In 53% of the appraisal reports (or project loans of $6.784 million) women were either given access to resources or were the major beneficiaries. Since in 13% of the appraisal reports, women were considered as the major beneficiaries, one could tentatively conclude that $1,664 million worth of projects actually focused on women between 1979 and 1984.

a. The office of the Adviser on Women in Development

Responsiveness to a new issue is not only reflected in the content of an organization's work, but also in the resources and responsibility allocated to it. Thus, it is important to know how the Office of the Advisor on Women in Development has fared in these respects.

In 1977, the World Bank appointed Gloria Scott, a Jamaican, as Adviser on Women in Development. The Adviser's duties are defined as assisting in focusing attention on the subject, promoting an understanding of the issues involved and ways of dealing with them in the context of the Bank's work and of the local conditions in which the Bank operates.[40]

The position of the Adviser on Women in Development is a "staff unit" is part of the Operational Staff under the Office of the Senior Vice President, Operations Policy. The Office is within the department called Projects Policy Department which includes advisers on project policy, technical cooperation, procurement, public enterprises, public sector management, consultant services and environmental adviser. The adviser on Women in Development has the responsibility to advise projects and programs staff on issues of women in development and to make sure that the topic is considered when it is relevant. The Women in Development Office is not in the project flow because it is not considered a sector like agricultural and rural development, education or transportation. Many of the staff members I interviewed had very little interaction with the WID adviser. Its resources during the first WID Adviser, Mrs. Scott's tenure consisted of a half-time secretary and a half-time assistant, as well as some funds to hire consultants for special studies.

After Barbara Herz replaced Gloria Scott as the Bank's WID adviser, the resources allocated to the office have increased. In 1987, along with a major reorganization of the Bank, the position of the Advisor

on Women in Development has been upgraded to "Division Chief" within the new department of Human Resource Development. The Division of Women in Development now has 10 staff members. The effects of this change on the Bank's performance is yet too early to assess.

c. Staff training

Three workshops on women in development for World Bank staff were held by Mrs. Scott. These workshops took as their point of departure the premise that women in most developing countries are at a disadvantage when traditional social systems and disrupted by development projects. The main goals of the workshops were to identify the productive activities of women in different contexts, and to examine ways of integrating these activities into the Bank projects more systematically through better project design, implementation and monitoring.[41] The participants for workshops included a combination of country program, projects and operations policy staff; the participants did not include higher level staff (division chief and above).[42] The new Adviser's future plans do not include staff workshops.

The Economic Development Institute of the World Bank trains developing country personnel. The training emphasizes economic and financial analysis; social and institutional analysis have not been emphasized. There is a Task Force on Women in Development. The International Center for Research on Women prepared an annotated bibliography to be used in courses, case studies and as a resource for Third World organization. The task force also plans to cooperate

with International Labor Organization and INSTRAW to summarize the experience gained to date. This group works with Herz to develop case studies on women in agriculture to be used in courses. There are no specific courses or modules on women in development, however, women's role have been included in courses and discussions related to agriculture, population, health and nutrition.

After the reorganization of the Bank, the task force on women in development has been asked to make strategy proposals for raising gender issues in the Institute's activities. The Task Force's consensus is to work by integrating throughout the EDI courses and seminars rather than by having separate courses, or separate sessions in courses and seminars.[43]

4. Summary

In general, there have been a modicum of procedural change that indicate the incorporation of gender issues into the Bank's project cycle. About 23% of the Bank's project appraisal reports mention women's participation. (This, however, does not indicate automatic implementation of the recommendations of the appraisal reports.) Out of those that mention women, 53% have actually made provisions for women's participation. In dollar terms, this constitutes .09 of the Bank's total loans during the period 1979-1984. The Bank guidelines on this issue have been drafted but it is hard to know to what extent such general guidelines are followed and how they are interpreted by staff members.

Regarding program changes, there is no "policy paper" on women in development as there is on other sectors. Sector and country level work have included women not across the board, but in particular sectors and country studies. The sectors in the Bank that have been most responsive to the role of women, as judged by the inclusion of women in their work [reports, publications and research], are population, health and nutrition, education, agriculture and rural development, urban development and water supply and small scale enterprises in that order.

Country level work is beginning to include women in development; one of the new initiatives of the WID office to develop "WID country strategies" that would influence the Bank's future advise and lending. The Bank's publications and research programs reflect little interest in the role of women in development. There are not more than 10 publications that deal directly with women and development issues; the research program's major interest related to women is women's status as a determinant of fertility decline.)

Resources allocated to incorporate women into Bank activities until 1987 have been two or three professional staff in an organization with approximately 2500 professional staff. Some staff members did not even know there was a "WID advisor" and others had little interaction with her office.[44]

How do we explain the level and nature of the Bank's performance on women in development issues? The next section will focus on the explanations.

## Organizational conditions and the Bank's responsiveness to gender issues

### 1. Ties with the environment

The relevant actors in the Bank's environment include the member governments (both in donor and recipient categories), and other multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental development agencies with whom the Bank cooperates.

The World Bank, as an intergovernmental organization, is accountable to its 151 member governments which take up capital giving them voting rights. At the same time, some of its attributes enables it to claim some independence from its environment. It supplements its lendable funds by borrowing in world financial markets. It is also the biggest provider of both money and technical help to the Third World; its annual lending operations amounts to $13-15 billion annually. I will consider both the position of the relevant actors in the Bank's environment on gender issues, as well as whether the Bank has used its leverage in its environment to influence others on these issues.

Much of the demand for integrating women into development activities initiated within the U.N. system as a result of the global

women's movement. Specifically, specialized agencies within the United Nations system were invited to achieve the objectives and targets of the U.N. Decade for women.[45] The U.N. system has sensitized the Bank to gender specific concerns, but the system has no power to actually enforce the implementation of a recommended policy. The World Bank is a specialized agency of the U.N. but at the same time it maintains its operations independently and does not report to the U.N. on its activities as the other specialized agencies.

The fact that the first adviser on women in development in the World Bank held the position of Senior Adviser, U.N. Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs may demonstrate the Bank's desire to promote good relations with the rest of the U.N. system. Staff members from the Bank have attended U.N. Conferences on Women and submitted reports on the Bank's progress. The 1985 U.N. Conference on Women was attended by the vice-president for East and South Africa, Atilla Karaosmanoglu. Ovrall, the United Nations conferences on women and its recommendations have had a limited impact on the World Bank.

The World Bank is accountable to the U.S. Government since the U.S. provides a quarter of its capital subscriptions, and the Bank's President has always been an American national. It seems that the policy of the U.S. government on women in development in the early 1970s encouraged the Bank to establish a position of "Adviser on Women in Development"..[46] In 1973, the U.S. Congress introduced a series of "New Directions" amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act

which required focusing aid programs on food, nutrition, health and population, education and human resources.[47] To these amendments, the Percy Amendment on "Integrating Women into National Economies" was added. It reads:[48]

> Section 103 through 107 [these sections are on the aid programs mentioned above] of the Act shall be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economes of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort.

The Bank was one of the international agencies that the New Directions Amendment was directed at. The Congress mandated the Agency for International Development to implement the Percy Amendment and asked A.I.D. to encourage other donors to give specific attention to women in development.[49]

Interviews with staff members at the World Bank indicated that staff members believed that the appointment of the first adviser on women in development in the Bank was prompted by A.I.D. and Congressional influence. However, interviews also showed that the Congress has not requested any serious follow up on women in development, besides the short periodic reports on women in development to the Congress produced by the Bank's Public Relations Department.

Among bilateral donors, those that are known to be sympathetic to women in development concerns are Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, Holland, Germany and Canada. In projects cofinanced by the donors

above, it is likely that a women's component is funded by one of them. For example, the Bank has projects in family planning, nutrition and health in South Asia, where the income generation for women component such as mothers' centers where women learn weaving, garment-making, etc., vocational training for women, or women's cooperatives was financed by Canada. Since those are grants, not loans, the Bank lets donors decide what they want to fund. Another example is the WID strategy paper on Indonesia that the Bank prepared at the request of the Netherlands, which chairs the donor consortium for Indonesia.

How have the borrower governments influenced World Bank policy on women in development? After the preparation and appraisal of a project comes the negotiation stage, during which the Bank the the borrower attempt to agree on the measures necessary to assure the success of the project. The Bank may propose conditions in the loan agreements regarding women in development. Some respondents did mention this possibility but also expressed doubt whether the Bank would be interested in using its influence in this area. Others, including Barber Conable, the President of the World Bank, argue that the Bank can only suggest certain issues to borrower governments but ultimately it is the borrower government's responsibility to pay attention to women in development.[50]

The importance of borrower government interest and commitment to women in development was mentioned repeatedly as a very important determinant of its consideration although it is hard to know whether

this argument is being used as an excuse for inaction. The Bank management takes the position that women in development policy is ultimately the responsibility of the governments; without government commitment, women in development can only be paid lip service.[51]

> The legislative, policy and progam decisions to improve opportunities for women rest with government. But by paying increasing attention to women's needs in project design and by analyzing women in development issues, the World Bank is helping to create a more favorable climate to improve women's options. If concern for women is to be given more than lip service, it is essential that women's role be considered seriously in policy discussion with development agencies, that women and their organizations take part in such dialogues and that they obtain information about their results, as well as information about development programs and projects about to be financed.

Interviews revealed that many staff felt that the Bank would respond to women in development if it was suggested by borrowers but the Bank was not prepared to push it, such as making it a condition of loan agreements. Even those who thought that the Bank should make women in development a condition of loan agreements were not sure "how that would go if the Bank started running a crusade". Many thought that countries evolve at their own pace; the Bank can't force change; the Bank can only push women in development to a certain extent, but ultimately its consideration depends on the reaction of borrower governments.

In cases where a staff member did make women in development a condition of the loan agreement, the problem of borrower government interest and commitment remained. Since the Bank has less leverage

over implementation, it is possible for governments to agree and then bypass the issue. For example, one staff member mentioned that she had worked on a Kenya Irrigation Project where they tried to provide funds for women by making it a condition of the loan agreement. But she doesn't know if the government followed through with it or found a loophole to ignore it.[52]

Host country governments generally do not see consideration of women as a project design issue. Some staff mentioned that the government attitudes are cynical and they laugh when women in development issues are mentioned. For example, one staff member said that in a foresty project on which he was working in India, he asked the borrower government that a target should be set that 30% of extension workers should be women but the people just nod their heads and go on their business. Forestry is still seen as a men's preserve. Another staff member said that the host country officials denigrate women: "When you inquire about women, they say 'you don't want to talk to women, they don't know anything". Involved in a project in India, this particular staff member saw that there were no women extension agents for women's work. When she asked officials, they became defensive. In another case in Malaysia, where she was doing an evaluation study, she found out that 60% of the tapping of rubber trees were done by women, yet women don't get extension advise and men receive the proceeds. This staff member was instrumental in conducting a farm survey and getting data to show the situation and now believes that some action will be taken. This particular situation also illustrates the importance of having women on project,

mission or evaluation teams.

Resistance seems to come especially from those borrower governments whose societies are patriarchal and strongly discriminate against women. On the other hand, in countries where women are already economically and politically active, governments seem to display a more positive attitude. For example, women are considered in country economic reports of those countries where women are already economically active. One staff member mentioned that in his experience, it was much harder to consider women in a report on Pakistan than in Nigeria or the Gambia both of whose country reports included women. Examples of successful projects that specifically included women came from countries such as Malawi, Kenya and Sri Lanka, and the Tamil Nadu state in India where women are economically and politically active. For example, in Tamil Nadu, a current nutrition and health project for mothers and children is entirely women driven, with project workers also being women. This is because Tamil Nadu recognizes women, there are high level authorities who are women, where government encouragement made it possible for women to organize cooperatives and run their own project. On the other hand, a family planning project in Bangladesh is run by men because of the nature of a more patriarchal society and government attitudes.[53]

The possibility of women in development consideration is increased a great deal if the Bank is the executing agency for a particular project and the funding agency is interested in women in development integration. For example, some projects in Sri Lanka, funded by the

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and executed by the Bank have special women's components such as an income generating component that provides small loans to rural industries. In a particular project mentioned in the interviews, women in development was incorporated into the project because the Sri Lankan government showed interest; a specialized women's bureau was involved; IFAD, the funding agency, was interested; the project officer interviewed was sympathetic and his division chief showed interest by asking his staff to include women in development in the Sri Lanka country programming paper and sectors analysis.

Another project that was funded by IFAD in Yemen included a women's component in its design and a women in development consultant on the project team. As the mission leader explained, women's component deals with agricultural extension and is designed to fill a gap in reaching women beneficiaries and improve production. It has been realized that many farmer households are headed by women as a result of the migration of men and male extension agents have not reached female farmers. This proposed project included a women's component as a result of IFAD, borrower government and the Bank staff's attention to women in development.

The Bank also executes a UNDP project titled "Development and Implementation of Low-cost Sanitation Investment Projects". This project takes into consideration how social analysis can be incorporated into other types of project analyses and the Technology Advisory Group established under this project has published a number

of papers that deal with how social concerns, women's interests and community participation can be part of water supply and sanitation projects. An example is a paper titled "Involving Women in Sanitation Project Planning and Implementation" prepared with support from another UNDP project titled "Promotion and Support of Women's Participation in the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade".[54] These and other papers published by the Urban Development and Water Supply Department of the Bank contain material, advise and software for technicians and engineers that are written in a language they are familiar with. The objective of this work is to make sure tehcnicians reach the community including the women.

These illustrations show that when actors to whom the Bank is accountable do have an interest in women in development, the chances for its consideration increase. What the examples also indicate is that a particular combination of circumstances have to come together for women's concerns to be considered in particular projects and programs. In the last example above, women's concerns came to the agenda because of the following circumstances. Norway, Canada and the Netherlands funded a project to incorporate women into water supply and sanitation projects that is administered by the UNDP. African governments involved in the project showed interest; and women are clearly the major project participants and beneficiaries, and there were Bank staff members who indicated interest in "women in development" issues.[55]In general, however, the Bank has not been inclined to use its leverage to support WID issues. I believe we have to turn to World Bank's goals and their ideological basis to

understand this reluctance.

2. Goals and Organizational Ideology

The World Bank's set up as a bank and a development institution. As a Bank, its goal is to increase its profitability through its loaning operations. As a development institution, its principal goal is to increase "economic productivity" and stimulate "economic growth" in developing countries. Even though this may sound neutral (and it does to many World Bank staff as Robert Ayres indicates)[56] this goal rests on a neoliberal (using the term "liberal" in the classic sense) ideology.

The principal objective of neoliberalism is economic growth and the principal routes to growth are seen to lie through capital accumulation and export expansion. The commonly suggested solution is to allow free reign to "economics" in the form of market forces. The prescription is "market liberalization".[57] In the 1970s, there has been heightened emphasis on questions of poverty and income distribution, however, this did not mean that the prevalent growth concerns could be forgotten.

How do gender issues fit into this ideology? Interviews revealed that the staff felt justified about concerning themselves with women in development issues if it serves the goal of economic growth; when economic viability was involved, that is, when the consideration of women is linked to economic productivity and returns to investment, then there is a need to be concerned with the roles of women. This

is in line with the dominant ideology, widely shared throughout the Bank, that emphasizes the tenets of neoclassical economics, the principle objective of which is economic growth.

Concern with women have also been justified as necessary to achieve a decline in birth rates. Rapid population growth acts as a brake on development: Within most countries, for any given amount of resources, a slower rate of population growth would help to promote economic and social development.[58] The goal is to educate women in order to reduce fertility: as women become better educated, health and nutrition practices improve, infant morbidity and mortality decline, marriage and childbirth are delayed, and birth rates fall. Preferences for smaller families emerge and women are more receptive to family planning.[59] Women's economic activity is considered mainly in this context. Income generating projects are designed for women so that they will have fewer children.[60] For example, population and family planning projects in Bangladesh offer women vocational training and employment opportunities as well as improved health care and family planning services. They seek to raise women's socioeconomic status, thus making them less dependent on the labor of their children and more receptive to the idea of limiting the size of their family.[61] In general, the idea of instrumentality of women to the goal of economic growth has prevailed. In other words, when gender issues and technical control overlap, the chances for its consideration increase.

Besides the contexts of economic growth goals, women in development

issues have also been discussed in the context of achieving more equitable development. In other words, women in development issues are justified as a strategy to empower a section of the population to whom fewer resources have been allocated or at least to make sure that they are not further disadvantaged. This has been a strictly secondary concern among the Bank staff, partly because questions of equity, social welfare and distribution do not constitute a priority. Equity issues, even during McNamara's presidency when they were stressed, have not received the same welcome from all staff; they are not easily quantifiable and they introduce a lot of unknowns. Ascher's research on the World Bank supports this view:[62]

> Many professionals in the World Bank have been reluctant to incorporate new considerations in formulating development strategies if they require modes of analysis less rigorous than the traditional economic framework.....Unless and until development strategies can be converted into decision-making procedures acceptable to the professional norms of those entrusted with using them, the implementation of these strategies is bound to meet resistance.

Many staff pointed out that if it was economically viable, the Bank would consider women, but not <u>because</u> they are women. Most of the staff was not willing to discuss the role of women as a fairness/equity issue and did not see "increasing women's status" or "women's empowerment" as a relevant issue in their work. This is in spite of the fact that the Bank has been on the forefront of development thought in the 1970s on "poverty-oriented development", "basic-needs strategies" within which the idea of "a more equitable development should include women" can be placed. Although many staff

are interested in problems of social justice, welfare and equity, they are uncomfortable with these issues. There is no good theory on equity and economic productivity and the link between the two, efficiency and productivity are seen as value-neutral by many economists; while, equity is perceived as value-laden and subjective.

The consideration of women separately on the basis of their differential access to resources implies that they may be disadvantaged and that this imbalance may need to be corrected for reasons of social justice and equity. This is nothing less than asking for the empowerment of women. "Women's empowerment" brings with it a whole host of uncontrollable factors in the environment. It shifts attention from the design/planning phase of project organization where control may be exercised to the implementation and evaluation phase where the Bank has to deal with "client participation". But the intended beneficiaries may request an entirely different project than the one proposed by staff or the borrower government may not prefer the increased political awareness and voice that accompanies empowerment.

The Bank is not ready to push for such a goal, whether it is the empowerment of women or the empowerment of project beneficiaries as a whole. It is unwilling to attack the social structures of a society directly. Interviews showed that many staff were skeptical about whether it was appropriate for the Bank to push women's interests on grounds of fairness, equity or empowerment.

There is, however, much less resistance to "increasing women's status indirectly" if it is instrumental for "efficient development". If, for example, women's status increased as a result of an income creating project for women, where the income generation component is the means to decreased fertility, then it is considered justifiable. Education for women is seen in the same context. Education may empower women but the justification for educating women is decreased population growth in the long run.

3. Procedures, personnel, and organizational structure

The Bank's expertise in economic and technical analysis and its staff with the relevant training to conduct these analyses, constitute the means, the technology to achieve the ends discussed above. The Bank's procedures focus on the calculation of economic or financial rates of return. The kinds of analyses required have to be technically rigorous analysis, expressed by quantitative measures of inputs delivered and returns on investment. On the other hand, social analysis, within which women in development is placed, and institutional analysis are relative latecomers that are not as well accepted and integrated into the Bank staff's work because they are less determinate, require some experimentation and therefore are not compatible with technically rigorous analysis.

Interviews with the Bank staff, including those who wanted to integrate issues of women in development into their work, revealed the widespread feeling that the work done in the past to raise consciousness and increase sensitivity to women had to now be

replaced with "operationalization", in other words, be integrated into the Bank's project analysis.

Women in development issues could be incorporated into the following available social techniques in order to make them more operational. At the identification and preparation stage of a project, a "social assessment study" could be done which can range from extensive primary data gathering activities to rapid field analysis of existing data over a 2-3 week period. Such data may be organized into the categories of a) Women's social and economic activities analysis and b) An analysis of women's access to and control of resources, and, c) benefits to women. The second step after the collection of data is a feasibility analysis which would assess whether assumptions about project populations and their response are likely to be borne out in practice during implementation. In the case of gender issues, it would consist of asking some key questions on how women's productivity, access to and control of resources, and project benefits may be increased and on how any negative effects of the project on the above may be eliminated. One may ask questions like "Have women's needs been assessed? Do project objectives reflect these needs? Have women participated in setting these objectives? Have the project's impact, positive and negative, on women's activities been identified? Is project implementation and evaluation geared towards women's needs, towards delivering goods and services to women beneficiaries?[63]

Then comes the social design "engineering" and "packaging" which is

the applied use of social information and analysis during the design stage to incorporate certain special measures or components into the design in order to ensure that target groups or others will cooperate with or benefit from the project or that the project's unintended negative consequences will be minimized. Finally, a social impact forecasting and measurement of project impact would identify the groups that would be positively affected by a project, those that would be adversely affected and in what ways.

How do these techniques and procedures fit into technical and economic analysis? One World Bank study indicates that there are the following problems:[64]

> Social inputs and specialist services have been most frequently used in the past for social assessment (background data collection usually) and for measurement of the impact of a project - activities that are both data intensive and fairly high in cost. They are therefore difficult to incorporate routinely into Bank project work in all sectors requiring only some attention to users' questions and are sometimes too cumbersome to serve the needs of busy decision-makers. Available techniques are not particularly well adapted to the operational needs and time constraints of the project cycle. They are largely perceived as descriptive data included in appraisal reports because they are required.

A World Bank Working Paper points out that the major reason for resistance to social analysis is the difficulties encountered in the applied use of social information and analysis during the design stage of a project:[65]

> While the theoretical basis of social feasibility is well-developed, its application to development planning

and project issues is less advanced.

Besides the emphasis on technical, economic and financial analysis, the emphasis on the timely delivery of the project pipeline has important implications for the consideration of gender issues. Bank staff is required to get a certain number of projects approved by the Executive Board in a given amount of time. In other words, the Bank's output is defined as the timely delivery of the project pipeline. As Judith Tendler's study on the U.S Agency for International Development has shown, the way organizational outputs get defined in terms of quantitative measures, of moving large amounts of money, of returns to investment exert an overriding influence on project organization.[66] Such a definition of output acts as a disincentive to the consideration of women.

Many staff members emphasized the negative consequences of the definition of output in terms of the timely delivery of the project pipeline. The effect of such a definition of output on the Bank's staff is a continuous feeling of being rushed and meeting tight deadlines which result in the avoidance of complex issues that would take extra time, would need experimentation, or expose a lack of knowledge on the part of the staff. This situation creates a disincentive to consider women. It is new on the agenda and requires a lot of experimenting with pilot projects, but projects in the pipeline have to be approved quickly and there is little time for experimentation. Consideration of gender issues would slow down the project approval process and increase complexity and uncertainty in the work of the staff.

The demands on staff time as a problem was echoed by the staff members in interviews. Many complained that there is absolutely no time to consider all the issues when they needed to get projects approved on time. The tight deadlines made it almost impossible to consider all issues that they were asked to consider. This was especially the case with project staff:[67]

> I try to include women in development issues in my work but especially after I have joined the projects department, it has become much harder to do so because there are so many requirements set by management in project work that the staff is already overworked and spread thin. "Women in development" may be considered only if there is time.

Under these constraints, the consideration of women is pretty much ad hoc:[68]

> The project officer is like a jack of all trades but with so many things to do, he or she pays attention to social analysis selectively; including women in development depends on the initiative and interest of the individual project officer. Time is limited and project officers, once they go to the field, have to take responsibility for things that are not their specialty which means perspectives are short-run and they sacrifice certain things. Limitations on time and money and the necessity to prioritize issues means they have to make major compromises.

The emphasis on feeding the project pipeline encourages front-end planning, emphasizing project design, preparation and appraisal, rather than implementation and evaluation. The staff is rewarded for appraisals and negotiations regarding projects and promotional prospects depend in large part on the staff's ability to process

projects quickly and smoothly while there is no penalty for those who are responsible for projects that become problem projects. As a staff member stated:[69]

> Project completion work gets shortchanged. Staff is not held accountable if project outcomes are bad, for example, for not considering women properly, but they get brownie points for creative analysis at the project design and appraisal level. There is no accountability for projects that fail except in multicomponent projects. When it is the same type of project that fails over and over again, then lessons get fed back and projects evolve.

Ironically, the rationale for women in development policy is based on implementation problems by showing "post facto" that due to lack of attention to women's activities and to women's access and control of resources, project implementation has failed or suffered. There are many examples of this. Under a project in the Bolivian Altiplano, where women have responsiblity for livestock, training in livestock was nevertheless given to the men, who passed the information to their wives with inevitable and costly ommissions. Efforts in several countries to introduce improved stoves under Bank-assisted projects have been unsuccessful; although the stoves used fuel efficiently, they did not satisfy women's requirements.[70]But since the project organization does not allow for adequate supervision of projects and there is little accountability for failed projects, showing that the lack of consideration of women contributed to the failure of a project is not going to make much of an impact.

Furthermore, showing a project failed because of lack of attention to this or that is not the same as showing exactly how one might go about incorporating them into the project cycle in the first place. Criticisms about lack of attention to women might create resentment among staff instead of serving as constructive criticism. It causes them to see women in development issues as "constraints", as something extra that they should have considered among many other factors that they are asked to consider without being given adequate time or resources.

In short, technically trained projects staff show considerable resistance to what is perceived as "soft data" which produce murky conclusions. They are usually not trained to conduct any social analysis and generally have a low regard for such analysis. They perceive it as adding to uncertainty, leading them to an area where they have to admit a lack of knowledge and forcing them to compromise the technically rigorous analysis that they are trained to conduct. This makes the incorporation of women into project analysis difficult. As Ascher pointed out in his World Bank study:[71]

> Unless and until development strategies can be converted into decision-making procedures acceptable to the professional norms of those entrusted in using them, the implementation of these strategies is bound to meet resistance.

d. Structure

An aspect of organizational structure that affects the response to women in development is the check and balance system between regional

offices that include project and program departments and the operations policy offices that include sectors. Even though the Adviser on Women in Development in part of Operations Policy, the office is not in the project flow because it is not considered a sector like agricultural and rural development, education or transportation. The office, however, can bring up problems with projects it reviews and those projects can't advance before those criticims are altered. An assistant to the women in development adviser mentioned that she was reticent in making too many criticisms, knowing that the project staff were already overworked and that she might sound as if she was "policing" them. Part of this problem stems from the particular structure of organizational accountability that divides responsibility for projects between projects and programs staff on one hand, and functional units on the other and is relevant for all functional sectors. Projects staff at times resent the advice given to them by functional units because they see the latter as sitting at their desks dispensing with "advice", while they are the ones who are in the field struggling with "reality".

Many staff mentioned that the scale of lending was a constraint to the consideration of women. Women are usually involved in small scale activities but the bank loans are large for cost effectiveness reasons. It was also mentioned that the Bank, being an institution that loans money and that places priority on financial considerations, tends not to be flexible or experimental, both conditions that would help the integration of women into the Bank's

activities. The Bank's own evaluation of its performance reflects awareness of these issues:[72]

> Both Mr. McNamara's Nairobi address to the Board of Governors in September 1973 and related reports and policy statements proclaimed an increased Bank emphasis on agricultural lending and on chanelling it more directly towards the poor. That strategy recognized the need for innovation and experimentation and the greater associated risks of such lending. Despite the call for experimentation, Bank staff did not bring forth in adequate numbers the types of high-risk, but low-exposure pilot projects that, with hindsight, the circumstances demanded. The demands on staff time for such work was hardly less than that for more conventionally-sized projects, and the pressures of pre-ordained, rapidly expanding lending programs and of additional concerns for the environment, the role of women, and other emerging issues simply meant that much of the experimentation that took place intruded into conventionally sized projects.

The internal bargaining process: The actors

Even though organizational conditions shape performance, there is still room for a range of strategies available to "WID policy advocates" to persuade the professional staff of the relevance of WID issues to their work, as well as elicit the support of the management. Some staff felt the first Adviser on women in development did not form networks with other staff supportive of women in development in the Bank and isolated herself. She did not work inside the Bank to prepare the ground for a more influential advocacy office, but instead spent her time doing "public relations", justifying the Bank's work to the outside. Many staff, even those who had done WID-related work mentioned that they had very little or no contact with the WID office. They felt that the WID adviser was

much more effective in representing the Bank on WID issues to the outside than inside. Some staff members suggested that more can be achieved inside the Bank by attending project design meetings, talking to relevant projects staff" instead of attending "women's conferences" as one staff member put it.

Before she retired in 1985, Mrs. Scott confirmed this perception herself that her main achievement had been defending the Bank to the outside:[73]

> I think perhaps one of the things I have taken some satisfaction from is how much I have been doing in the Bank is regarded as providing intellectual leadership in other agencies, little though it is. For instance, when I wrote the "Invisible Woman" in 1979, I thought it was just a little progress report for the Bank. But it became guidance material for other multilateral, bilateral and nongovernmental agencies because the material was specific and raised operational issues which had not been dealt with before.

In short, Mrs. Scott seems to have concentrated her efforts to defend the Bank's position on gender issues to the outside, instead of building a postion of influence inside the Bank, thus contributing to the general perception that the post was a "political" or "public relation" position. Many staff said that they perceived the position of women in development Adviser as a political, consciousness-raising position.

Mrs. Scott has said that in spite of her good will, she has at times doubted the management's commitment to WID policy:[74]

> And although I've had to constantly defend the Bank as being really serious about these issues, it became increasingly difficult to do so over the years. Why? Because I myself doubted the Bank's commitment.

The management has not encouraged a meaningful response to women in development until very recently. Women in development policy has been articulated in speeches, general policy statement by top management (the president and vice-presidents), but there is widespread consensus among the staff members I interviewed that if the incorporation of women into World Bank's development activities was taken seriously by the management, its operationalization in terms of the Bank's organizational structure would have been very different. In other words, the authority structure would change to accommodate gender issues. As one staff member put it:[75]

> Management does not see this as an important issue that serious professionals have to consider; there is no serious mandate. It is never mentioned in regular management seminars. Among management, one's generation and individual orientation determine interest in women in development issues.

Many of the staff members said that the Adviser on women in development, with a part-time secretary and a part-time assistant, cannot realistically be effective in a vast institution like the World Bank. The fact that resources are so meager is seen as an indication that it is only paid lip service. As it stands, the post of the Adviser of women in development is seen as political window dressing that functions as a good public relations ploy to show that the Bank is doing something. In fact, some see it as a tactic that let the management off the hook, without having to do anything

substantial about it.

Mrs. Scott also was not in a good position to convince the professional staff of the importance of WID issues. As discussed earlier, the professional staff was not favorably disposed to social analysis in general. Mrs. Scott was not a Bank staff member with technical expertise and was seen as an affirmative action case. She came from the Commission of Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations, which reinforced the suspicion that the Bank was merely responding to outside pressure but had no real intention of including WID in its "technical core".[76] In fact, the establishment of the Adviser on women in development position may, as James Thompson has suggested, be the case of an organization acting to protect their technical core from sources of uncertainty in its environment. By establishing what he calls "boundary spanning mechanisms", such as advocacy offices, organizations respond to threats in the environment, coopt political energy and seal off those offices from their technical core.[77]

The new WID Adviser, Barbara Herz, comes from inside the Bank, from the Population, Health and Nutrition department and is a population economist. She has taken care to frame WID issues within economic arguments rather than social welfare and equity arguments in order to be acceptable. Her strategies have been to promote the legitimacy of women in development as a substantive area among the Bank staff and to promote close ties with the management. Regarding the former, Mrs. Herz has the credentials and expertise to help "women in

development" become a more serious, more legitimate issue among the staff. Since the Bank has primarily been interested in women as part of the "population-related issue", her training in population economics gives her credibility.

She has recently been instrumental in organizing a conference on "Safe Motherhood" cosponsored by the U.N. Fund for Population Activities, the World Bank and the World Health Organization in Kenya in February 1987. She has outlined a new WID policy that focuses on specific sectors (agriculture, education, health and family planning) and specific geographical areas and aims to make women in development issues part of country poicy dialogues.[78] She has started going on project identification missions, thus getting the chance to provide input at the identification stage of projects. She has also promoted close ties with top management.[79]

Management support has also been forthcoming because of the commitment articulated by the Bank's new president, Barber Conable. The Bank president has stated in an interview:[80]

> Regarding population, the environment, and the role of women, the World Bank President said, "We should work on all three fronts at once. It is clear that population pressures are one source of heavy environmental damage, so we must provide training to give women the skills to take charge of their productive and reproductive lives. And it makes little sense to fund agricultural extension services and credit programmes in Africa that do not reach the real farmers, the women who work the land."

Other members of the management have also expressed concern about women in development issues. For example, the vice-president for

Eastern and Southern Africa asked his staff members to include WID objectives in their work programs. The Bank's Senior Vice-President for Operations asked the WID adviser to explore the idea of country strategies with the Regions and other donors and to report back to him with a possible approach and with possible countries from which to select.

## Conclusions

As one staff member put it, women are not ignored on purpose. However, they are not purposefully included either. The conclusion is that women and development issues have been treated as a residual issue that may or may not be addressed depending on the interest of the staff and the management and the time allocated to each operation. What has been done has not been done as a matter of Bank policy, but on a personal basis. As another staff member put it: "The Bank has not yet seen the need to address women and development issues, and has not taken the initiative to experiment with it. There is no real commitment to increase woemn's status through projects." This resistance is explained by the "limited" fit of WID issues into the Bank's goals and procedures.

On the other hand, some response to WID issues has occurred under certain conditions. When various actors in a position to influence

Bank policy demonstrate sensitivity to WID issues at the same time, if the borrower government is interested (borrower governments are usually interested if there are strong women's groups in the country; if the Bank is the executing agency for a project and the funding agency is interested, and if the particular Bank staff is interested, then its consideration is more likely. WID issues have also received a more favorable response when they were introduced and justified on the basis of "increased rates of return" and on the basis of increased "economic growth".

More recently, the Bank has demonstrated increased commitment to WID issues. Although the reasons remain to be examined, I believe that it is the result of more effective internal bargaining strategies, a supportive President, and increased sensitivity on the part of some of the World Bank's partners. However, the constraints posed by the Bank's goals and procedures (including the nature of the staff) will need to be addressed before implementation becomes more systematic.

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## Chapter 5:
## The Ford Foundation's Response to Gender Issues in Development

This chapter will discuss the integration of women's programs into the international development activities of the Ford Foundation since the early 1970s. The Foundation is recognized as a leader in women's programming in the international development assistance arena. The question addressed here, as in the case of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme, is: how do we explain the extent of the Ford Foundation's implementation of women's programming in developing countries? Before I address this question, I will briefly provide some background information about the Ford Foundation.

The Ford Foundation is a private, nonprofit institution established in 1936 by Henry Ford and Edsel Ford in Michigan, U.S.A. It made grants largely to Michigan charitable and educational institutions until 1950, when it adopted a national scope. According to its own self-definition, the Foundation "seeks to identify and contribute to the solution of problems of national and international importance". The Foundation "grants funds to institutions and organizations for experimental, demonstration and developmental efforts that promise to produce significant advances in various fields", making it the largest private charitable trust in the United States.[1] Including the fiscal year 1987, the Foundation has made commitments totaling $6.6

billion. Approximately 35% of the Foundation's budget is allocated for work in developing countries. This constitutes roughly $2.3 billion of total commitments. The recipients have been located in the United States and various foreign countries, especially in less-developed areas.

A board of trustees, made up of distinguished representatives of business and academia, determines Foundation policy and names the president of the Foundation. It is at the level of the board of trustees that broad program definition occurs. The self-replacing board of trustees have rights of discretion and disposal over the resources of the organization. The board is not involved in the approval of each specific grant but approves the allocation of resources to broad programming areas. The president directs the implementation of policy determined by the board and approves grants. The vice-presidents and representatives in field offices have the authority to approve grants up to $50,000. A professional staff evaluates grant applications, works with prospective grantees, and recommends proposals for approval by the president and the trustees.

Until 1982, the Foundation was divided into three divisions, each with its own vice-president. The divisions were education and public policy, national affairs, and international. The international division had six New York based subdivisions: office of the vice-president, European and international affairs, population, Asia and the Pacific, Middle East and Africa, and Latin America and the

Caribbean. The three latter subdivisions, known as area offices each had a head, located in New York with a back-up staff of program officers, and field offices throughout the developing world. Each field office was headed by a representative and usually backed up by program officers and program advisors.

After 1982, the Foundation was restructured into two program divisions, each with its vice-president: U.S. and International Affairs programs, and Developing Country programs. The thematic program areas for both divisions are the same and are identified as: urban poverty, rural poverty and resources, human rights and governance, education and culture, and international affairs. There are 13 field offices around the world located in Dakar, Lagos, Nairobi, Cairo, Dhaka, New Delhi, Jakarta, Beijing (opened in 1987),Lima, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, Manila and Bangkok. The total number of professional staff as of December 31 1987 is 177. 54% of the staff is made up of women and 17% of minorities.[2]

What has been the response to women in development issues in the Ford Foundation? I assess the Ford Foundation`s response below in terms of the following indicators: changes in programming, procedures, budgeting and staffing related to women in developing countries.

## The incorporation of women into the international development programs in the Ford Foundation

### 1. Programming

Overall, the Ford Foundation has made 378 grants related specifically to women in developing countries between 1972 and 1988.[3] This number, however, is a partial assessment of the Foundation's activities related to women. Even though these grants are an important indicator of performance in women's programs, one should keep in mind that the Foundation has made many other grants that include activities related to women such as education, training, income generating and employment, and institution building that may not have targeted women. In fact, one of the Foundation's goals regarding women's programs has been to "mainstream" these activities into all grants.

One manifestation of this is the general shift from women-specific research toward the integration of such research into wider educational and developmental efforts. The trend is the merging of grant categories so that now the Foundation often helps significant numbers of women through grants not primarily designed for them. Grantees like the Grameen Bank, which provides credit for landless people in rural Bangladesh, for example, reach large numbers of women as well as men.[4] There are, however, difficulties involved in

measuring the extent of women's programming when it is mainstreamed. The Foundation's approach, on the whole, has been that women's programming requires both targeted projects and integrating them into general projects. These activities,however, are harder to track down and document. Therefore, I will mainly confine myself to the analysis of grants directed specifically at women.[5]

The Foundation's activities related to women can be divided into two time periods that are significantly different in terms of both number of grants and thematic emphases. During the period between 1972-1979, the majority of the Ford Foundation's work on women emphasized basic research on women's roles in society and support for the university education and professional training for women to assume leadership positions in public life. The Foundation also helped create the institutions that would continue their work. For example, in the area of education, support was provided to the Republic of Kenya to evaluate leadership training programs for women, to the Airlie Foundation for travel costs of participants in the Women's International Forum on Population and Development, to Carlos Chagas Foundation for a program of research on the work and education of women, to CIDAL (Coordination of Initiatives for Development in Latin America) for a documentation center of women's roles in Latin American Society, to Wellesley College for a conference on Women and Development and to the University of Dar Es Salaam for graduate fellowships for women students. In the area of agricultural development, a number of grants in Bangladesh supported research and publications on rural women's activities. Foundation funds were used

by the Integrated Rural Development Programme, an agency of the Government of Bangladesh to establish a pilot project to organize women into rural cooperatives.

In this period, institutional support was provided to set up or strengthen women's studies and studies related to women's economic activities at research centers and universities. For example, with Foundation support, Beirut University College, established in 1973 the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World. Other organizations that received Foundation assistance include the African Training and Research Center for Women to conduct research and provide training to women and the Jamaica Women's Bureau to set up a program of services to rural women, the Government of Bangladesh to establish a research unit on women in agriculture. A few grants focused on women's legal rights isues such as a grant to the Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs for a research project entitled "The Legal Status of Women in Bangladesh". In the area of health and family, the Foundation made grants that directly relate women's roles to family planning. The Colombian Association for the Study of Population, for example, has received a grant for a study of how child-bearing decisions of Colombian women are affected by such variables as employment, education, health, legal rights , and the position of women in the family and society.

During this period, the Foundation staff concentrated on academic research, as well as "consciousness-raising" activities in order to increase the understanding of gender issues before action could be

taken:[6]

> In general, the 1970s were a time of "consciousness raising" for many field office staff members. Looking more closely at women's lives, they identified the specific problems that kept women from being full participants and beneficiaries of the development process...In this exploratory period, field office grant making often proceeded on an ad hoc basis as the staff tested a variety of approaches and as groups came forward with specific proposals. Staff members were identifying needs and appropriate strategies to address them. Where feminist organizations were relatively strong, grants helped further their efforts. Where they were not, the Foundation provided resources for women to speak and publish and encouraged the incorporation of women's issues into existing organizations.

Out of 326 grants related to women between 1972-1988, 52 grants or 14% were allocated during this period between 1972-1979. Out of the 52 grants, 27 were made in the area of education, nine in agricultural development, 5 provided institutional support, 3 were in the area of legal rights and 8 were in the area of population, health and nutrition.

The table below compares the number of grants made in these five different areas during the periods of 1972-1979, and 1980-1988.

Table 6

(Grants related to women by subject area)

| | 1972-1979 | 1980-1988 |
|---|---|---|
| Agricultural Development | 9 | 118 |
| Education | 27 | 133 |
| Institutional Support | 5 | 31 |
| Legal Rights | 3 | 17 |
| Health and Nutrition | 8 | 27 |
| TOTAL | 52 | 326 |

*This table is compiled by the author using the information made available by the Ford Foundation.

I have chosen the above categories partly to facilitate comparison with the UNDP and the World Bank and they may not completely correspond to the Ford Foundation's grant categories. As I define these categories, the area of agricultural development encompasses rural women's economic activities in agriculture and off-farm, including grants for research, training and action related to agriculture and rural development. The "Education" category includes grants made to support formal educational activities, research on women's roles in society, seminars, conferences and publications. Institutional support is defined as either core support or support to start up a new program or institution related to women's activities.

Legal rights refer to activities in women's political, economic, and social rights and their advocacy. The category of health and family includes support for research in these areas, as well as support for programs and institutions that train, educate or treat women in areas of women's reproductive health, nutritional status and children's health.

As Table 6 shows, the number of grants related to women increased very significantly in the period of 1980-1988 from 52 to 326. The new President, Franklin Thomas, made increasing the women's program and the general integration of women in all programs one of his first orders of business. We know that it is the management that allocates resources and provides incentives for staff to implement a new policy. However, attributing changes just to a new President would be a simplistic explanation. It is the bargaining process inside the Foundation and the changes in its environment that caused the dramatic increase in women's grants. While inside the Foundation, the WID policy advocates efforts came to be recognized and rewarded, outside, the increased activities of the international women's movement had an effect on the Foundation. As an institution whose goal is to "find innovative solutions to social problems", responding to women's issues, as an important element of its "poverty alleviation" focus in developing countries, followed naturally.

During the period of 1980-1988 the grants related to rural women's economic activities jumped from 9 to 118. These grants focused on enhancing the productive capacity of low income women through skill

training, cooperative organization, production and marketing and introduction of improved technologies. For example, support was given for a pilot project for village-level women agricultural extension workers to the Government of Karnataka in India. Tamil Nadu Agricultural University received funds for a pilot project to train selected village women in the development of small sericulture and dairy farms. The International Reconstruction Fund of Nicaragua received to support to examine the role of women in Nicaraguan Agricultural Cooperatives. The University of Ibadan got support for experimental village women's income generating projects in Oyo State, Nigeria. The Association for the Advancement of Economic and Social Knowledge received technical assistance for income generating projects for women in Central Java. Such grants encouraged rural development organizations and agricultural universities to include both women and women's concern in their staffing, planning, and extension work.

Other addressed women's off-farm work. Grants were made to test a number of small-scale project including soap-making, market gardening, and goat raising, and experimented with a revolving loan fund for rural women producers in Mali. In India, grants were made to upgrade skills and economic return in silk production and dairying, which employ large numbers of women.

Grants in family and health areas concentrated on rural women's health and the training of alternative health workers. For example, the Bangladesh Women's Health Coalition was supported for an

experimental rural women's health care project. ISIS (International Women's Information and Communication Service) received support for a Latin American and Caribbean Women's Health Network. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India received Foundation support to establish community-based health care. Again in India, the Andhra Pradesh Dairy Development Cooperative received funds to integrate child survival and women's health services in a cooperative dairying program.

In the area of legal rights, the Nepal Women's Organization got support for strengthening and expanding the legal services project of the Nepal Women's Organization. The Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo was funded for a popular education project on women's rights and political participation. Overseas Education Fund received support for a planning meeting and Asia-Wide Conference of the Women, Law and Development Forum. The Amman Business and Professional Women's Club was made a grant for a legal aid and counseling service for low-income urban women in Jordan. The Institute for Consultation and Legal Aid for Women and Families was given support for the development of legal aid clinics in seven provincial cities of Indonesia.

Along with these changes in women's programs, the Foundation published periodic reports on past activities related to women and policy statements for the future. These are "That 51%", "That 51% Plus", "Women in the World" and "Created Equal". 45,000 copies of each have been published and distributed; as a result, donors and

prospective grantees became aware of the Foundation's interest and commitment to women's issues and were perhaps influenced to adapt their own programs.

In summary, the number grants in the period of 1980-88 related to women have increased substantially. 86% of the total number of grants between 1972-1988 was made during 1980-88. While in the early period, the thematic focus was support of research, its dissemination, formal education related to women and women's roles in society, in the 1980s, the focus became much more rural women's economic activities. During the 1980s, grants in education and research continued to support the development of new research in women's studies and its introduction into universities and governments, while more attention was given to legal rights and advocacy and women's reproductive health.

2. Budgeting: The allocation of resources to women's programming

The total amount of funds allocated to grants related to women in developing countries between 1972 and March 1988 is $27,548,000.[7] $5,160,000 (18%) of this amount was allocated between 1972 and 1979, while the rest, $22,388,000 (22%) has been allocated between 1980 and 1988. Between 1972-1979, .4% of the overall program budget went to women's grants in developing countries. [8]During the period of 1980-87, 6% of developing country programs budget went to women's grants.[9]

Table 7

Ford Foundation Grants Related to Equality of Opportunity for Women in the International Development area, FY 1972 - FY 1988

| Year: | Amount (in$ 000) |
|---|---|
| 1972 | 253 |
| 1973 | 307 |
| 1974 | 579 |
| 1975 | 285 |
| 1976 | 840 |
| 1977 | 1,036 |
| 1978 | 408 |
| 1979 | 1.451 |
| 1980 | 1,272 |
| 1981 | 1,811 |
| 1982 | 2,907 |
| 1983 | 4,312 |
| 1984 | 2,938 |
| 1985 | 2,305 |
| 1986 | 3,453 |
| 1987 | 2,992 |
| 1988 | 398* |
| Total | 27,548 |

*Calculated from Foundation documents; the figure for 1988 covers grants up to March 1988.

During the period of 1972-1979, the total Foundation budget began to decline but the percentage allocated to women's grants mostly stayed the same and were even increased at times. In 1972, of an international division budget of 81.2 million, a little more than $250,000 or .3 percent went to grants related to equality of opportunity for women. In 1973, .4 percent ($307,000) of the international division budget of nearly $84 million went to women; most of these grants were new program initiatives. The total Foundation budget began to decline for economic reasons in 1974 to approximately $40 million in 1980. In 1975, grants related to women were cut back to $286,000 in 1975. Despite cutbacks, supplementary support for the activities of the coordinating committee on women's programs was approved in December 1975.

In 1976, when the international division budget was cut by another $9 million, women's programming increased to $840,331 and in 1977, with a cutback of $4.5 million, international division programming for women was over $1 million or 2.3 percent of the international division budget. In 1978, the total international division budget was reduced to $20 million and women's programming dropped to 1 percent of the budget. However, in 1979, with an increasing total budget, 4 percent of the international division funding, nearly $1.5 million went for women's programming. This increase is significant because it occurred during a period of substantial budget reductions. Approximately 75% of these funds have come from the budgets of field offices and have thus been spent on program activities in the developing countries. In short, between 1972 and

1980, the international division made grants in women's programming totaling 5.2 million.[10]

Flexible funding mechanisms, such as the delegated authority projects, were used to try to separate and integrative strategies of women's programming. In some cases, a delegated authority project provides the staff with flexible funds to make small individual and institutional grants for program development and evaluation. In 1975, the international division received $140,000 for delegated authority projects. In other cases, for example. a delegated-authority grant provided support to the University of Karachi for a research project entitled "The Study of the Impact of Changes in the Status of the Role of Women on Population Growth", and support to the Government of Pakistan for five seminars for rural women community workers.

In 1980, with the board of trustees approval, special general reserve funds[11]of a total of $19.3 million were allocated to women's programming in both the U.S. and developing countries. To begin in April 1980, $8.7 million from the general reserve was allocated toward women's programming for an 18 month period. The special appropriation was expected to integrate concern for women's issues in every relevant area of Foundation work both in the United States and overseas.. The 18 month increase for the international division was between $3.9 million and $4.5 million, with 80 percent of the increase from the general reserve fund.

After the special appropriations period ended, a Women's Program

Forum was formed that received an internal grant of $160,000 to monitor the progress in women's programming, maintain the visibility of women's issues and to stimulate other donors in this area.

3. Procedures

The budgeting process approved by the Trustees for the special appropriation contained a built-in funding incentive, offering a four-to-one match for regular budget funds redirected to support women's grants. This procedure provided an incentive for staff members to make an effort to increase grants related to women.

Another procedural change was an "external affirmative action policy" that required that "Request for Grant Action" forms (RGAs) include tabular presentation and interpretation of data on the gender of boards and staff of all grantees. In grant discussions and in grant approval letters, the Foundation expressed concern that the grantee give appropriate attention to the provision of opportunities to women.[12]

Furthermore, the Working Group on Women established in 1980 was included in all grant-making considerations and its chair reported to the President and the board of trustees.

4. Personnel

Beginning in 1976, one and a half positions were funded under a delegated authority project in the international division in New York to provide assistance to field offices in instituting women's

programming. The full position was that of a "circuit-riding" program officer, based in the headquarters in New York, to help the overseas offices develop women-specific grants. When women staff members were hired, part of their responsibilities was to explore program possibilities related to women.

In 1980, using the special appropriations for women's programming from the general reserve, a full-time officer in charge of Foundation-wide women's programs was funded. To oversee the expanding grant program, the Foundation created the Women's Program Group made up of program staff. Reporting regularly to the President and the Trustees, the WPG sought to increase awareness of sex discrimination and to propose solutions by inviting guest speakers, holding seminars and sending relevant publications to field offices. In many field offices the Foundation added new staff members who focused on women's issues or assigned a staff member to be responsible for women's issues.

A significant indicator of the commitment to women's programs is the appointment of two of the leaders on women's issues, who were also members of the Women's Program Group, to key positions in the Foundation. When the Foundation was reorganized in 1981, Susan Berresford, who had been head of the various Foundation-wide committees on women, was named vice-president for U.S.-based programs. Another major WID advocate, Adrienne Germain, who had served as the "circuit-riding officer" for women's programs, was appointed as Foundation representative in Bangladesh. Both

appointments represented the first time women were named to such high posts.

After the special appropriations period ended, the management appointed several staff members who formed the Women's Program Forum that monitors the progress in women's programming, invites experts to give seminars, hold conferences related to women. This Forum received an internal grant to conduct its activities. The Women's Program Forum, an internal Foundation group that was formed after the special appropriations period for women's programming were spent, was formed with the purpose of keeping women's issues visible and encouraging other donors to consider these issues. Its functions include monitoring the progress of women's programming, serve as innovators and help to stimulate other donors.[13] This forum has recently begun to concentrate on issues related to "work-family life". The Foundation has begun to seek creative grant-making opportunities that will enable understanding and solving or problems that arise as a result of the incorporation of women into the workforce.

In summary, the Ford Foundation's response to "Women in Development" has produced some significant changes in procedures, programming, budgeting, and staffing.

Organizational Conditions

The linkages of the Foundation as a whole shifted in the late 1970s that promoted a more favorable context for a focus on gender issues. Early in the 1970s, the International Division began shifting away from a concentration on building social science programs, academic institutions and governmental capacity to making grants to further voluntary organizations' work on critical problems.

The Ford Foundation now sees itself as a "mediator" between non-governmental groups, governments and other donor agencies. It is in a unique position among donor agencies in that it deals with governments as well as non-governmental and academic organizations, and individuals. It especially sees itself in a position to "voice" the concerns and interests of groups hitherto excluded from the benefits of society. As one staff member stated:[14] "The Foundation offices function as a conduit, as a catalyst to build links between the governments, NGOs and other donor agencies".

The development literature discusses the role of the Foundation as a catalyst that can help achieve policy reforms. Policy reforms require complex institutional changes in a local context and performance in this arena depends on the exercise of creative initiative by many individuals. Both political leaders and the large donors commonly find their sources of leverage to be of relatively

little consequence in achieving policy objectives.[15] An example of what Korten calls a "a micro-policy reform" would be:[16]

> Agricultural extension projects can demand that the research-extension system be responsive to farmer realities and inputs. But if the existing structures are geared to enforcing farmer compliance with centrally mandated technology packages and there is no tradition of researchers seeking feedback from extension agents, such responsiveness is unlikely until these such structures are transformed.

David Korten in the article "Third Generation NGO Strategies: A Key to People-Centered Development" provides an example of how the Ford Foundation served the role of an effective catalyst to bring about policy reform in Southeast Asia:[17] He discusses how the Southeast Asia Office of the Ford Foundation promoted community based approaches to resource management by its work in irrigation and social forestry. The strategy included two key elements: 1) the formation of a coalition of individuals committed to change who bring with them the resources of a number of relevant institutions and that form a working group; 2) the assumption of leadership by this working group in documenting and analyzing available experience, planning pilot activities, and initiating a variety of actions leading to the institutionalization of policies and supporting capacities within the agency. The Ford Foundation's role is identified as follows:[18]

> The Ford Foundation program officers serve as facilitators of the process, identify prospective working group members, support their involvement in relevant activities, and help them establish distinctive roles within the working group. At the same time they play a key role in agenda-setting..Flexible funding is provided

> in the form of grants to the sponsoring agency for related experimental and research activities...Occasionally the Ford Foundation program officer will develop his or her own study illuminating key program and policy issues input to working group sponsored workshops.

The organizational linkages and the nature of the Foundation's role in building and supporting these linkages have important implications for women's programming.

The area of women's programming was identified by the Foundation as a niche for the Foundation where the Foundation initiative and leadership would be valuable:[19]

> These proposed program directions [production and income generation, training and women's rights and advocacy] ....complement the work of other agencies. Many governments and most large international agencies, such as USAID or the World Bank, have an expressed interest in women's roles in development and, in most cases, one or more staff assigned to develop programs. To date, however, it is fair to say that these agencies, for the most part, have either been ill-suited for or uninterested in the kinds of activities outlined above. Nonetheless, we have effectively collaborated with other donors and hope to continue and expand that collaboration.

More recently, a 1986 report on women's programs emphasized the importance of the Foundation's role as a "conduit" between such organizations, and the governments and other development agencies:[20]

> For several field offices, future employment and income-generation projects will have two principal aims: increasing the scale and sophistication of such projects, and the direct benefits for poor women; and increasing their influence on development policies and policy makers....The Foundation will also encourage attempts to ascertain policy implications of women-specific projects

> and to present these findings to decision makers, planners and public and private development organizations. Despite progress in the past decade, most development agencies still undervalue gender differentiation in planning and carrying out their activities. In both the United States and developing countries, the Foundation will encourage affirmative action to bring women knowledgeable about employment and income-generation projects into "mainstream" development agencies and community revitalization. And because the Foundation is in many places uniquely positioned to facilitate contacts between women's groups and other development organizations, the staff will encourage such collaboration.

A recent example of the role of mediator is the Symposium for Overseas Donors held in May 1988 in Nairobi on "Expanding Income Earning Opportunities for Women in Poverty: A Cross-Regional Dialogue" sponsored by the Ford Foundation's Women's Program Forum. The goals of the Nairobi Symposium were specified as a) to focus the donor community's attention on women; b) to encourage the allocation of more overall funding for women and c) to discuss strategies of assistance in the area of employment generation in general and specifically for women. The Foundation also has been a major funder of non-governmental organizations' (NGO) participation in the NGO Forum of the Conference for the End of the Women's Decade in Nairobi in 1985.

The Foundation's role as catalyst has also been utilized in the case of women's programming. For example, as a staff member explained, workshops were held and case studies were written on women and their activities regarding irrigation in the Phillipines. As a result, the manuals of the Phillipine National Irrigation Authority are being rewritten to include women.

2. Goals

The Ford Foundation's self-described goal as an organization is to find solutions to problems of national and international importance through experimentation in education, science and the arts. Its organizational structure, procedures, and staff reflect this goal, which, in turn, have influenced the nature of women's programming in particular ways.

The Foundation staff believe that the conditions in the Third World are best explained by inequitable allocation of resources and the lack of voice for the poor and powerless. In the Foundation's vision, the "good society" is pluralistic, diverse, equitable and non-discriminatory. Such ideological explanations provide bases for action and understanding because suggestions for action are based on them. The Ford Foundation ideology prescribes change strategies that will help the disadvantaged and the poor people, will build their capacity so that they can participate in society on an equal basis.

Feminism is defined in the Foundation literature as "a concern for redressing unequal power based on gender"[21], and if evidence indicates that the majority of women in developing countries are both poor and are discriminated against, then it is clear that women's programs fit the organizational ideology very well.

Ideologies also bind together their adherents. The management of an organization can use ideologies to develop stronger goal consensus among the staff members. They can also use ideologies in selective

recruiting to attract potential members who will contribute to stronger goal consensus, and to repel those with adverse goals.

In the Ford Foundation's case, the staff members that are recruited generally share the goals articulated by Ford's organizational ideology, partly because they may already share these goals and partly because of the training and orientation they receive after they are hired. The staff has a reputation for being progressive and committed to social issues. They generally have a background in academia, public policy, research, law or government organizations. They are trained to analyze and act upon social, political, economic and legal rather than technical issues. One should not underestimate, however, the extent of goal consensus that can develop after joining an organization. As one staff member stated:[22]

> All staff members have social and communication skills, but they are not necessarily naturally oriented to equity and empowerment issues. In the latter case, the management orientation is important. After they come, they get trained to consider them.

How has this organizational ideology influenced the approach to gender issues in the Foundation? It made it possible to make grants related to equality of opportunity for women in order to redress unequal power based on gender. It also made it possible to make grants related to women's legal rights. In the 1970s, the rationale behind the Foundation's inclusion of women was that of social justice, an accepted goal of the Foundation although not previously articulated in terms of women. The Foundation was closely involved

with social justice movements of the 1960s, such as the civil rights and black power movements in the United States. Such movements shared the assumption that eliminating discrepancies of power and privilege is a valuable goal. The goal of social justice provided a favorable context for the discussion of women although in 1972 no sustained women's programming existed and relatively few women or women'sorganizations received Foundation support.[23]

> Many staff members believed that women's rights and needs were well within the scope of the Foundation's mandate "to advance human welfare" and that program models developed by the minority civil rights program offered useful guides for first steps.

The integration of women into all programs (mainstreaming) did not become a policy until Franklin Thomas became the president of the Foundation. Ideologies are reformulated by the leadership. The interpretation of the mandate may change with the leadership. When Thomas, who was appointed president in 1979, he emphasized the Foundation's role in overcoming discrimination based on race and gender. He has said:[24]

> We are resolved that our concern for persons discriminated against whether based on race or gender or both permeate all our program activities.

The Foundation's ideology permitted gender issues to be considered in their own right as well as an integral part of development:[25]

> The Foundation's program objectives have been to help overcome inequity and, in the process, to help insure

> that women can both contribute to achieving a variety of development goals and also share more fully in the resulting benefits.

Women's consideration in development programs could be justified on the basis of the emphases on poverty and inequality as the two major issues of development. Women's programing have been discussed in terms of both: "The benefits of helping women to contribute more fully and more creatively to the improvement of their own lives and those of their families, and to enlarge the pool of talent in their societies, can have a powerful impact in alleviating major problems of poverty and inequality."[26]

3. Procedures

The Foundation's practice of funding research has been an advantage for women's programs. "Experimentation" requires supporting the production of new knowledge. In fact, when the Foundation enters a new area, it makes grants for basic research, applied research and action programs in that order. [27]

> As staff members have learned, research in a new field is often a first step toward more direct "hands-on" approaches that incorporate research findings into their design. The results of these approaches then feed back into further documentation and research, which in turn leads to further action.

This has proved to be an advantage in women's programming. The production of knowledge on women's roles and experience in society and its dissemination constituted the first step towards action. As a new field, gender issues in development needed data and information

before women could be integrated into development programs and projects in the Third World. Foundation's activities related to funding research by and on women clearly helped in identifying program areas where action needed to be taken regarding women's programming.

4. Staff

The Ford Foundation case supports this argument. As one staff member in the Foundation indicated:"The Foundation is not wedded into one way of thinking. We had economic planners in the 1970s, then we went into something else and the staff composition changed."[28]

In the early 1980s, a major reorganization occurred in the Foundation. The reorganization also included cutting program areas and field offices and massive staffing changes. These changes, despite overall staff reductions, led to an overall and impressive increase in the number of women on the professional staff.[29] In 1986, the percentage of women professional staff reached 53.2.[30] The table below shows the historical trend in the employment of women.

Table 8

Ford Foundation personnel by gender

Percent Women

| | 1973 | 1979 | 1986 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Trustees | 12.5 | 15.0 | 17.6 |
| Professional Staff | 22.9 | 32.6 | 53.2 |
| Support Staff | 89.1 | 86.2 | 82.0 |

*This table is taken from Created Equal, Ford Foundation, New York, October 1986, p. 14.)

As the above table shows, there is over 60% increase in women professional staff from 1979 to 1986. Even though there is not a one to one relationship between women professionals and women's programming, many staff members admitted that women have brought their own viewpoints. The infusion of new, mostly female staff members and the creation of the "circuit rider" position (a position created for New York headquarters but included extensive travel to field offices for advice and conferring on women's programming), according to a 1986 Foundation Report, brought "new perspectives, new energy, and increased numbers of staff members who constituted a support group as needed. '

During the new hirings, sensitivity to gender issues was considered

as an important criterion for successful candidates. This situation promoted the consideration of gender issues. Women staff members that were hired, particularly in New York, were able to add a development rationale for the inclusion of women in development programs and were able to continue pressure for women in development programs.[31] As the Foundation's staff began to search out groups that women had formed or that worked on behalf of women's interests, this search was facilitated by the increasing presence of women on the Foundation's program staff, particularly in countries where segregation of the sexes in public life is the rule.[32]

5. Structure

The Foundation has a "flat hierarchy". The staff hierarchy below the president includes, in descending order, vice-presidents, directors of program areas, deputy directors, program officers and assistant program officers. According to an observer of the Foundation, it has a "flatter" hierarchy than many bureaucracies, with some of the same traditions of colleagueship, even within hierarchy, present in university situations.[33]

Staff members indicated that the Foundation's structure, with relatively few levels of hierarchy, easy access to management and the receptivity of the management have promoted the consideration of new ideas.[34]

> Staff members' ideas are accepted and encouraged by management. There is access by staff members to management. If you have an idea or a problem, you can

> talk to the person directly above you or you can go to the vice-president and it is perfectly acceptable to do the latter.

In the case of the WID policy advocates within the Foundation, the easy access to the management has been to their advantage because they had the opportunity to make new proposals to the management.

Even though the Ford Foundation has characteristics of centralization (The headquarters is responsible for making general policy and in the hiring of all staff), the field offices have the opportunity to initiate changes. About one-third of its staff is located in field offices. Given that approximately 35% of the Foundation's budget is allocated for work in developing countries, this proportion is significant. 90% of the developing country grants is allocated in the field offices and 10% in the headquarters for international and regional programs. Field office representatives are authorized to make grants up to $50,000 without the approval of headquarters. For larger grants, "approval" by the headquarters may take the form of suggestions rather than full-scale revisions or refusals. As one staff member indicated:[35]

> The Representative in the field decides what grants should be approved. The negotiation takes place between program officers and the representative regarding a grant decision. Officially every grant has to be approved centrally, but headquarters may just review and offer suggestions.

The implication for women's programming of this structure is that field offices have the freedom of action to encourage and respond to proposals made by women's organizations, as well as to take the

initiative in seeking them out. Once the management signaled the importance of gender issues through policy statements and budget allocations, the staff in the field was able to take the initiative in exploring the local opportunities.

Innovation is also encouraged by smallness. With a staff of just 177 professionals, the Foundation is relatively small, both in terms of the number of staff it employs and its resources, specially compared with other international development agencies. Through 1987, the Foundation has made commitments totaling $6.6 billion. (The World Bank's commitments, for example total about $15 billion annually.) Organization theorists suggest that small bureas tend to be more flexible and innovative than large ones.[36]

Given that women's organizations are generally small and their capacity to absorb large grants are limited and that some of their activities are new and untried, the relative smallness of the Ford Foundation grants makes it possible to set up pilot projects and test new approaches.

Another structural characteristic of the Ford Foundation is that its programs cover both the U.S and developing countries. This has important implications for women's programming. Women's concerns were initially recognized by the women's movement in the U.S. and the rest of the Western world. Similarly, in the Foundation, the initial impetus to recognize women's concerns came from the division responsible for national affairs and grants for women's programming were already being made in the early 1970s by this division.

Feminists were part of the professional personnel within both national and international divisions. As an observer of the Ford Foundation pointed out, the exchange of ideas between national and international divisions staff, especially after the organizational restructuring in 1981, has been a very important one for the success in women's programming in developing countries.[37]

## The internal bargaining process

Clearly, the organizational conditions of the Ford Foundation were generally favorable for the consideration of gender issues, and the WID policy advocates used a range of strategies to both disseminate knowledge on the topic and to elicit management support in order to make programmatic and procedural changes.

The initial impetus for change in women's programming came from staff members inside the Ford Foundation. This impetus included efforts for affirmative action within the Foundation as well as efforts to win equal rights and opportunity for women in the U.S. and elsewhere. In 1970, a staff committee recommended the following changes within the Foundation: 1) adoption of an affirmative action program to increase the number of minority and women professionals on the staff, 2) appointment of women to the Board of Trustees, c) adjustment of pay differentials between male and female

professionals, and 4) broadening of maternity and and child care benefits. Within the Foundation, the "women's question" became a matter for debate in late 1971, with the preparation of the discussion paper, "Planning for the Foundation Program in 1973 and Beyond. This planning document treated "Women" as a separate topic was approved by the Board of Trustees in March 1972.

As with the general movement to recognize women's concerns, the initial impetus came from the "first world"- the divisions of national affairs and education and research in the headquarters. Feminists were part of the professional staff in these divisions. Their activist roots led them to organize together to pressure internally for change. Many staff members mentioned the high level of commitment and interest on the part of the staff members who became the "policy advocates" on behalf of women's issues, and the centrality of their commitment to the response of the Foundation to gender issues.

It was in June 1972, when a Foundation-wide Task Force on the Status of Women was created by President McGeorge Bundy, that the international division officially recognized women as a separate programmatic concern. Recognition resulted from the internal Foundation debate to clarify and focus the issue. As one observer of the Foundation remarks, it was not taken seriously by men who consider themselves at the fore of development issues.[38] Along with the establishment of this task force, the international division vice-president, David Bell, named the international divisions's

representative on the task force, Elinor Barber, to chair an international division committee on women's programs. This committee was assigned the task of reviewing periodically the progress made in women's programs and suggesting changes in Foundation strategy.

Bell, in an internal memorandum, made a powerful statement of the leadership's recognition that women in development was a legitimate issue. He pointed out that heretofore program efforts had been confined to improving the lives of women in their traditional roles. He called on the field offices to go beyond that and to initiate "a serious effort to examine the role of women and to consider the complex questions of equal opportunites, social justice, and personal fulfillment which are so rightly of such deep concern to so many women in the world."[39]

In 1974, a major focus on women, led by a new hire, Adrienne Germain, developed in the Office of Population. Program priorities were modified to include a formal commitment to research and action on the status of women, especially but not exclusively, as they relate to fertility behavior. This focus lent a new rationale to women's programming, based not on a rationale of social justice (women's status must be considered because it is right to do so) but on one of development (women's status must be considered because effective and egalitarian development cnnot occur without changes to increase women's participation in the total process.)[40]

In 1974, special money for promoting women's projects in the form of a Delegated Authority Project from New York was approved.[41] The

program was research oriented and world wide in focus.

One of the important activities of the feminists inside the Foundation was "networking". The United Nations International Women's Year provided a symbol around which such networks could be built. Women on the Foundation staff sought work with the IWY effort, defining four potential areas where the Foundation could play a role: 1) data collection; 2) supporting women who wish to organize to formulate an agenda for government action; 3) sponsorship of conferences; and 4) daycare.

In June 1979, an new President, Franklin Thomas, was installed. In December 1979, a paper on Foundation women's programs was submitted by staff members and discussed by the Board of Trustees. As a result, a Foundation-wide working group was established in January 1980, with the Chair, Susan Berresford, officially devoting 50 percent of her time to the job and a women'sprogram office to coordinate the expanded work in this field. In the same year, the Board of Trustees agreed to allocate $8.7 million from the general reserves of the Foundation towards women's progamming for an 18 month period that included a "four-to-one matching mechanism". This idea was suggested by Susan Berresford, and accepted by the management. Field offices were expected to come up with at least partial funding for women's programs and the rest was supplied from the general reserves. When they did so, they got special recognition within the Foundation. The budgeting process approved by the Trustees contained a built-in incentive, offering a four-to-one match for regular budget funds

redirected to support women's grants. In responding to this challenge, each office committed itself to maintaining the new, higher level of support for women's programs through the next two-year budget period. As one staff member pointed out, the matching fund mechanism provided the incentive for field offices to consider women's programs. Every field office either hired a women's program officer or required greater attention to women by all program officers.

As a result of these new funds, a full-time program officer in charge of Foundation-wide women's programs was funded, and Susan Berresford named to the post. The working group on women's programs became the Women's Program Group (WPG) and began meeting with the authors of all Foundation information papers (which are the basis for program planning) to insure women's inclusion as a major part of national and international efforts. The WPG was charged to undertake two types of work:[42]

1. For the Women-Specific Grant Program:

   - Consult with experts inside and outside the Foundation to refine program strategy and evaluation;

   - Identify opportunities for cross-divisional collaboration in planning, operating and evaluating programs;

   - Facilitate program development in response to Trustee suggestions that attention be given to long-term implications of changing sex roles;

   - Oversee spending under the Special Appropriation and establish a system for Foundaton-wide reporting

on women's program.

2. For other Foundation Grant Programs and Administrative Matters:

- Review the Foundation's programs and administrative activities to identify women's issues where they may have been given insufficient attention.

The Women' Program Group's strategies included both knowledge production and dissemination among staff and active involvement in the policy process, including the revision of policy guidelines. Regarding the first type of strategy, the Group's activities were geared to reinforce attention to women's issues in Ford Foundation programs generally such as in films and discussions, mailings to the field, program and grant reviews and meetings to review program ideas and needs. Activities of the Group under the second type of strategy includes review of Foundation programs not specifically directed at women, reviewing Ford Foundation practices and policies of special importance to women. For example, the WPG recommended that "requests for grant action" for foreign based grantees should include tabular presentation and interpretation of data on the gender of boards and staff, and the grant letters should express the Foundation'sconcern that the grantee give appropriate attention to the profision of opportunities to women. These recommendations now are Foundation's external affirmative action policy. Furthermore, the WPG has held interviews with candidates for employment in order to acquaint them with the expanding women's program. The Chair of the WPG interviewed most final candidates for professional staff positions, not just those concerned specifically with the women's program.

The WPG's "political clout" derived partially from their own efforts to affect policy, but also was based on strong support from the Foundation President. Advocates of new issues within an agency need allies in management since it is the management who can provide the resources and the incentives required for the incorporation of new policy. The management's role is especially important in the Ford Foundation because it serves as a mediator between the staff and the board of trustees; the latter makes the decisions regarding the broad allocation of the Foundation's resources. The management presents proposals for new programs to the board only when it has a reasonable expectation that the board would look upon the proposals favorably or at least be willing to discuss them. This makes the role of the organization's leadership crucial in promoting or blocking new initiatives. As a staff member pointed out:[43]

> Ideas are not developed extensively unless the board of trustees is going to approve them. The staff deals with the management. The management determines whether the new proposals should be presented to the board and sounds out the board before actual presentation of a proposal is made.

In the case of women's programming, the WID advocates found support from senior management. When the board of trustees met in 1980, one of the proposals recommended by President Thomas was an increase in the allocation of funds to programs for women. The information paper presented to the board of trustees for the December 1979 meeting is introduced by a memorandum from President Thomas in which he declares:[44]

> In my view we gain perspective on an important sector of the Foundation's work through the comprehensive approach of this paper.{written by staff members} The paper recommends continuing some of our present women's programs, starting some new efforts within each division, and allocating additional funds for these purposes in FY 1980 and FY 1981...With the benefit of the Board's general views, I propose to consider this area of our work for additional funding from the General Reserve in both the present budget year and the next.

The WID advocates wrote proposals for new program initiatives for women and President Thomas recommended them for consideration to the board of trustees. Staff members indicated in interviews that the President was personally committed to women's programming. Flora, who wrote on the Foundation, also comments that "for many in the field, despite an eight-year push to include women, the president's personal insistence on explanations for women's absence in program development inspired creative inclusion of women."[45]

As some staff members observed: "There is no question in anyone's mind that this is something that the management wants us to pay attention to."[46]

The endorsement of the Board and President Thomas and the seriousness with which they approached program expansion contributed significantly to the success of women's programming. Foundation staff members quickly learned of the subject's importance, their obligations to be informed about it, and recognition for success in programming. Thus, the question was not whether to fund programs in support of women, but how to do so most effectively.[47]

Along with management support and encouragement, the staff members had to be convinced that this was more than an export of the women's movement to the developing world and that development and the consideration of women were integrally linked. Some staff members indicated that the management and the Board of Trustees were very enthusiastic but the rest of staff was harder to persuade. Gender issues were initially seen by the international division staff as a "social justice" issue spurred by the feminist movement in the U.S. rather than a development issue. To overcome this resistance, the women's lobby introduced the discourse on women on the basis of the Foundation's interest in overcoming discrimination, but more so on the basis of increasing productivity and overcoming poverty in developing countries. They argued that improving women's economic roles would help overcome sex discrimination as well overcome poverty and increase productivity. They placed sex discrimination in a global context and justified it not only as a matter of defending fundamental rights, but as a means to invigorate development strategies in the Third World.[48]

> Sex discrimination is a universal problem. It exists in varying forms and degrees, but everywhere girls' and women's basic rights, opportunities and development are circumscribed, and societies are deprived of their skills. Sex discrimination is a major factor in poverty and a costly constraint on productivity. It pervades all institutions with strong reinforcement from culture and custom. Whereever and however it exists, it is unjust.

In summary, the "WID policy advocates" in the Foundation used strategies to produce and disseminate knowledge on women to convince

other professional staff, as well as to acquire political clout by affecting policy and procedural changes. Dissent to prevailing male world norms was couched in terms of high commitment to the basic goals of the Foundation and the desire to display this commitment through recognition of innovation in goal definition. The flat organization gave these women relatively easy access to the Foundation's leadership, who in turn quickly legitimized the women's issue as a topic of debate.

## Conclusions

The impetus for change regarding women's programming came from within in the Ford Foundation. The advocates women's programming succeeded in achieving significant resource allocations and changes in programming that integrated women's issues into the Foundation's work. The extent of implementation can most immediately be attributed to the success in fostering both management commitment and staff interest in gender issues that led to both programming, procedural, budgeting and staff changes.

This process, however, could not have happened without the favorable organizational conditions. The Ford Foundation's goal to find "innovative solutions to social problems" encourages experimentation and an active search for new ideas. This goal rests

on an idelogy that emphasizes equity and non-discrimination of social groups. This goal has also affected the nature of the staff, and the relatively easy access of staff to management. All these conditions were favorable for the consideration of gender issues. Regarding the Foundation's ties with its environment, the international women's movement found allies inside the Foundation, feminists who supported WID issues. As Ruth Leeds has shown in her analysis of the impact of protest movements on organizations, organizations with abstract normative goals are more responsive to social movements which attempt to redefine or broaden these goals.[49] Furthermore, the Foundation's self-perception as an "innovator" and a "pace-setter" has encouraged it to redefine issues, and in general act as an advocate for "social change". The Foundation's performance indicates that it has made some significant advances towards playing this role on behalf of "gender equality".

# NOTES

[1] Ford Foundation 1987 Annual Report.

[2] These statistics were made available to the author by the Ford Foundation, New York, March 1988.

[3] Calculated from internal documents and lists with projects that include "women" in their title made available to the author by the Ford Foundation.

[4] Ford Foundation, Created Equal, October 1986, p. 52.

[5] This analysis mainly is based on data furnished by the Ford Foundation Archives of projects between 1975 and 1988 which included the word "women" in their titles.

[6] Ford Foundation, Created Equal, October 1986, p. 26.

[7] Calculated by the author; approximate figure.

[8] Calculated from the appendix, Ford Foundation Women's Programs, An Information Paper for the Board of Trustees, December 1979, p. 40.

[9] This figure is approximate and is calculated by adding the program activities budget during 1980-87,and taking 35% of this figure {international division budget are approximately 35% of the total budget.}. $22 million spent between 1980-1988 for women's

programs is then divided by this number. The figures for the yearly program activities come from the 1986 Ford Foundation Annual Report, pp.92-93.

[10] See appendix, Ford Foundation Women's Programs, An Information Paper for the Board of Trustees, December 1979, p. 40.

[11] The general reserve serves as a flexible instrument for meeting unanticipated needs and responding to unusual program opportunities.

[12] Ford Foundation, "Interim Report on the Expanded Women's rogram", February 1981, p. 16.

[13] Ford Foundation interview, New York, March 1988.

[14] Ford Foundation interview, New York, March 1988.

[15] David Korten, "Third Generation NGO Strategies: A Key to People-Centered Development", World Development, Vol. 15, Autumn 1987, ed. Anne Gordon Drabek, p. 152.

[16] Ibid, p. 152.

[17] Ibid, p. 152.

[18] Ibid, p. 153.

[19] Ford Foundation Programs for Women, Plans and Budgets for Fiscal years 1980 and 1981, March 1980, p. 35.

[20] Ford Foundation, "Women's Programs: Past, Present and Future", Discussion paper, June 1986, p.49.

[21] Ford Foundation, Created Equal, New York, October 1986.

[22] Ford Foundation interview, New York, March 1988.

[23] Ford Foundation, Created Equal, October 1986. pp. 14-15.

[24] Ford Foundation, Women in the World, 1980, p. 2.

[25] Ford Foundation Programs for Women, An Information Paper for the Board of Trustees, December 1979, p. 35.

[26] Ford Foundation Programs for Women: Plans and Budgets for Fiscal years 1980 and 1981, March 1980, p. 3.

[27] Ford Foundation, "Women's programs: past, present and future", Discussion Paper, June 1986.

[28] Ford Foundation interview, New York, March 1988.

[29] C. Butler Flora, p. 102.

[30] Ford Foundation, Created Equal, October 1986, New York, p. 14.

[31] Cornelia Butler Flora, "Incorporating women in to international development programs: The political phenomenology of a private foundation",Women & Politics, Vol. 2, No. 4 {Winter 1982}, p. 104.

[32] Ford Foundation, Created Equal, October 1986.

[33] C. Butler Flora, 1982, p. 90.

[34] Ford Foundation interview, New York, March 1988.

[35] Ford Foundation Interview, New York, March 1988.

[36] Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967, p. 202.

[37] Author's conversation with Judith Tendler, March 1988, East Lansing, Michigan.

[38] C. Butler Flora, 1982, p. 93.

[39] C. Butler Flora, 1982, p. 94.

[40] C. Butler Flora, 1982, p. 96.

[41] A Delegated Authority Project in a case such as this provides Foundation staff with flexible funds to make small individual and institutional grants for program development and evaluation.

[42] Ford Foundation, "Interim Report on the Expanded Women's Program", February 1981.

[43] Ford Foundation interview, New York, March 1988

[44] Ford Foundation Programs for Women, An Information Paper for the Board of Trustees, December 1979.

[45] C. Butler Flora, 1982, p. 100.

[46] Ford Foundation interview, New York, 1988.

[47] Ford Foundation, June 1986 Report, p. 43.

[48] Ford Foundation,Women in the World, New York, 1980, p. 3.

[49] Ruth Leeds, "The Absorption of Protest: A Working Paper", New Perspectives in Organizational Research, W.W. Cooper, H.J. Leavitt, and M.W. Shelly II eds. New York: Wiley, 1964, pp. 115-135.

## Chapter 6:

## A Comparative Analysis

This study is a comparative analysis of the policy impact of the international women's movement on three international development agencies, the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the Ford Foundation from mid-1970s to mid-1980s.[1] In the 1970s, an international women's movement emerged one of whose objectives was the formulation and implementation of gender sensitive policies by governments and international development agencies.

The adverse impact of policies of development agencies toward the poor women of developing countries has been documented since the beginning of the 1970s. The problems were identified as a) engrained attitudes, values and perceptions of development personnel did not correspond to reality; b) a lack of information and data on women; and c) a lack of resources allocated to women. To remedy this situation, three major policy recommendations were made: 1) resocialization of personnel through training and education programs; 2) redirection of research and data collection on development to include women; and 3) the allocation of resources to employ more women development professionals to set up and monitor programs related to "women in development".[2] By the mid-1980s, there had been relatively implementation of these proposals. Explanations too often redirected attention to the original problems in a circular fashion.

response of international development agencies to gender issues and the explanations thereof.

The case studies that I examined show that "women in development issues" have been incorporated into the activities of the three agencies at varying levels. The question that I address is: How can this variance in the response of the three agencies, the UNDP, World Bank, and the Ford Foundation, be explained?

I have argued that the difference in response can best be understood as an interaction of organizational conditions and internal bargaining strategies. External pressure for change produces limited change unless organizational conditions provide a favorable context for the implementation of a new policy. Organizational conditions "circumscribe" and shape the kinds of strategies available to internal "policy entrepreneurs" or the "advocates" of a new policy. I have assessed the extent of change in performance by the programming, procedural, budgeting and staffing changes on behalf of new policy.[3]

## The international women's movement and "women in development" issues

The aim of a social movement is to enter to political realm and change the "rules of the game" in a way that takes the interests of its participants into account.[4] Social movements' very characteristics that help it succeed as a movement may often inhibit it once it enters the "political arena". Once a social movement enters the political realm, it is usually constrained by the limitations of this realm. There already exist many concrete, accepted "rules of the game" which newcomers are expected to abide by.[5] These rules are manifested not only in values and norms of behavior, but in the very institutions that govern the system and manage the conflicts within it. Thus, social movements have to frame their demands within existing institutions. These institutions, of course, by their ability to "reward" or "punish" efforts for change with "success" or "defeat" often can reshape social movements so that movements which conform themselves to the norms of behavior in order to participate successfully in political institutions often forsake their major goals for change.

As a global social movement, the international women's movement has sought to set general norms, principles and decision-making rules to be followed by developing country governments and non-governmental organizations, as well as donor governments and agencies involved in

development assistance. Gender issues got on the agenda of international development agencies as a result of the political and academic activities of an emerging international women's movement who used mainly United Nations conferences to voice their concerns.[6] Three priority shifts in development thinking during the 1970s created a more receptive climate to women's issues.[7] Increased focus on the world population "problem" was accompanied by the realization that women are key actors in determining population trends. Acknowledgement of the failure of the "trickle down" approach to improve the lives of the poor highlighted the need for more information on the poor. Research on the lives of Third world women would provide this base. Furthermore, women's traditional importance in meeting the basic needs of the family was recognized. The need for attention to women in development issues was justified on the basis of both efficiency and equity.[8]

The term "women in development" was coined by the women's committee of e Washington, D.C. chapter of the Society for International Development (SID/WID)[9] This group was instrumental in adding the Percy Amendment to the 1972 U.S. Foreign Assistance Act. The Percy Amendment stipulated that bilateral and multilateral assistance programs be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries.[10]

Beginning in 1970, the activities related to women within the United Nations system increased substantially. Members of the United

nations, the U.N. specialized agencies and all organs and agencies within the U.N. system were invited to cooperate in achieving the objectives and targets and to make available adequate staff and resources for "the advancement of women". In 1975 the World Conference of the International Women's Year was held in Mexico; the period of 1975-1985 was declared the U.N. decade for women. The Mexico conference was followed by a mid-decade conference in Copenhagen and an "end of the decade conference" in Nairobi in 1985. Many observers have noted that the impetus to include women's issues in U.N. conferences came from the informal women's networks, particularly supporters of women's issues in nongovernmental development agencies. By the end of the Nairobi conference, there was no question of the consolidation of an international women's movement on a global basis. The "Nairobi Forward-Looking strategies for the Advancement of Women" adopted by the Conference formulated guidelines regarding development assistance and women and stipulated that bilateral and multilateral agencies policies for women in development should involve all parts of donor organizatons and programmes and policies for women in development should be incorporated into all applicable aid and agency procedures relating to sectoral and project levels.[11]

## Explanations of Change in International Organizations: The Focus on Organizational Conditions

The international women's movement has sought to create a "regime", i.e. general norms and principles followed by all governments and donor agencies.[12] This has not happened but the international women's movement has succeeded in affecting some actors at the national and international levels. The focus of this study is how the women's movement has attempted to change the behavior of international development assistance agencies and to what extent it has been successsful.

The explanations of the performance of an organization can best be understood by focusing on organizational conditions, by examining nature of an organization's interaction with its relevant environment, its goals, procedures and structure, rather than focusing at the "state level" or the "regime level" as studies of international organization have hitherto done.

In international relations, the study of international organizations has focused on how external factors, mainly states, shape their behavior. From this perspective, the organizations of the international scene are merely creatures of the dominant actors, with little independent initiative, power or effectiveness. This perspective has been criticized for oversimplification and for not

they contain members who seek to use the organization for their own ends, often struggling with others over the content and allocation of the product. These dynamics produce a distinctive organizational character over time.[15]

Organizational sociology has made an important contribution to the study of organizations by discussing how organizational performance - effectiveness and efficiency -is affected by an interrelated set of conditions. It has shown that the interaction of organizational environments, goals, structure and procedures interact affect the character and performance of organizations.[16]

Organizations influence their environment and in turn are influenced by it; in other words, they are interdependent with their environment. The nature of the environment can be characterized as a "network" within which organizations exchange political support, information and financial resources,[17]Within this "network", actors enter into alliances with others in pursuit of certain goals. These alliances may be in formal or informal contexts, within or beyond the organization.[18]

Organizations attempt to shape the external environment in a manner that will safeguard the organization.[19]At the same time, environmental forces shape goals, boundaries and internal activities of organizations. In the case of international development agencies, their activities are influenced by other multilateral, bilateral or private funding agencies which may cofund their projets, supply research or personnel. How important actors in an agency's

taking into account other international and transnational actors such as international and non-governmental organizations, departments of governments or global social movements.

The "regime perspective" broke with the realists over the latter's exclusive consideration of the nation-state as the actor and proposed that there are "norms, principles and procedures around which actors expectations converge in a given area of international relations.[13] However, a shortcoming of regime analysis is that it does not offer the conceptual tools to analyze how different organizations may react differently because it assumes that one a regime is established at the international level, the rules, regulations, and decision-making procedures would be followed by all members of the regime.

To analyze the the differential response of development agencies to gender issues, then, analysis needs to be directed at the organizational level. What is usually not taken into account in the study of international organizations is that international organizations have large bureaucratic structures, professional-technical staffs, and engrained routines, all of which may be influenced by a variety of professional and organizational norms distinct from "state interests" or "regime norms and principles". In the sociological view[14] Organizations are not simple mechanical tools obediently doing the work of their creators, or following the norms, rules and procedures set by a "regime". Instead, they are live collectivities interacting with their environments, and

environment sees a particular issue will affect its treatment within that agency.

Organizational goals also affect performance and if a new issue fits into the organizational goals, its incorporation is more likely. All organizations are created to achieve some identifiable ends or goals. These are the "overt" goals, what agencies are set out to do. These goals do not change, even though different executive heads may emphasize different "strategies" to achieve them.[20] By choosing one goal over another, organizations also choose a particular "interpretation of the environment", a normative basis on which the chosen goal rests.

Some students of ideology include "goals" in their definition of ideology. For example, Cox and Jacobson offer the following components to organizational ideology: a) an interpretation of the environment as it relates to action by the organization; b) specification of goals to be attained in the environment; and c) a strategy of action for attaining these goals.[21] Another definition of organizational ideology is "sets of beliefs that provide explanations for phenomena, suggest appropriate actions and bind together it adherents.[22] For example, the Ford Foundation's goal "to provide innovative solutions to social problems" is based on a liberal ideology that recognizes the legitimacy and rights of all social groups, and this ideology of pluralism guides action as well as binds staff members together in their commitment to achieve the Foundation's goal.

ideology that recognizes the legitimacy and rights of all social groups, and this ideology of pluralism guides action as well as binds staff members together in their commitment to achieve the Foundation's goal.

In order to achieve their goals, organizations adopt certain procedures, methods and technologies. The particular, approaches and strategies utilized call for a particular kind of staff members with special skills, knowledge and training. Since different professions bring different policy definitions, data and methodologies to the policy arena,[23] the fit of a new issue into the existing procedures and its acceptance by the professional staff who utilize these procedures would increase the chances of its incorporation.

Different procedures may call for different organizational structures. To maintain performance, a more complex technology demands a more complex, differentiated structure or greater reliance on professionals; a more uncertain, less routinizable technology demands a flatter (that is, less hierarchic) organization with more effort given to the coordination of relatively independent parts.[24] On the whole, the literature on organization theory suggests that organizations that are small, that have a flat hierarcy and are decentralized tend to be more innovative.[25]

The internal bargaining process

The organizational conditions, set the stage within which individual actors bargain over implementation.[26] The bargaining strategies available to these actors are limited by the particular organizational conditions under which they work. The actors are members of the organization: the "advocates" for a new issue both in their formal and informal roles, other professional staff and the management.

Who are the "policy advocates"? Polsby suggests that policy innovations belong to interest groups and persons who take an interest in identifying new issues and who specialize in acquring and deploying knowledge about policies.[27] He calls these people "policy entrepreneurs" who, by the skillful mobilization of substantive justifications and the accurate identification and thoughtful cultivation of allies, can and do bring a policy into being.

Policy advocacy may be employed formally or informally. In their formal roles, policy advocates are the advocacy administrators. Advocacy administration is the method by which change theories can be linked to actual practice. Drawing on Anthony Dawns, advocacy administrators promote nonroutinized programs. As such advocacy administration is a necessary part of the life cycle of new programs.[28]

Policy advocates need both "political clout" and "new information"

to promote a new policy. These can be done through both formal and informal methods. A range of strategies to acquire "clout" can go from reviewing policy documents, providing input to these policy documents, attending high level management meetings, suggesting new policies to the management, to interviewing all new job candidates. To promote understanding and interest in a new issue among the staff, strategies could range from holding seminars, writing background papers, inviting outside speakers, attending staff meetings and providing an input into program development, to showing how a new issue fits the goals and procedures of the organization.

## The incorporation of gender issues in the activities of the UNDP, the World Bank and the Ford Foundation

The findings of this research show that the UNDP, World Bank and the Ford Foundation, vary along the performance indicators from a relatively low level to a relatively higher level of performance on WID issues.

Table 9

Projects related to women and their budgets in the UNDP, World Bank and the Ford Foundation

| | UNDP (1978-86) | World Bank (1979-1984) | Ford Foundation (1978-86) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Projects/Grants related to Women | | | |
| Number | 17 | 37 | 280 |
| As a percent of all projects | .002 | .02 | .06 |
| Amount spent in $(000) | $17,5M | $1,664M | $21,2M |
| As a percent of overall budget | .0001 | .02 | .06 |

Source: Compiled by the author

The table above shows the number of projects/grants that focused on women, either when the only or the major beneficiaries were women, and the dollar amounts spent on them. The projects that I have included above do not comprise all projects that UNDP and the World Bank have listed as including women. I have only included those World Bank, and UNDP projects that are directed at women as the only or the major beneficiaries for the purpose of comparison because those are the only types of projects that data was available on the Ford Foundation. Many of the other Foundation grants allocate resources to women but there is no reliable way of classifying them. Therefore, only those projects that aim at women either because they are the major beneficiaries or the only beneficiaries can be compared. This, of course, presents a methodological problem of not being able to present evidence of the extent of "mainstreaming" of gender issues in all projects, even though that is one of the objectives of WID policy.

The time periods chosen for each agency were dictated by data availability; however, since they are roughly similar, they permit comparison. The numbers reflect approximate amounts and percentages. The overall budget in UNDP means the total Indicative Planning Figures (IPFs) for that period. In the World Bank, the overall budget means the total amount of project loans during the given period, and the Ford Foundation total budget figure is based on the International Division budget (or the Developing Country Programs budget as it was called after the restructuring of the Foundation) in

the given period.

In all three agencies, the percent of projects related to women and their share of respective budgets are relatively low. The table does show, however, that there is a variance in the percentage of WID projects and the percentage of funds allocated to it: UNDP's performance is the lowest; in fact, the percentage of projects related to women and the budget allocated to them are almost negligible. The World Bank comes next with a 2% figure for both the percentage of projects and loan amounts accorded to projects related to women. The Ford Foundation leads the three with a 6% figure for the percentage of projects directed at women and their budget share.

The performance on WID issues, of course, cannot only be evaluated on budget figures and number of WID projects, although they provide figures for comparison, however approximate. The discussion below compares procedural, programmatic and staffing changes.

In the UNDP, there were no concrete guidelines until 1986, and no evaluation procedure to account for women's participation. There have however, been two thematic evaluations on "women in development" coordinated by UNDP. The most recent one found that less than one in six projects that were reported to affect women were planned to involve them in their implementation. The percentage of projects that involve women is miniscule (.002) and the resources they commanded even less (.0001). UNDP has supported four global and interregional projects related to women. The UNDP projects that

involved women are agricultural and rural develpment, small scale enterprises, education, water supply and urban development, population, health and nutrition in that order. Again, considering that UNDP had 40 global and interregional projects in operation in 1985, four global projects indicate limited support. Up to 1986, only one person, a women in development officer, was formally assigned and paid to integrate gender issues into UNDP programs and projects.

Table 10

UNDP, World Bank and Ford Foundation projects involving women by sector

| | UNDP | World Bank | Ford Foundation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture and rural development | 15 | 142 | 127 |
| Small scale enterprises | 10 | | |
| Education | 6 | 79 | 160 |
| Water supply and urban development | 5 | 41 | |
| Population, health and nutrition | 2 | 31 | 35 |
| Technical assistance | 2 | 1 | |
| Energy | | 8 | |
| Legal rights | | | 20 |
| Institutional support | | | 36 |

*This table is compiled by the author using information furnished by the UNDP, World Bank and the Ford Foundation. The totals are

different from Table 1 because the projects above include those that have a women's component, as well as those directed at women as the majoror only beneficiaries. The category of agriculture and rural development in the case of the Ford Foundation includes income generating projects for poor women in both rural and urban areas.

Turning to the World Bank, the percentage of projects that included women in the appraisal reports is higher than in the UNDP. There have been little procedural changes in the Bank to integrate WID issues, except a paragraph in the Operations Manual under "sociological analysis" that many staff members were unaware of. Sector and country level work have included women not across the board, but in particular sectors and country studies. The sectors in the Bank that have been most responsive to the role of women, as judged by the inclusion of women in, projects, reports, publications, research are population, health and nutrition, education, agriculture and rural development, urban development and water supply and small scale enterprises in that order.

Country level work is beginning to include gender issues; one of the new initiatives of the WID office is to develop "WID country strategies" that would influence the Bank's policy advise and lending to developing countries. The Bank's publication and research programs reflect little interest in gender issues. There are no more than 10 publications that deal directly with gender issues in development; in relation to women, the Bank's research program has focused on women's status as a determinant of fertility decline. Until 1987, there has been an Adviser on Women in Development with two or three support staff, charged with the responsibility of incorporating gender issues into the World Bank programs.

The Ford Foundation went farthest, however, in setting up specific

procedures, and formally involving staff members. The impetus for change regarding women's programming came from within the Ford Foundation. Procedures that affected response to gender issues include, the "four to one" matching fund mechanism that provided the incentive to staff to focus on women's grants, the delegated authority projects, the external affirmative action policy that focused the attention of both staff and grantees on gender issues, and the inclusion of the Women's Program Group in all grant-making decisions. The budgeting process approved by the Board of Trustees in 1980 contained a built-in funding incentive, offering a four-to-one match for regular budget funds directed to support women's grants. This procedures provided an incentive for staff members to increase grants related to women. The delegated authority projects provided the staff with flexible funds to make small individual and institutional grants for programs development and evaluation. Another procedural change was an "external affirmative action policy" that required that "Request for Grant Action forms" include tabular presentation and interpretation of data on the gender of boards and staff of all grantees, and the grantee give appropriate attention to the provision of opportunties to women.

Beginning in 1976, one and a half positions were funded under a delegated auhority project in the international division in New York to provide assistance to field offices in instituting women's programming. The full position was that of a "circuit-riding" program officer, based in the headquarters in New York, to help the

overseas offices develop women-specific grants. When women staff members were hired, part of their responsibilities was to explore program possibilities related to women. In 1980, a full-time officer in charge of Foundation-wide women's programs was funded. To oversee the expanding grant program, the Foundation created the Women's Program Group made up of program staff. Reporting regularly to the President and the Board of Trustees, the WPG sought to increase awareness of sex discrimination and to propose solutions by inviting guest speakers, holding seminars and sending relevant publications to field offices. In many field offices, the Foundation added new staff members who focused on women's issues or assigned a staff member to be responsible for women's issues.

All program officers were instructed by the management to pay attention to WID issues in their particular program areas by management. The Foundation policy was to avoid setting up an administrative unit for WID (except right at the beginning) but to "mainstream" it by holding all program officers responsible for its consideration. The extent of programming changes (particularly the attention to women in the "rural poverty" area), procedural changes, and the budget share of women's projects all indicate that the extent of response has been highest in the Ford Foundation among the case studies. How can we account for variance of the impact of the international women's movement on the three agencies?

The explanations of the variance in response to gender issues

The organizational conditions of the UNDP were least conducive to an extensive response to WID issues. The structure of the tripartite system of which UNDP is a part, the goal and procedures of UNDP has not favorable for any systematic consideration of gender issues.

UNDP's goal is to be the central funding and coordinating mechanism of the United Nations for technical assistance. This goal is constrained by the structure of the tripartite system of which UNDP is a part. The tripartite system allows considerable voice to recipient governments and U.N. executing agencies in the allocation of UNDP resources. The General Assembly in 1970 not only defined UNDP's role in the U.N. system as the central fund for financing technical cooperation activities of the U.N. system, but also assigned it a leadership role in the programming and implementation of U.N. development assistance. For a variety of reasons, the U.N. development system evolved in ways that differed significantly from this conception. A major reason is that this goal contradicts with the authority of executing agencies since UNDP is required to give "first consideration to agencies within the U.N. system as executing agencies." Another reason is the voice of donor governments in UNDP affairs as contributors of funds, and the voice of recipient

governments who have come to regard the IPFs (Indicative Planning Figures) as firm commitments.

The relevant actors in UNDP's environment, then, have a significant voice in UNDP's activities. Few governments or U.N. executing agencies have used this influence in WID issues. When WID issues were supported by some of these actors, there has been a response from UNDP. Largely, as a result of the pressure of the Nordic governments and Canada, UNDP now has a Division of Women in Development with a Division Chief and three professionals. Also the bilateral aid agencies of these governments have co-funded UNDP projects focused on women. The significant influence of external actors suggests that internal bargaining strategies should focus on getting support from external actors, and indeed, "WID policy advocates" inside UNDP have concentrated on forming alliances with gender sensitive actors in UNDP's environment.

In general, the decentralized nature of the tripartite system has meant that there is a lack of definition of responsibilities (and commensurate authority) with respect to project management. In the WID case, this has led to "passing the buck" syndrome and of disclaiming responsibility. A good example of this is the existence of a U.N. Women's Fund, UNIFEM, and the perception within UNDP that it therefore is not responsible for incorporating WID issues into its own activities.

This decentralized system has not been entirely unfavorable for WID

issues. In fact, it has allowed gender sensitive UNDP staff in the field offices to play the "instigator" by bringing together donors and recipient governments together in particular activities.

UNDP's goal also shapes its procedures and the kind of staff it employs. As a central administrative mechanism, UNDP's staff and procedures have reflected the emphasis on administrative procedures and management skills, rather than, for example, technical skills or problem-solving skills. This means, that UNDP staff as "managers" have relatively little interest in learning and experimenting with a new substantive area. The normative basis of UNDP's goal has also encouraged the lack of a substantive focus. UNDP "coordinates" technical assistance according to member governments' priorities; it does not impose its own view of development. In other words, its ideology emphasizes the "self-reliance" and "self-determination" of recipient governments, and the avoidance of imposing any external definitions of development. This has meant that UNDP has lacked a substantive focus and has reflected the interests of its partners and the many mandates assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Its own decentralized structure with 116 field offices has also encouraged it to practice "local decision-making" where outcomes have depended on the particular interaction between the ResRep, the recipient goverment and executing agencies. The implications for gender policy of these organizational features is that gender issues have been considered on an ad hoc basis, generally shaped by the

external pressure of gender-sensitive member governments, and the personal interest of individual UNDP staff members.

When we turn to the World Bank, the evidence shows that its response to WID issues have been relatively more extensive than the UNDP. The Bank is relatively more independent of its environment compared to UNDP, partly because it raises some of its funds in money markets. The Bank, as the largest lending institution to the Third World and as a major institution that provides technical expertise to the Third World is in a position to influence others. This does not mean, of course, that the Bank is not responsive to its environment. The actors that can influence Bank policy most are probably the U.S. government (with 18 percent of voting rights) and the other donor agencies who fund Bank-executed projects. The U.S. government, who is in a position to influence Bank policy, pressured the Bank in a limited way to pay attention to WID issues. There is evidence that the Bank responded when donor agencies like the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) funded Bank-executed projects and pressured the Bank to consider WID issues in these projects. The findings also show that the World Bank partook in gender-sensitive projects when its partners demonstrated gender sensitivity in particular circumstances, but has not been willing to take the initiative.

This resistance can be explained by the limited fit of WID issues into the Bank's goals and procedures. The Bank's goals are increased

profitability as a Bank, and increased economic growth (with reliance on the market mechanism). To the extent that knowledge on WID was presented and justified in a way that was instrumental to the goal of "economic growth" and "profitability", it has been acceptable. Based on this justification, WID issues have been considered in some projects, country studies and sectors. But ultimately, the consideration of WID issues has to be shown to lead to greater benefit to cost ratios to command more resources. WID issues generally have encountered resistance as part of "social analysis".

The organizational conditions in the Ford Foundation, have been most conducive to the acceptance of WID issues. The Foundation, as a private organization, is not accountable to "member governments" like multilateral aid agencies. It is only accountable to its Board of Trustees who are responsible for "broad problem definition" of Foundation's activities. In the WID case, the Board supported the incorporation of gender issues into Foundation activities.

The Foundation, with its normative goal of "finding innovative solutions to social problems" rather than, for example, the goal of "increasing profitability" or "coordinating technical assistance" is likely to be more responsive to social movements which attempt to redefine and broaden these goals. When a social movement - such as the international women's movement- confronts such an organization, its demands are less likely to be dismissed out of hand. Social movements, such as the civil rights movement and the American women's

movement, have also found a responsive environment in the Ford Foundation. It seems, therefore, that the only agency, among the three agencies, that the international women's movement could have a direct influence on has been the Ford Foundation.

The Foundation's goal "to find innovative solutions to social problems" rests on an ideology that emphasizes equity and anti-discrimination. The root of social problems is seen as stemming from the unequal treatment and discrimination of some groups in society. Given that the objective of the international women's movement is to contribute and benefit from development on an equal basis with men, the relevance of gender issues could be justified on the basis of the Foundation's goals and ideology.

The Foundation's goal has shaped its procedures, structure and the kind of staff it employs. The procedures emphasize search and solution of social problems; the staff employed are committed to social issues. They are mainly "social scientists" with backgrounds in academia, advocacy and research organizations. The structure emphasizes easy access to management and decision-making power of field representatives encourages finding innovative solutions to local problems.

Given these organizational features, it is not surprising that acceptance of gender issues was relatively easier and that the impetus for change came from inside the Foundation. There were committed feminists among staff members, who were able to take

advantage of these favorable organizational conditions to acquire the support of the management and other professional staff.

## Conclusions

In general, what implications can be drawn from these findings about the kinds of conditions and strategies that are conducive to performance?

It appears that the pressure from the international women's movement and other gender sensitive actors have had an important but limited influence on the internal performance of the three agencies, supporting my argument that external pressure is necessary but not sufficient for change in performance. The international women's movement' impact on the Ford Foundation was most extensive because the Foundation, in general, attentive to social movements. The World Bank and the UNDP were influenced by the international women's movement indirectly, through the pressure exerted by gender sensitive donor governments and agencies with whom they cooperated in development activities. In fact, the very existence of gender sensitive actors that cooperated with the World Bank or the UNDP in specific development activities promoted the consideration of gender issues in these agencies.

Any systematic changes in performance, as assessed by programming, budgeting, procedural and staffing, required that gender issues fit into (or at least not contradict with) organizational goals and procedures. The goals and procedures of the UNDP were least conducive to the consideration of gender issues, while the Ford Foundation's was the most conducive among the three cases.

The explanatory power of organizational structure in understanding performance is less straightforward. A decentralized structure (like UNDP's) in terms of both decision-making and location encourages individual incentive, but also leads to the dispersion of responsibility. In the Ford Foundation's case, decentralization, i.e. the existence of field offices and the discretion in grant-making allowed to field representatives has promoted the consideration of WID issues, where staff members were already interested in WID, but inhibited the consideration of WID in others. While the management in the Ford Foundation was supportive, it took longer for field offices to accept WID. The Foundation has a flat hierarchy, and this structural characteristics helped the WID advocates to gain easy access to management.

What effect to organizational conditions have on strategies for internal bargaining? The experiences of WID advocates in the three agencies imply that bargaining strategies need to include both the solicitication of high-level management support to acquire "clout" and the provion of "information" for the promotion of new issue as a

relevant substantive issue worth of the professional staff's attention. The advocates have to be aware of the particular organizational conditions they work in and adjust their strategies accordingly. For example, in the UNDP, the WID advocates were unable to get internal support; instead, they allied themselves with WID advocates in other multilateral and bilateral development agencies who were in a position to influence UNDP's management. In the World Bank, internally oriented strategies that packaged the WID message as "cost effective" and promoted close relations with the management were more successful than external strategies that focused on public relations. The WID advocates in the Ford Foundation, on the other hand, targetted key decision-makers in the Foundation to gain influence and change procedures on one hand, and formed an informal coalition to disseminate information on gender issues that later received resources from management and became institutionalized. In summary, from the experience of the three agencies, the advocacy methods that work best appear to require a strong intellectual commitment to a new issue, the formation of an informal coalition which targets key authority holders to acquire "clout", and the professional staff to disseminate written and/or oral information, and the willingness to repackage the "WID message" to fit the organizational goals. Another important implication here is that strategies for change are more likely to be successful if the impetus for change comes from within. In the Ford Foundation, the impetus for change came from within, whereas the World Bank and the UNDP, the

impetus was external.

In summary, this study illustrated that different organizational conditions may lead to different levels or performance on the same issue. External pressure is necessary but not sufficient in explaining the extent of change. The nature of an organization's goals and procedures appear to be most important in determining the extent of change. This implies that a social movement's efforts at policy impact would remain limited unless professionals inside the agency are willing to act as "policy entrepreneurs" and employ bargaining strategies, within the constraints set by organizational conditions, to persuade the management and other professional staff of the necessity for change.

Ultimately, the international women's movement aims to change the power relations between men and women by the reallocation of resources to women. This implies not only a change in the discourse gender relations but in the discourse of "development". Confronted with existing institutions with established ideologies, the policy impact of the women's movement depends upon how well gender issues fit the organizational goals, and procedures, and whether some staff members are willing to play the role of policy advocate.

# Notes

[1] I define international development agencies as all those that work in developing countries in the field of development assistance, whether they are multilateral, bilateral or private.

[2] B. Rogers, The Domestication of Women: The Discrimination in Developing Societies, London: Tavistock, 1980; K. Staudt, "Bureaucratic Resistance to Women's Programs: The Case of Women in Development", in E. Bonaparth, ed. Women, Power and Policy, New York: Pergamon Press, 1982; A. Germain, "Poor Rural Women: A Policy Perspective", 30 (2), 1976-77.

[3] This research is based on interviews and document analysis. The interviews were conducted by the author at the World Bank, UNDP and Ford Foundation headquarters in the Spring and Summer of 1986 and Spring of 1988. They were based on a stratified sample that sought to cover the staff and management from each relevant office. The interviews were open-ended and lasted from 20 minutes to 60 minutes; the documents analyzed were both internal documents made available to the author and public documents published by and about the agencies in question.

[4] E.E. Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960.

[5] Jo Freeman, The Politics of Women's Liberation, New York: Longman, 1975.

[6] See, e.g. Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development, New York: St.Martin's Press, 1970; Irene Tinker, ed. Women in Washington: Advocates for Public Policy, London: Sage, 1983 and Georgina Ashworth, "The United Nations Women's Conference and International Linkages with the Women's Movement", in E. willetts, ed. Pressure Groups in the Global System, London: Francis Pinter, 1982.

[7] Mayra Buvinic, "Has development assistance worked? Observations on programs for poor women in the Third World", paper presented at the annual meeting of the society for International Development, Baltimore, Maryland, June 1982.

[8] Kathleen Staudt, Women, Foreign Assistance, and Advocacy Administration, New York: Praeger, 1985.

[9] Irene Tinker, ed. Women in Washington: Advocates for Public Policy, London: Sage, 1983.

[10] U.S. Congress, House, Percy Amendment, Pub. L 93-189, 93rd Congress, S.1443, December 17, 1973, Section 113.

[11] United Nations, The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, Nairobi, Kenya,

15-26 July, 1985, pp. 78-80.

[12] The international relations literature calls these general norms, principles, and decision-making procedures "regimes". See S. Krasner, International Regimes, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983.

[13] Stephen Krasner, ed. International Regimes, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983.

[14] See Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949; and Leadership in Administration, New York: Harper & Row, 1957; Charles Perrow, Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay, 3rd. Ed. New York: Random House, 1986.

[15] Gayl D. Ness and Steven R. Brechin, "Bridging the Gap: International Organizations as Organizations," International Organization, 42, 2, Spring 1988.

[16] See, e.g. Richard Scott, Organizations: Rational, Natural and Open Systems, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1987.

[17] Stuart Langton, "Networking and the Environmental Movement," in Environmental Leadership, ed. Stuart Langton, Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1984.

[18] Peter Blau, The Dynamics of Bureacracy, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

[19] Lawrence Farley, Change Processes in International Organizations, Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman, 1982.

[20] Robert Cox, "The Executive Head: An Essay in Leadership in International Organization,: in International Organization: Politics and Process, Leland Goodrich and David Kay, eds. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973.

[21] Robert Cox and Harold Jacobson, The Anatomy of Influence, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974, p. 22.

[22] Brown and Brown, "Organizational Microcosms and Ideological Negotiation," in Negotiating in Organizations, M.H. Bazerman and R.J. Lewicki, eds. Sage, 1983.

[23] Jack Knott, "The Multiple and Ambiguous Roles of Professionals in Public Policymaking," Knowledge, Creation, Diffusion, Utilization, Vol. 8, No.1, September 1986.

[24] Ness and Brechin, " Bridging the Gap: International Organizations as Organizations", International Organization, 42, 2, Spring 1988.

[25] Lawrence Farley, Change Processes in International Organizations, Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman, 1982.

[26] Eugene Bardach, The Implementation Game, Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1978.

[27] Nelson Polsby, Policy Innovation in the U.S., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984, pp. 172-3.

[28] Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, Boston: Little & Brown, 1966.

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