

GERMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

Gender and Poverty Reduction

New Conceptual Approaches in
International Development Cooperation

Birte Rodenberg

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German Development Institute

Tulpenfeld 4 · D-53113 Bonn

Telephone +49(0)228 94927-0 · Fax +49(0)228 94927-130

die@die-gdi.de

www.die-gdi.de

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Foreword

Recent approaches to international development policy stress the growing importance that cross-cutting themes and social issues have attracted since the 1990s. With poverty reduction embodied in the UN Millennium Declaration as an overarching development objective, the fact that women are disproportionately affected by extreme poverty has once again come to the attention of the community of bi- and multilateral donors. With a view to supporting the conceptual work of the "Gender Equality" and "Poverty Reduction" Divisions of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) in these two fields and the areas at which they interface, the BMZ's Research Division commissioned the German Development Institute (DIE) to conduct a research and advisory study on the question of "Gender Issues and Poverty Reduction in Development Cooperation."

In close coordination with the BMZ divisions "Equal Rights, Child and Women's Rights, Participation and Socioculture" and "Poverty Reduction and Social Policy," and under the terms of a contractual agreement, the author of the present study prepared a number of contributions on approaches and means to accord enhanced consideration to gender in the concept of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP). The author conducted case studies in Ghana and Kenya in this connection. Aside from these short-term empirical surveys, the author conducted a number of different cross-sectional analyses and literature-based studies on the incorporation and implementation of the gender-mainstreaming approach in national and international development policy papers.

The results of all points covered by the overall research and advisory project have gone into the making of the present report. The study was accompanied and supported by a staff of professional researchers at the GDI.

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Abbreviations

ACP	African Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
APRODEV	Association of World Council of Churches related Development Organisations in Europe
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung / German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CBO	Community-based Organization
CCGD	Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development
CDF	Comprehensive Development Framework
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSP	Country Strategy Paper(s)
DAC POVNET	DAC Network on Poverty Reduction
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DC	Development Cooperation
DG	Directorate General
ENOWID	Enhancing Opportunities for Women in Development
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ERP	Economic Recovery Program
ESAF	Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility
ESC	Economic Social, and Cultural
EU	European Union
FEMNET	African Women's Development and Communication Network
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GAD	Gender and Development
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GEMS	Gender Equity Mobilization Support Unit (in Kenya's agriculture ministry)
GENDERNET	DAC Network on Gender Equality
GERA	Gender and Economic Reforms in Africa
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (Ghana's PRSP)
GROOTS	Network of Grassroots Organizations
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HPI	Human Poverty Index
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IDA	International Development Association

IFI	International Financial Institution(s)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISODEC	Integrated Social Development Center
JSA	Joint Bank and Fund Staff Assessment
KANU	Kenya African National Union (ruling party in Kenya until 2002)
KDDP	Kilifi District Development Program
MDG(s)	Millennium Development Goal(s)
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition (ruling party in Kenya since 12/2002)
NDC	National Democratic Congress (ruling party in Ghana until 11/2000)
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NPEP	National Poverty Eradication Plan (Kenya)
NPP	New Patriotic Party (ruling party in Ghana since 12/2000)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAMSCAD	Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Consequences of Adjustment
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (IMF)
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SPAS	Social Policy Advisory Services (GTZ program)
TGNP	Tanzanian Gender Networking Program
TWN	Third World Network Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
VENRO	Verband Entwicklungspolitik deutscher Nichtregierungsorganisationen
WB	World Bank
WDR	World Development Report
WID	Women in Development

Executive Summary

Despite the progress made over the years in improving the social and economic status of women and girls, the gender situation worldwide is still characterized by structural inequality and anachronisms. The international agreements negotiated over the last decade at the UN level oblige the governments of United Nations members to eliminate political, legal, and social discrimination against women in all spheres of society.

Against the background of increasing political awareness of issues of social and human development, bilateral and multilateral donors have committed themselves, in the UN Millennium Development Goals as well as in national action programs, to the overarching goal of reducing extreme poverty by half by the year 2015. These programs are founded on the recognition that extreme poverty not only makes itself felt in inadequate incomes (less than US \$ 1 per day) but is multidimensional and may also take the form of denial of rights and lack of opportunities to participate in society and exercise political influence. Addressing gender inequalities and adopting approaches to promote gender equality is here acknowledged to be a cross-cutting task.

In this connection, great development-policy significance is attached to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) adopted within the scope of the enhanced debt relief initiative for highly indebted poor countries (HIPC II). PRSPs are intended to link structural economic reforms with social policy measures for poverty reduction. Among the criteria PRSPs must fulfill are not only national ownership and a broad participation of civil society in their preparation but also consideration of the multidimensional structure of poverty. The new instruments for steering the development of highly indebted countries are to take a comprehensive approach and to integrate cross-cutting issues of social inequality.

However, when international policy guidelines are translated into country strategies and national poverty strategy papers, especially PRSPs, significant policy evaporation can be observed in the gender approach. A rhetorical alignment with the interna-

tional guidelines can indeed be noted (with phrases like "gender" and "gender equity" replacing "women"), but the corresponding transsectoral strategies are not developed: those which aim to change framework conditions and not merely improve the access of women to resources at the target group level.

The present study investigates further developments in international discussions and selected donor approaches in respect to their conceptual linkage of poverty reduction with gender equity. One object is to determine whether gender equality is a development goal in its own right, or whether it is (still) regarded only as an efficient means of achieving sustainable poverty reduction. Secondary analyses and two specially conducted case studies (Ghana, Kenya) are then used to examine, from the gender perspective, the extent to which the PRSP approach has brought about the desired paradigmatic shift in the formation of development strategies.

Global trends in poverty and social inequality

At the start of the 21st century, the global poverty situation is marked by contradictory trends. On the one hand, the social situation of the absolutely poor is improving in the long term. On the other, the income gap between rich and poor countries yawns ever wider. Within individual societies, too, the poverty gap is widening. This differentiation within individual societies affects women especially: a large proportion of the 1.3 billion people living in absolute poverty are women, though there is too little gender-specific data to substantiate the often-quoted figure of 70 %. Nor are there sufficient data to prove that there is a trend toward a "feminization of poverty."

On the basis of recent comparative data on the implementation of international goals for social development (education and health), no uniform trends can be determined, but certain advances, i.e. a rising Human Development Index (HDI), are to be seen in poor countries. Broken down by gender, there is likewise a positive tendency in relation to access to basic social services. Thus the global average school enrolment rate for girls is now 94 %, as a result of an increase in Southeast Asia. New opportunities have also emerged due to an increase in gainful

employment of women. Nevertheless, the rise in the proportion of paid workers who are women to ca. 30 %, does not automatically improve their economic status, for their earnings continue to be only 75 % of men's wages. The gender-specific division of labor, which assigns to women the greater part of the unpaid reproductive work that ensures family survival, remains unchanged.

Overall, gender inequality remains high; and in all countries of the world the Gender Development Index (GDI) is lower than the HDI. This means that in poor societies as in rich ones, women have markedly less chance to lead their lives in dignity and prosperity.

The social status of women in today's global society is determined to a substantial extent by factors of legal, political, cultural, and religious discrimination. The relation between poverty and lack of rights is the overriding concern of the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), which seeks to gauge inequality in political and economic opportunities (proportion of women in national parliaments). Comparisons of the various indices introduced by the UNDP show that women's chances to share political and economic power, and thereby to play a role in shaping social development, are significantly lower than their chances of sharing in the more fundamental aspects of human development.

Poverty and gender: The change in development-policy approaches

Measures designed to promote women's interests and equal rights have long been an integral component of official and nongovernmental international development cooperation. The emphasis placed by newer development approaches on gender inequality and on elimination of social inequities as an important aspect of comprehensive poverty reduction can be traced back first to the further development of women- and gender-specific concepts, and second to the change in poverty-oriented approaches:

Because of their responsibility for satisfying basic needs and ensuring survival, women in low-income households have been considered as an important target group for development assistance measures

since the 1970s. The goal of "integrating women in development" (WID) through increased economic productivity in and for the market was linked both to the intention of reducing poverty and to hopes that this would advance the cause of women. In fact, however, WID programs brought only minimal financial gains and no increase at all in political rights. The efficiency approach was replaced by the gender approach (Gender and Development, GAD) of the 1990s. The most important instrument here is gender analysis, which is used to identify gender-specific interests and priorities for development projects. Practical needs related to securing survival are distinguished from strategic interests concerned with achieving structural changes in the relationship between women and men. The central strategy for equal participation by both sexes in the development process is *gender mainstreaming* (GM), the integration of a gender-differentiated perspective into every phase of all measures.

Bilateral donors seek to help close the gender gap through a dual strategy (specific promotion measures and GM). Gender mainstreaming has been elevated to the rank of a binding principal within the international donor community (Beijing Platform for Action, Amsterdam Treaty, DAC Guidelines, etc.). Nevertheless, there are large unclear areas, problems in understanding and differing interpretations of the approach among institutions. A lack of resources and of institutionalization of this cross-cutting task stand in the way of consistent implementation, as does the fact that central spheres of activity such as economic and financial policy, trade, and infrastructure are generally considered "gender-neutral."

The change in development strategies, which led to a conceptual approach to poverty, have helped create an opening for gender issues in development policy that had hitherto been oriented primarily to economic factors promoting growth. Following such direct poverty reduction approaches as the basic needs strategy, the human development approach (UNDP) in particular turned the spotlight on human development processes (equity, empowerment, sustainability and productivity).

The results achieved in 1995, by the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, also contributed significantly to a shift in priorities from basic needs to basic rights. A broad conception of human rights, including economic, social, and cultural (ESC) rights, has taken the place of sectoral approaches to poverty reduction and encouraged recognition of the rights of the poor (and of poor women) as legal persons. Progress has also been made in gaining recognition for the productive but unpaid work performed by women.

The development goals set out in the United Nations Millennium Declaration (Millennium Development Goals, MDGs) are accepted as the lowest common denominator of the international community and constitute an important point of departure in the development-policy debate on reducing extreme poverty by half by 2015. They include eight goals. The third goal is: "Promote gender equality and empower women." Gender equality is an independent goal, listed separately from the goals of reducing child mortality (Goal 4) and improving maternal health (Goal 5). However, members of the DAC Network on Gender Equality (GENDERNET) have criticized the fact that:

- No specific objectives are stated that put a figure on the political and economic empowerment aimed for. Improvements in the unequal economic situation of women, measured in terms of their share of paid work in the non-agricultural sector, are not linked to quantitative indicators. The goal of increasing the proportion of women occupying decision-making positions, in parliaments in this instance, is linked neither to a timeframe nor to the 30 % goal set by UNIFEM.
- The most significant structural and macro-policy goal, Goal 8 ("Develop a global partnership for development") ignores the gender dimension.

Donor concepts compared

The fourth chapter of the present study analyzes the new guidelines and policy papers of the OECD/DAC, the EU, the BMZ, and the World Bank from the gender perspective. All of them can

rightfully claim to be based on a multidimensional conception of poverty. The cross-cutting task of "promoting gender equality and empowering women" is referred to mostly in connection with governance topics (sustainable development, systematic participation on the part of those affected and civil society, as well as good governance) and is, in terms of its goals, a key factor in the elimination of poverty. The concepts can also be considered progressive in that they adopt the terminology of the gender approach and do not class women as a homogeneous "vulnerable group." The interrelationships between economic marginalization and non-economic impacts, e.g., growing violence toward women and time poverty, are raised as issues for discussion.

The current poverty reduction strategy papers of donors are based on a conglomeration of the policies on women inherent in development approaches to date.

- Measures to promote women's interests, which aim to achieve economic integration by strengthening the productive roles of women and to meet practical gender concerns (better access to credit and resources, land, water, education), are combined with programs that enhance the capacities of women to demand their social and political rights (empowerment) and expand their opportunities (to choose).
- To varying extents, elements of a rights-based approach are cited (the right to dignity and freedom from violence). Although "equality" is certainly considered a development goal in its own right, it is not regarded by development institutions as a part of their mission.
- These policy elements are linked to and conveyed by a win-win strategy that integrates various goals and norms and that makes the advantages of gender mainstreaming clear to all actors in the development process: it stresses that reducing gender inequality in the social sectors of education and health leads to economic growth (better governance and less corruption in countries where women occupy more decision-making position in politics and public life).

A win-win scenario with a high degree of interaction between greater gender equity, economic growth, and effective poverty reduction does indeed afford an appropriate framework for bringing together the hitherto largely separate debates on economic growth on the one hand and social inequality on the other. But this combined strategy does not represent a basic shift in current development policy with regard to the gender policy of donor institutions.

Contrary to the declared intention of integrating gender into *all* fields of policy and action, the central areas in which donors are engaged (trade, peace and security policy, environment and infrastructure) display little or no openness to women's policy issues (the EU's DC; BMZ poverty program). The step from the concept to development policy practice is also critical. When country or priority area papers are drafted, the conceptual goals tend to "evaporate." What was declared to be gender mainstreaming all of a sudden assumes the form of individual measures added on to compensate for discrimination against women in the social sphere (EU country strategy papers).

Noble-sounding concepts must, however, be carefully examined in terms of their practical impacts. This applies first and foremost to donor macroeconomic policies. The stabilization measures that go hand in hand with lending (by the World Bank), and the privatization of public goods and services in particular, are not adequately reviewed with a view to their gender-specific impacts.

Gender in national poverty reduction strategies (PRSPs)

An analysis of more recent donor concepts for poverty reduction strategies reveals a trend toward more complex approaches which take account of social inequalities between men and women. Donors also provide numerous concepts and guidelines for the country-specific poverty reduction strategy papers which highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) are required prepare in order to qualify for debt relief. These expressly point out that PRSPs must be comprehensive, to avoid the mistakes of structural adjustment programs, and that they must address the

cross-cutting issues of good governance, community development and decentralization, the environment, and HIV/AIDS. In a separate chapter of its PRSP Sourcebook, the World Bank both refers to the necessity of integrating gender into the processes and outlines appropriate entry points.

All the principles embodied in the PRSPs have led to high expectations, both that democracy will be fostered in the process of preparing them and that the new planning and steering instruments will in fact have poverty-reducing impacts. But in the fourth year since their introduction, the results to date (33 full and 48 interim PRSPs) have rightly been subjected to fundamental criticism. One criticism is that nongovernmental stakeholder groups are only involved pro forma to meet donor specifications. In many PRS processes participation is limited to general consultation procedures from which central issues of macroeconomic policy remain excluded. Important demands raised by critical civil society groups, which have overcome considerable skepticism to commit themselves to their country's process, are no more included in the final paper than are alternative visions or new development paradigms. The PRSP approach, originally dubbed a "reform offensive" even by its critics, can be seen as an admission of the failure of structural adjustment programs, but economic growth, whose distribution effects have only begun to be analyzed, and then only in isolated instances, remains the most important poverty-reducing element of the PRSPs. In qualitative terms, social policy strategies seldom amount to more than a collection of palliative measures. What has become the catchphrase of macroeconomic reorientation, "pro-poor growth," has to this day not been concretely realized.

Criticism from the gender perspective, as voiced by national and international NGOs and gender experts, addresses these structural issues and calls into question both the participation procedure adopted during the elaboration process and the poverty-oriented and gender-specific dimension of the outcomes of PRSPs. Their criticism of the framework conditions is directed especially at the failure to institutionalize the gender approach in the PRS process. It addresses the governments of the respective countries, on whose political orientation (promotion of women's

interests or gender approach) support for a gender-sensitive PRSP depends.

In regard to their integration of the cross-cutting issue of gender, the quality of the PRSPs submitted varies widely. But various cross-sectoral analyses reveal the following shortcomings.

1. There is a lack of differentiated gender-specific poverty analyses and disaggregated data. The available data, quantitative or qualitative, are not analyzed and translated into long-term cross-cutting strategies (policy evaporation).
2. More attention is paid to gender issues in the human development, education, and (reproductive) health sectors. In central sectors such as agriculture, the environment, transportation, and urban development, they are regarded as being of scant relevance. And efforts to shape the economic policy framework are regarded as gender-blind.
3. The gender approach has not been successfully integrated as a cross-cutting task (no mainstreaming). Instead, the target-group-oriented WID approach (targeting) is retained.

The PRSPs submitted feature macroeconomic concepts that contain few innovations for a sustainable gender- and poverty-oriented debt relief policy. Such a policy presupposes that the daily reality of poor women's lives is taken into account, as are their gender-specific roles and interests. To this end, the conventional separation between growth-oriented macroeconomics and social reproduction must be overcome. But existing PRSPs take little or no account of the fact that

- the socially essential subsistence, reproductive, and community work performed predominantly by women is not market-oriented and is therefore not recorded for statistical or tax purposes (care economy);
- national and international economic and financial policies and external shocks have serious impacts on women, who are for the most part

engaged in low-pay work in the small-scale retail sector, informal sector and/or for global market producers, or in small farming;

- government spending policy and stability measures affect men and women differently: public spending cuts and privatization of public utilities (water, electricity) often increase the financial burden on the poor, especially on women;
- government revenue policy and the mobilization of local resources required by the World Bank for implementation of PRSPs may place different burdens on poor women and men. Increasing the value-added tax conflicts with a pro-poor fiscal policy which could specifically benefit poor women through such measures as exempting the informal sector from taxes and licensing requirements.

A lot of WID – too little GAD: basic conceptual features of PRSPs

The majority of the PRSPs display the following positive features.

- An array of entry points are identified for alleviating and eliminating discrimination against women in the community and in the market; especially improved access to micro-credits, basic and advanced training and skills upgrading, as well as greater use of feeder roads. Practical gender-specific needs are addressed in the health and education sectors.
- To a growing extent, strategic concerns are taken into account in the strategy papers, and measures are proposed to improve the legal situation (access to land) or to prevent domestic violence.

A critical examination of the same aspects, however, reveals the following.

- PRSPs seldom propose anything more than the all too familiar initiatives of WID in poverty reduction. The largely isolated measures address the micro-level, while no gender-specific impact analyses are conducted for national financial and economic policy.

- Simple word and phrase counts have shown that PRSPs include many references to the gender aspect. But "women", "girls," and "mothers" are mentioned much more frequently than "men" and "boys." "Fathers" are not referred to at all. Stereotyped roles are not questioned, and there is a tendency to lump women together as a homogeneous "vulnerable group."

Three factors are considered responsible for this continuation of the WID tradition with the classic target group approach:

- the inequality between men and women in development cooperation institutions and among the actors involved in the process, which hampers any effective implementation of GAD;
- widespread conceptual confusion as to the precise difference between WID and GAD;
- the problem posed by the lack of political will to draw the conclusions indicated by a comprehensive gender analysis.

Conclusions

New conceptual assumptions as well as international negotiating processes have led to a broad perception of poverty that also takes account of the noneconomic dimensions of social, legal, and political deprivation and strengthens poor population groups as legal entities. Nevertheless, not enough attention is paid to gender-disaggregated analyses and data examining the structural causes and risks of poverty, and the strategies used to cope with it. The relationship between economic marginalization and social exclusion or poverty and violence affects women in particular, but this fact is not adequately translated into demands at the level of national and international policy.

In this respect, the steering instruments of multilateral or bilateral macro-level poverty reduction programs have a critical function. Country strategy papers (of the EU, the World Bank), priority area strategy papers (of the BMZ), or poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) of developing countries evidence substantial deficits when examined for

their concern with cross-cutting tasks such as promotion of gender equality. The actors involved in the process are therefore faced with the following tasks.

- Thematic integration: The issues of social inequality or gender equality should be more firmly embedded in higher-level PRSP and poverty reduction analyses (and not supplemented by extra analyses). This includes conceptual and programmatic aspects such as poverty reduction through democratization, anchoring the human rights approach in development cooperation, creating a world social order, and achieving harmonization and coherence among donors. It also, however, includes strategic approaches such as promotion of good governance through involvement of parliaments, institutionalization of participation, and the trend toward budget financing ("Rescuing Gender from the Poverty Trap").
- Gender and macroeconomics: The idea of an "impersonal" or gender-neutral market (Elson) characterizes development economics in general and PRSPs in particular. A harmonization of the macroeconomic framework of PRSPs with social policy measures, however, presupposes that markets are recognized as social institutions that function on the basis of social networks and norms. Existing studies analyzing gender-specific market mechanisms and economic and social policies that sustain inequality should therefore be incorporated in national poverty reduction strategies. Gender budget initiatives which critically review national budgets from a gender perspective should also be accorded support in their attempts to help shape "hard" sectors such as financial policy, alongside social policy.
- Institutionalization: If the gender mainstreaming approach is to be successfully anchored in development policy institutions, and goes beyond conceptual advances and the occasional good-practice approach, more financial and human resources will be needed, as will a sense of ownership in relation to gender competence. This can be fostered through gender training. The lack of political will to take on the cross-cutting task and the predominantly

low status accorded to gender within the pertinent structures can be changed through closer interlinkage of national and international policy dialogues (on poverty reduction, donor coordination and governance issues).

Gender concerns are generally delegated to women. But the core of the gender approach is precisely this: no longer to place the focus only on women as an isolated group, but rather on socially constructed gender relations, so that exclusion mechanisms and inequitable social relationships occupy center stage in analyses and policy measures. Gender-specific interests that shake up existing role models in a society can and should also be generated and advocated by men, for in the 21st century efforts to establish an altered gender system should be discussed in the light of social inequalities among and between both sexes.

1 Introduction

The urgent basic problems facing world society today include poverty, growing inequality within societies, and exclusion of broad groups of society from social decision-making processes. At its Millennium Summit in September 2000, the United Nations for this reason adopted some far-reaching commitments aimed at eradicating extreme poverty and setting the goal of halving extreme poverty by the year 2015. The definition of extreme poverty is, however, not confined only to low income (less than US \$ 1 per day), it also includes loss of political rights, chances of social influence, and human dignity – dimensions that are at the same time causes and expressions of poverty. Many bilateral donors, including the German government, but also multilateral donor organizations like the World Bank, have subsequently affirmed the goal of halving extreme poverty by 2015 and worked out programmatic guidelines declaring poverty reduction to be an overarching goal of development.

The need to focus on cross-cutting tasks has also assumed a new weight in the context of the political declarations of intent made by the international community on poverty alleviation. Both the UN Millennium Declaration and the OECD/DAC Guidelines on Poverty Reduction explicitly affirm gender equality and empowerment of women as a development goal. World Bank programs and various action plans of bilateral donors likewise take into account the fact that the majority of the world's 1.3 billion extremely poor persons are women. Viewed against the background of the new challenges posed by a structurally effective and coherent development cooperation, both the German government's Program of Action 2015 and the World Bank's Sourcebook for the preparation of national Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) emphasize that poverty reduction programs can prove sustainably successful only if inequality between men and women is reduced.

Further development of development-related poverty reduction concepts advocating gender mainstreaming and focusing on the equal access of women to rights and resources that have been demanded for years must, however, be viewed in the

light of the reality of the actual practice of development policy. With regard to the goal of halving extreme poverty by 2015 and in view of existing global gender relations, we find a large gap between normative claims and complex goals on the one hand and the actual implementation of these claims and goals on the other. One reason for this is the fact that too little attention has been paid to the impacts of macroeconomic structural reforms, and the scene continues to be dominated by short-term economic and power interests that run counter to the long-term goals of securing survival and ensuring a broad political participation of the poor.

Viewed against this background, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers introduced in connection with the enhanced HIPC initiative have a particularly important role to play in development policy. The aim of PRSPs is to link structural economic reforms with sociopolitical poverty reduction measures. The criteria defined for PRSPs include not only national ownership and guarantees of a broad participation of civil society in the preparation of PRSPs but consideration of the multidimensional structure of poverty. The intention is that the new control instruments geared to the development of highly indebted poor countries will be comprehensive ("comprehensive approach") and integrate cross-cutting issues of social inequality. With an eye to ensuring that gender inequality is taken fully into account in national PRSPs, and to boosting their effectiveness, the World Bank has published a comprehensive Sourcebook which, in its gender chapter, emphasizes the need to "engender" these development strategies.

Yet voluntary commitments and the nominal consideration given to social and gender inequalities is no longer a question of politically correct formulations. Both the guidelines of the bi- and multilateral donors and the HIPC-related PRSPs prepared thus far serve to support this concern for social equity between men and women – be it as an integral component of human development, be it as an economic factor involved in enhancing productivity. But this does not release us from the need to ask critically how and to what extent these – in part progressive – development concepts are actually being implemented. Apart from the debate on the underlying contradictions and inadequacies of the

contradictions and inadequacies of the PRSP concept – an issue that cannot be discussed at any length in the present context – gender experts question in particular whether the international financial institutions have even embarked on a fundamental shift of perspective toward an effective, social, economic, and gender-focused poverty reduction strategy. This discussion will be outlined in the present study with reference to selected country examples as well as on the basis of recent publications on the subject.

The present study consists of six chapters. Following the Introduction (1), Chapter 2 outlines some global trends regarding poverty and gender. Chapter 3 discusses the conceptual presuppositions of current poverty reduction strategies. The chapter starts out with a critical-historical outline of gender-specific approaches in DC (3.1). In view of the fact that women are an important target group involved in the development-related poverty discussion, Chapter 3.2, focusing on a gender perspective, looks into the process of change experienced by poverty-oriented approaches. Chapter 4 centers on the discussion of different, important PRSP-related approaches used by bi- and multilateral development institutions, analyzing, from a gender perspective, the political and conceptual guidelines of the OECD/DAC, the EU, the BMZ, and the World Bank. The focus of Chapter 5 is poverty reduction strategies. A presentation of the approach's structural elements (5.1) is followed by a critical discussion of the integration of gender aspects in PRSPs based on available cross-sectional analyses (5.2.). Two country case studies (5.3) are used as examples to outline, from a gender perspective, the experiences that have been made with the process of preparing PRSPs. The concluding chapter (6) summarizes the report's central propositions, placing the donor community's concepts and instruments, which have been discussed with reference to the issue complex "gender and poverty," in the larger context of the ongoing transformation of the priorities and the significance of development policy. The Annex

presents some of the instruments and indicators used in gender-oriented impact monitoring.¹

2 Global Trends in Poverty and Social Inequality

As the 21st century gets underway, the global poverty situation is determined by a number of conflicting trends: on the one hand, we find a long-term improvement in the social situation of people living in absolute poverty. The social indicators are showing signs of positive development: child mortality is on the decline, while average life expectancy and literacy rates are on the increase.² On the other hand, the prosperity divide between poor and rich countries is widening and the income disparity between industrialized and developing countries continues to grow. The 2002 Human Development Report notes that "the richest 10 % of the U.S. population has an income equal to that of the poorest 43 % of the world."³

But the poverty divide is also widening within societies. This intrasocietal disparity in turn affects women in particular. Women constitute the majority of the worldwide 1.3 billion persons living in absolute poverty. In rural regions the percentage of women in absolute poverty has now grown to over 50 %. Still, it makes little sense to speak globally of

1 A more extensive presentation of gender-oriented impact monitoring in connection with poverty reduction would go beyond the scope of the present study; see the relevant GDI report by Rodenberg (2003c).

2 In Africa south of the Sahara, for instance, the 1960 child mortality rate, 26 %, has declined by 10 % to the current figure of 16 %. The same period experienced a rise in average in life expectancy increased by nine years in Sub-Saharan Africa. See UNICEF 2000, cited in Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (2001), pp. 81f.

3 UNDP (2002), p. 23. The Social Watch Report of the same year cites the following comparative figures: while in 2001 US per capita gross national product was US \$ 34.000, the equivalent figure for western Europe (EU) was US \$ 22.000. In the same year the figures for Bolivia, Senegal, and Malawi were US \$ 1.000, US \$ 500, and US \$ 170, respectively.

Table 1: Development of the Gender Gap since 1990			
	Share of women in overall illiteracy (15-24)	Share of women in overall unemployment	Share of women attending elementary school (gross)
As a percentage of all countries			
← (Minor declines)	8.3	25.8	14.0
↩ (Major declines)	5.3	4.5	6.7
↔ (Stagnation)	48.1	25.8	46.3
→ (Minor advances)	28.6	30.3	19.5
➔ (Major advances)	9.8	13.5	13.4
Overall declines	13.5	30.3	20.7
Overall advances	38.5	43.8	32.9
Number of countries with data	87	133	163
Source: Social Watch Report Deutschland (2002) p. 63			

a "feminization of poverty." The widely cited figure of 70 % of women in absolute poverty has as yet not been substantiated.⁴ But what is more important than this controversial quantification of shares of poverty is the task of analyzing the qualitative development of social and economic inequality between the sexes. The global women-poverty ratio also mirrors some of the heterogeneous trends to be observed in the context of globalization and gender.

According to recent figures, there is no reason to speak of a dualist structure under which all men are winners of globalization and all women are on the losing side. Instead, the course of globalization has entailed some improvements in the situation of women and girls in several areas; e.g. the worldwide school enrolment rate for girls has – thanks to a rise in Southeast Asia – now reached an average figure of 94 %. Nonetheless, in the past decade 20 % of all countries experienced a decline in enrolment figures for girls. The rate of illiteracy for 15- to 24-year-old girls and women has declined in 38 % of all countries. One striking fact is, however, that the number of illiterate girls and women has remained stagnant since 1990 in nearly half of the world's countries.⁵

Table 1 compares positive and negative social development trends as they relate to gender. The overview is based on an evaluation of statistical data on the situation of women stemming from three indicators: The percentage of women in overall illiteracy, elementary schooling, and unemployment. The comparative country presentation includes data from countries that have provided relevant information since 1990. Even though no distinction is made here between regions or between industrialized and developing countries, the table clearly indicates that worldwide some progress has been made on some central social indicators.⁶

New chances have also opened up for women in connection with an increase in gainful employment. However, this growth in the share of gainful employment for women, which has now reached a figure of 30 %, has not automatically meant an improvement in their economic situation, for women's earnings continue to lag 25 % behind men's in-

4 UNIFEM (2000a), p. 12; World Bank (2001b), p. 64.

5 NRO-Forum Weltsozialgipfel (2002), pp. 61ff.

6 The criterion used is the so-called *annual rate of variation* (ARV), which has been defined for the individual indicators. Countries are ranked (in terms of minor or major progress or setbacks, or stagnation), depending on whether or not they are above or below the relevant rate of progress or decline. An ARV between 1 und -1 % means stagnation. For more in-depth information, see NRO-Forum Weltsozialgipfel (2002), p. 66.

Box 1: Gender-specific Indicators^a

Since the human development indices, i.e. the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI) do not depict intrasocietal or gender-specific differentials, the set was enlarged by UNDP to include two gender indices, the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). The GDI depicts three dimensions which permit us to draw conclusions on the different gender-specific capabilities of women to participate in human development:

- health and life expectancy as measured (comparatively) in terms of women's and men's average life expectancy at birth;
- knowledge as measured in terms of the literacy rates of women and men and participation in primary, secondary, and tertiary education, combined with the length of their attendance in relevant educational institutions;
- a decent standard of living as measured in terms of the estimated incomes of women and men (PPP US \$).

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) looks into the gender-specific opportunities of women and men to participate actively in political and economic life. The GEM likewise combines three gender-keyed subindicators that are weighted to reflect the percentage of women in the overall population:

- political empowerment and decision-making power, measured in terms of the percentages of seats held by women and men in national parliaments;
- economic participation and decision-making power, measured, first, in terms of the shares of women and men employed in professional and technical positions and, second, in terms of the percentages of women and men in administrative and management positions;
- control over economic resources, measured in terms of the estimated gross incomes of women and men.^b

a For a more in-depth discussion, see Kabeer (1999) and Saith/Harriss-White (1999).

b On the methods used to calculate the GDI and the GEM, see UNDP (2002), p. 285.

comes. One major factor that has remained unchanged is a gender-specific division of labor that apportions to women the major share of unpaid reproduction- and subsistence-related family and household work. These contributions to the economy are systematically undervalued and omitted from calculations of aggregate national income.

In sum, recent comparative data on the implementation of international social development goals (education and health) indicate no uniform trends, though they do point to certain advances, i.e. a rise on the Human Development Index (HDI) has been noted for poor countries.⁷ If we break these data down for gender, though, we come up with a more differentiated picture: while – cautiously generalized – we can also note a positive tendency as regards access to basic social services, above all to

basic education, we find on the whole that gender inequality continues to be high, with the Gender Development Index (GDI) lagging behind the values found for the HDI. What this means is that, in poor and rich societies alike, the chances of women to lead a life in dignity and prosperity are markedly lower than those of men. If we follow the assessment of the German Bundestag's Study Commission on Globalization of the World Economy,⁸ which compares the Human Development Indices (HDI and HPI) with the gender-related indices (GDI and GEM), we find further correlations between poverty and gender: on the one hand, gender-specific discrimination often correlates with a given country's poverty situation. Looking at West African countries like Sierra Leone and Niger, which have ranked very low on the GDI for years, we find high values for human poverty and low values for social development. On the other hand, a considerable number of countries that rank low on human development are marked by good or higher values for equal opportunities for men and women. For example, Ukraine, the Philippines, and Colombia, all of which are members of the country group with me-

7 The *Social Watch Report* (2002) regularly documents advances, stagnation, and setbacks in the implementation of the obligations assumed by the states attending a) the World Social Summit in Copenhagen (1995, 2000), b) the Fourth Women's Conference in Beijing (1995), and the NY UN Millennium Summit (2000). Ibid 2002, p. 58. The UNDP Human Development Report documents this social development on the basis of the indices HDI and HPI as well as GDI and GEM. See UNDP (2002).

8 See Deutscher Bundestag (2002), pp. 309ff., and Ruppert (2001).

dium human development, have GDI values that are higher than their HDI values. And some countries with markedly low HDI values, like Sudan, Malawi, and Laos, have GDI values higher than their rankings on the HDI. In the group of countries with high values for human development – these include e.g. Norway, Japan, and Kuwait – on the other hand, GDI figures are lower than those for HDI.⁹ In other words, political efforts aimed at equal opportunities and equal rights do not necessarily indicate that a given country has a high per capita income.¹⁰

The important determinants that go into the making of women's social positions in today's world society are marked by legal, political, cultural, and religious discrimination. These circumstances clearly indicate that the fact that women are disproportionately affected by poverty is neither due primarily to lower incomes nor finds its sole expression in them. Instead, inequality has its most important roots in inadequate access to resources, lack of political rights, and limited social options as well as in a greater vulnerability to risks and crises. For instance, those who contract AIDS are generally faced with a rise in poverty and marginalization. But what lies behind this is not only the dual burden imposed on women by their responsibility for unpaid care of sick persons and a lack of compensation for related income losses, the main factor behind the disproportionate rise in HIV infections among women – 55 % of all infected adults in Sub-Saharan Africa are women – is women's sharply curtailed rights of self-determination in the field of reproductive health.

The extent to which lack of rights of ownership and property, violations of women's human rights, and the use of violence against women are causative factors of poverty is illustrated by the legal situation of women, e.g. in Kenya: there, women – for the most part with reference to traditional law – are denied their right to inherit, their right to acquire, manage, and control both land and livestock and articles of daily use.¹¹ In rural areas in particular,

women are not recognized as autonomous legal persons and are fully dependent on the property of their husband and his family. One important factor that in large measure exacerbates poverty among women must be seen in practices toward widows and their children, who may, on the death of the husband/father, be faced with expulsion from their village.¹² Furthermore, various sources point to the enormous difficulties faced in the main by poor women if they opt to seek legal recourse against these and other violations of their rights: legal proceedings and their outcomes are heavily influenced by the bias and corruption of the competent courts.¹³

This connection between poverty and rightlessness has flowed into UNDP's 1995 Gender Empowerment Measure. The GEM, based on a 0-1 scale, is useful in assessing inequality in economic and political opportunities (see Box 1). It is a known fact that worldwide the share of women elected as representatives to parliaments in 1991 was no more than 12.7 %. Comparisons between the various indices adopted by UNDP, on the other hand, come up with a more graphic picture: according to recent analyses, the chances of women to participate in political and economic power, using this as a means to take a hand in shaping social development, are far smaller than their chances to participate in building the foundations of human development. Of a total of 66 countries investigated, only five northern European countries have a GEM of over 0.8, while in a third of the countries surveyed the measure is lower than 0.5. And as far as equal opportunities are concerned, some developing countries, e.g. Barbados, even outrank some industrialized countries, e.g. Italy, by several points on the GEM. This, UNDP argues, shows that high national income itself is not a suffi-

lematic of legal pluralism. For more information on this issue, see Holthaus (1998); on the issue of dual law in Kenya, see Adhiambo Oduol (2002).

9 See UNDP (2002), pp. 250ff.

10 See Deutscher Bundestag (2002), p. 310.

11 The present study cannot go any further into the debate over the universal validity of human rights and the prob-

12 These practices also include sexual violence against widowed women, which in turn contributes to the spread of HIV/AIDS and other serious health risks. See the 2003 report of Human Rights Watch (2003). A short version of the report also contains recommendations for donor action: <http://www.hrw.org/campaigns/women/property/factsheet.htm> (24 Feb. 2003).

13 See Human Rights Watch (2003) and UNDP (2002), p. 75, for Uganda.

cient condition for promotion of structures marked by gender equity.¹⁴ The crucial factor is, instead, the political will to eliminate inequality.

3 Poverty and Gender: the Transformation of Approaches in Development Policy

3.1 From Promotion of Women to the Gender and Development Approach

Measures designed to promote women and equal rights for women have long been an integral component of governmental and nongovernmental international DC. The fact that recent conceptual approaches in development policy focus on gender inequality and underscore the need to eliminate social inequality as an important component of any comprehensive approach to poverty reduction is due above all to the further development of women- and gender-specific concepts. The following section will discuss the further development of promotion of women into the gender approach and elucidate some of the central instruments at its disposal.

As early as in the 1960s and the early 1970s women were seen as an important target group of development cooperation measures. Mainly embedded in welfare measures, development aid focused on the

female domain of reproduction. But projects concerned with the care of infants and sick family members, the household economy, and nutrition gave no consideration to issues bound up with sociopolitical power or decision-making. It was the study published by Ester Boserup in 1970 on the economic role of women in development that first addressed the great variety of contributions – until then terra incognita – made by women to the economic development of the countries of the South.¹⁵ And it was against the background of the sober balance drawn at the end of the first development decade, marked as it was mainly by modernization strategies, that the cornerstone was laid for a rethinking of development policy measures that included the women's perspective.¹⁶ In convening the 1st World Women's Conference in 1975 and proclaiming the UN Women's Decade (1975 – 1985) the United Nations was responding to two different exigencies: on the one hand, the growingly vociferous demands of the emerging new women's movement for equal rights and formal equality, and on the other international calls for a paradigm shift in development policy toward a more effective alleviation of poverty. The promotion activities of bi- and multilateral institutions now began to focus less on the reproductive role of women as mothers than on women as economic actors.

Since the 1970s, amid growing criticism of growth and trickle-down strategies, the focus shifted to what has become known as basic needs strategies.

Box 2: Overview: the Four Approaches of the Women in Development Strategy

In her critical-historical typology, Carolin Moser distinguishes between four approaches involved in the Women in Development Strategy. Of these, it was only the equity approach that was bound up with the demand to achieve legal and social equality for women. The normative approach developed in the context of the 1st UN World Women's Conference centers on the demand for social recognition of the productive and reproductive contributions made by women. Aside from the welfare approach outlined above, the dominant approach pursued in the 1970s by the women's promotion policies of the bi- and multilateral institutions was the so-called anti-poverty approach. This approach attributed women's poverty not to inequality between men and women but to underdevelopment. Like the anti-poverty approach, the efficiency approach largely dominant in the 1980s focused on the "productive potential" of women. But it failed to link this either with the development goal of poverty reduction or with the goal of eliminating inequality, focusing instead on economic-policy strategies geared to implementing structural adjustment programs.^a

a See Moser (1989) and Braig (2001).

14 See UNDP (2002), p. 27.

15 See Boserup (1970).

Poverty reduction based on balanced growth and increased productivity of women from low-income households were thought to hold the key to coming to terms with the impacts of the debt crisis of the 1980s. This approach involved initiating countless market-oriented, income-generating projects which – generally geared, once again, to the responsibility of women for ensuring the survival of household members and for reproduction – were supposed to boost household incomes and give rise, as it were automatically, to improvements in social status. Even though a majority of the related projects involved schooling measures, some voices noted critically that the economic gains achieved through such work were marginal, while the double and multiple burdens shouldered by women were immense and did little or nothing to enlarge women's scopes of social action.¹⁷

Based on similar structures, the social and gender-related demands for equal opportunities and poverty reduction provided for under the efficiency approach began to give way to a policy geared to a fuller utilization of women's underutilized labor and investment potentials. The aim here was to provide women with micro-credits as a means of integrating them in the market. Reduced to productivity, efficiency, and market functionality, the efficiency approach long undercut women's calls for equality as a goal on its own merits, and even today most organizations engaged in multilateral development cooperation claim "that advancement of women is generally justifiable only with reference to enhanced efficiency in development cooperation."¹⁸

The structural adjustment programs imposed to tackle the debt crisis besetting the countries of the South served to reinforce this policy with its one-sided economic orientation. The drastic cuts in social services and the deregulation of trade and labor markets that this policy entailed made women the main losers of the "lost development decade" of the 1980s. This in turn gave rise to growing criticism of the prevalent models of development. At the 1985 3rd UN World Women's Conference in Nairobi, the women's network DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) presented the concept of empowerment as an alternative approach for development strategies.¹⁹ The visionary concept opposes any strategy aimed at integrating women of the South in the development process, pleading instead for a process of collective empowerment geared to altering existing social and economic power imbalances between men and women, but also between North and South. Unlike the Women in Development Strategy and the gender and development approach (see below), empowerment is a concept that has roots in women's and social movements as well as in NGOs.²⁰ While the concept was included in the programmatic work of international development institutions in connection with the broadening of the Platform for action of the 4th UN World Women's Conference, there – stripped of its fundamental critique of power-related issues – the concept is reduced to elements of "strengthening and raising the awareness of women."

With a view to more effectively implementing the Women in Development Strategy (WID), special units were set up as early as the 1970s in many development institutions of donor countries, but also in the governmental machinery of developing countries. Sectoral development programs on the ground were enlarged to include so-called "gender components." This led to an institutionalization of gender policy and an incorporation of the gender perspective in the development discourse.

16 See Braig (2001), pp. 111f.

17 Viewed against the background of the discussion over an effective involvement of target groups in basic needs strategies (poor women in particular), criticism was voiced of fundamental deficits in the conception on which the advancement of women was based: on the whole, it was noted, this involved insufficient funds, low status, and low quantities. Asymmetric social and gender relations are reduced here to income disparities, without giving any attention to structural changes geared to improving the status of women. See e.g. Moser (1989); Wichterich (1993); Braunmühl (1998).

18 Bliss et al. (1994), p. 3.

19 See Sen/Grown (1988).

20 For a more in-depth discussion, see Sen/Grown (1988), pp. 78ff.

The Gender and Development Approach (GAD)

First developed in the academic discourse, and subsequently taken over by representatives of institutionalized development policy, the gender and development approach (GAD) gained prevalence in the early 1990s; its principal concern is a sociopolitical and systemic understanding of development. In contrast to the biological concept of sex, gender refers to a social state of affairs, namely to socially and culturally learned gender roles. These are context-dependent and alterable. Proceeding from the fact of inequality between women and men, gender has moved to the forefront of the analysis of political and legal framework conditions. The most important instrument here is gender analysis, which is used to derive gender-specific interests and priorities for development projects. Proceeding from Molyneux, the approach seeks to distinguish practical needs or interests from strategic interests.²¹ The former are geared to securing survival (access to water, seed, income), while the aim of the latter is to achieve structural improvements (rights of codetermination and control). The stated aim of the gender and development approach is to analyze the gender-specific priorities of all actors involved in a given development-related measure. By contrast, measures taken under the efficiency and poverty reduction approach focus on practical needs, paying little or no heed to strategic concerns geared to overcoming existing (e.g. household- or community-related) gender hierarchies.²²

The gender and development approach continued on with what was incorporated in *nascendi* in the overall WID approach: "recognition of the roles fulfilled by women [and] more frequent consideration of the specific, prevalent sociocultural division of labor between men and women."²³ But in contrast to the WID approach, the aim here is no longer to focus solely on women's issues but to center efforts on gender disparities.

21 See Molyneux (1985).

22 Moser (1989), Braig (2003), p. 205. On the gender approach in the project management of German DC, see GTZ (1999).

23 See Braunmühl (1998), p. 89.

Box 3 Gender Roles and Gender Interests

"Gender roles," "gender needs," "strategic gender interests," and "practical gender interests" are central concepts of gender analysis. Moser distinguishes three gender roles of women: 1. the reproductive role, 2. the productive role, and 3. the community-managing role. Men, on the other hand, for the most part fulfill only the productive role and – to varying degrees – the community-managing role. Unlike the approach taken by efforts aimed at the advancement of women, the concern of the gender approach is to accord due consideration to all three roles. Only in this way is it possible to ensure that the key gender-related aspects division of labor and control over resources are altered.^a

a See Molyneux (1985) and Moser (1989), p. 1801.

Since its adoption in international DC, one aspect of the gender and development approach has come in for criticism by experts from DC institutions: while the terminology associated with the approach, what is known as "gender rhetoric," has become widespread in the field, the gender perspective has not been understood within the relevant institutions as a cross-cutting task and has often been equated with the conventional approach to the advancement of women. Feminist activists from NGOs have noted critically that institutionalization of the gender and development approach has tended to neutralize the demand for transformation of existing power relations. Furthermore, the – wholly reasonable – efforts undertaken to involve men in the gender issue has meant a "loss of the advocacy element typical of WID units."²⁴ There is a real danger here that the number of measures aimed specifically at women and their advancement, limited in any case, may (once again) be reduced in favor of common projects.²⁵

24 See Braunmühl (1998), p. 89.

25 Schäfer (2001), p. 14, describes a growing field of conflict in rural regions in western and southern Africa in which young men, under growing pressure of unemployment, seek to use women-specific development projects to gain access to the resources administered there (adapted technology, credits, etc.). Invoking the gender concept in DC, they demand, for themselves as well, concrete, even material support.

Gender mainstreaming (GM)

One central strategy used to reach the goal of eliminating inequality between men and women is gender mainstreaming. Integration of a gender perspective in the "mainstream" of all policy fields presupposes consideration of the different life situations and interests of women and men in all processes of planning, (re)organization, implementation, and evaluation of social institutions and projects.²⁶ The strategy's aim is to achieve equality for men and women alike, not only *de jure* but *de facto* as well. The call for all social projects to accord, *ex ante*, due consideration to the different life situations and social concerns of women and men is directed chiefly to the management of companies, institutions, and organizations.

The approach, which emerged in the context of debates on development policy, aims on the one hand to integrate gender-specific views in existing institutional structures; on the other hand, it embraces the goal of social transformation. The approach to reaching this twofold goal is characterized by a dual strategy: the first aim is to focus sociopolitical measures on altering unequal gender relations; the second is to use targeted measures to improve the capacities and options of women wherever their access to natural and social resources is restricted.

The strategy of gender mainstreaming plays a central role in the ongoing debate on possibilities of and approaches to fostering gender equity. But there is a real danger that the complexity of this dual strategy could serve to "undermine" the strategy as a whole and that the need to accord equal consideration to the interests and concerns of both men and women could lead to a neutralization of the gender issue.

A comparison of the gender and development approach in multilateral organizations has shown that their understanding of gender mainstreaming is based on highly divergent definitions.²⁷ As a result, the complex approach is both interpreted and weighted differently in different international institutions. In many cases mainstreaming is seen as a tool, in others it is understood more as a process or strategy. Most often the element of equal opportunities is confused with affirmative action.²⁸ As the DAC Sourcebook explains, equal opportunities are closely associated with a human capital approach geared to creating equal chances for men and women in the labor market.²⁹ Without the binding provisions of the Treaty of Amsterdam, for instance, the EU Commission was forced, in 1995, to closely link the adoption of the gender mainstreaming strategy with issues bound up with competitiveness and equal opportunities in the single European market, including the labor market. The innovative and above all transformative character of the approach is, however, lost when it is interpreted in this way. In sum – as critical voices have noted – institutionalized emancipation policy thus lacks a vision as comprehensive as it is clear.

Still, there are a number of good reasons to use gender mainstreaming as a systematic approach for changing gender relations in institutional policy and to strengthen its role in development policy:

- GM moves gender and social issues from the margins of political discussions to their center: with a more vertical gender policy, one anchored in dedicated units of institutions, being supplanted by a horizontal policy encompassing the overall policy framework and the process of change management.
- The approach gives rise to new political instruments: to assess institutional framework conditions and the effectiveness of political measures, numerous instruments and (monitoring) techniques have been developed, includ-

26 This definition stems from UNIFEM, which, since the 3rd World Women's Conference in Nairobi, has regarded itself as the "UN mainstreaming agency" (Braunmühl 2001, p. 185). The approach, initially keyed to development-related program and project interventions, has been integrated into many national and municipal gender equality programs in the wake of the Platform for Action of the 4th UN World Women's Conference (1995).

27 E.g. the EU, the ILO, the OECD/DAC, and the Nordic Council of Ministers. See Woodward (2001), pp. 6ff.

28 See Woodward (2001), p. 9.

29 See OECD/DAC (1998).

ing gender analysis, gender impact assessment, gender indicators, gender audits, and gender training.

- Disregarding for a moment the danger of a political "evaporation" of the approach due to a technocratic mode of implementation, the innovative potential of these tools consists in the fact that they translate the idea and the aim of a complex social and political issue into the rational language of organizational management, i.e., "Gender Mainstreaming links an 'irrational', transformative social movement goal – the end of sexual inequality – to rational public administrative tools."³⁰

3.2 Poverty-oriented Approaches from a Gender Perspective

The following section deals with a transformation of development-related approaches which has led both to a conceptual "alignment to poverty"³¹ and to a growing openness to gender issues. This concern here is not principally to present a seamless chronology of the process of transformation, even though the strategies involved can only be understood against the specific historical background in which they have developed. Instead, the present section will seek to highlight the core elements of a growing orientation to poverty reduction; these elements lay the groundwork for an analysis of the social structures and mechanisms on which gender inequalities rest.

"First things first": the basic needs strategy

The genesis of a pro-poor alignment of development policy extends back to the early 1970s: at the beginning of the second development decade doubts and criticism were voiced as to the cogency of the basic assumptions behind the then current development strategies. Economic growth and industrialization, which had until then been regarded as the motor of modernization and prosperity, had in effect aggra-

vated, not alleviated, poverty and unequal development. Set in motion by the proposition voiced in 1973 by World Bank President MacNamara that redistribution had to go hand in hand with growth,³² debates on development policy began to center on the programmatic demand that economic and social development need to be linked.³³ While representatives of development studies and the countries of the South came out in favor of growth-critical self-reliance strategies,³⁴ basic-needs-oriented strategies were gaining prevalence in international development institutions. The principle objective of this strategy, which was backed by the ILO in particular, was "satisfaction of the basic needs of the largest possible number of people within a politically acceptable timeframe." The aim was to contribute to meeting basic needs, first by supplying needy people with material goods (food, clothing, housing), and second by providing public services (drinking water, healthcare, education).³⁵

The basic needs strategy, typical of the programmatic orientation of development cooperation in the 1970s, aimed to strengthen the productivity of the poor, in this way contributing directly to combating poverty. It points beyond a pure welfare orientation by not focusing solely on material needs as well as e.g. by advocating target-group participation in implementation. However, the strategy was not yet able to open the theoretical debate on development to include structural issues involved in social development. True, the poor moved into the field of vision of development institutions, but they did so in the role of human capital whose "productive survival" was at stake and in need of support. However, this new focus of development-policy inter-

30 See Woodward (2001), p. 12.

31 See Klemp (2000), p. 71.

32 See Menzel (1993), pp. 147ff.

33 See Braummühl (1998), p. 81.

34 Macro-theories like autocentered development (Senghaas 1977) lack a gender perspective. But they are part and parcel of the historical framework of the contemporaneous Bielefeld subsistence production approach, whose feminist orientation underscored the important role which unpaid women's work plays for the world market AG Bielefelder Soziologen (Working Group Bielefeld Sociologists) (1979).

35 See Nohlen (1989), pp. 277f.; see also Streeten et al. (1981).

ventions did spark a broad debate on target groups, among which women, too, were "discovered."³⁶

The human development approach

Neither the direct poverty reduction programs nor the renewed growth orientation typical of the 1980s were able to avert a dramatic increase of debt, poverty, and immiseration in the developing world. At the end of the "lost development decade," and as a response to the neo-liberal structural adjustment programs imposed by the World Bank and the IMF, the UN Development Program (UNDP) came out with its human development approach:

*Human Development is a process of enlarging people's choices. The most critical ones are to lead a long and healthy life, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, guaranteed human rights and self-respect.*³⁷

The thesis that growth alone does not automatically entail any improvements in living conditions and must therefore go hand in hand with promotion of equity ("growth with equity") launched UNDP on a conceptual offensive against the policy pursued by the World Bank in the 1980s.³⁸ In contrast to the 1970s strategies of direct poverty alleviation based on satisfaction of basic needs, the human development approach raises the claim to cover, holistically, all spheres of social development. Looking at the implementation process, what is known as the "macro-development strategy"³⁹ centers on four human

36 See Braunmühl (1998), p. 82; see also Chapter 3.1.

37 See UNDP (1990), p. 10; see also Mürle (1997), p. 52.

38 Klingebiel (1998), p. 180, cited in: Klemp (2000), p. 57. It is not possible in the present framework to discuss the positive and negative connections between growth and poverty. For a development-related and programmatic categorization of various growth strategies, see Menzel (1993); for an overview of the positions involved, see Gsänger (1999).

39 Kaul, cited in: Mürle (1997), p. 52. To cite an example: demands raised at the macro- and structural-policy level for a new global ethics and – concretely – for comprehen-

Box 4: Membership in Society as a Social Good

In her compendium on the transformation of development assistance into global structural policy, Ludgera Klemp looks into the ways in which social factors shape distributional principles and generate different life situations: "membership in farming cooperatives or producer associations is a good with a high economic value; barriers to access can mean economic losses or loss of development chances. Women farmers are often denied access because they have no land of their own or because the land they work is *only* that of their husbands and sons. (...) This practice of membership distribution leads to economic and social discrimination in that members of such organizations have enhanced access to extension services, credit, technologies, marketing aids, and cooperative forms of social security."^a

a Klemp (2000), p. 72.

human development processes: equity, empowerment, sustainability, and productivity. Gender equity is an important element of the UNDP approach.

To basic needs through basic rights

But what proved most seminal for the conceptual and strategic advancement of poverty-oriented approaches and attempts to open them for a gender perspective was the writings of Amartya Sen and Sen's concept of capabilities (see 4.1). Proceeding from Sen's understanding of capabilities as "a potential" that people have to "live a self-determined and dignified life,"⁴⁰ the UNDP approach moved the development-enabling state, or state social policy, into the focus of development efforts.⁴¹ Sen developed the key to a comprehensive understanding of poverty, and hence also of the problematic of distribution in economy and society, on the basis of his concept of entitlements. The structural conditions for access to goods and the actual power of control over them are here linked with the development of social life situations. The approach looks into both the claim of different social groups to goods and the

sive debt relief constitute elements of the approach (ibid., p. 53).

40 Sen, cited in: Kabeer (1999), p. 436.

41 See Klemp (2000), p. 57.

social principles governing deeds of ownership and use rights.⁴²

In international development institutions Sen's concepts have contributed tangibly to a further development of the definition of poverty as well as to the emergence of comprehensive poverty reduction strategies. Representatives of an empowerment approach have been able to continue on from this broadened conception:

Naila Kabeer defines empowerment as the "process of change by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices (disempowerment) acquire the ability to choose between ways of being and doing."⁴³ With reference to the access to resources required for this purpose, e.g. access to land, however, Kabeer points out that such access is a precondition for the empowerment process, and not – as often assumed – an expression of the fact that choices and options have already expanded. She also emphasizes that women's access to land as such is not yet an indicator of a better life situation, since it is essential to distinguish here between *de jure* and *de facto* land entitlement.⁴⁴

The transformation of poverty-oriented approaches – which have since the 1990s no longer been restricted to economic growth and satisfaction of basic needs, focusing instead on guarantees of participation and basic rights – received an immense boost through the major UN conferences of the 1990s. Viewed *in toto*, the results of global governance processes may be regarded as a crucial contribution to the building of a world social order based on a catalogue of universally valid values and norms.⁴⁵ The Copenhagen World Social Summit (1995) plays a preeminent role in the series of UN conferences,

for it was in Copenhagen that the issue areas poverty, social marginalization, and working conditions were for the first time debated by various international actors from a global perspective. As a result, the need for a globally equitable development was placed on an equal footing with the goal of achieving broad-based growth.⁴⁶ A poverty reduction Program of Action again shifted this goal into the center of development cooperation. One strategically important component of the Copenhagen Program of Action was the 20/20 Initiative to promote the provision of basic social services. The agreement stipulates that both 20 % of the official development assistance provided by industrialized countries and 20 % of the government expenditures of developing countries are to be deployed to secure basic social services.⁴⁷ Although this initiative, which has served to break down the traditional division of roles between donor and recipient countries, was widely welcomed as a new orientation for development cooperation, it has not been implemented e.g. by the majority of the DAC countries.⁴⁸ The initiative has also played a more subordinate role in other strategy formation processes as well as in international approaches such as the DAC Guidelines on Poverty Reduction (see 4.1) and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (see 5.1).

The final conference document did, however, set out a broad vision of human rights that encompasses

42 See Sen (1999) and Klemp (2000), p. 72.

43 See Kabeer (1999), pp. 436ff. Poverty and lack of choices are closely interrelated. The author also distinguished between (*first- and second-order choices*.) While first-order choices are geared to survival-ensuring basic needs, second-order choices relate to strategic life decisions (marriage, children, migration, etc.).

44 Kabeer (1999), pp. 436ff.

45 See Fues (2001a), p. 51.

46 Another important aspect that cannot be deepened in the present context is the institutionalization of the international infrastructure for social development and poverty reduction. Both the UN Commission for Social Development and the UN Economic and Social Council were upgraded in the international governance process in the wake of the Copenhagen World Social Summit. Still, the post-Copenhagen international framework conditions are defined by the international financial institutions, not by the UN system. See Fues (2001b), pp. 163f.

47 The initiative aims to improve the following basic social services: basic education, basic health and reproductive health, and drinking water and sanitary facilities. For an in-depth discussion, see Deutsches NRO-Forum Weltsozialgipfel (German NGO Forum Social Summit) (1998).

48 In 2000 the average contribution of the DAC countries amounted to 11 %. OECD/DAC (2000), cited in: Fues (2001b), p. 171.

economic, social, and cultural human rights⁴⁹ and led in subsequent years to advances in the development of international human rights protection instruments. These advances include the adoption of the ILO's core labor standards as internationally binding labor law.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the optional protocol to the Women's Rights Convention (CEDAW), which was adopted in 1999 and establishes a right to individual complaints against discrimination, is viewed in the same context as the World Social Summit,⁵¹ although the influence of the parallel preparatory process for the 4th UN World Women's Conference in Beijing should not be underestimated in this connection. The reason is that the Beijing Platform for Action played a key role in anchoring the human rights of women. While the Copenhagen Program of Action leaves no doubt that it is essential to strengthen women's rights as an integral component of human rights, it focuses on comprehensive packages of measures in the fields of women's work and poverty among women. The program pleads in particular for support for unimpeded, equal access of women to basic social services, land and other productive resources (technology), training and advanced training, and community property.⁵² Progress was made in gaining recognition of the productive but unpaid work done by women as well as in breaking down gender-related barriers to access to the formal labor market.

The Copenhagen process has replaced one-dimensional, often sectoral strategies with integrated policy approaches and, for the long term – and with the flanking provided by other UN conferences – promoted the adoption of a rights-based approach in DC. One consequence of the Copenhagen process is that poor people, including poor women, have gained recognition as autonomous legal persons. Women's poverty is recognized as a structural problem that can be addressed only on the basis of socially comprehensive solutions such as legal reforms. While incorporation of the term "fem-

inization of poverty" in the documents of the World Social Summit and the World Women's Conference tended more to view ongoing global trends in a simplified light (see Chapter 2), this move did serve to increase the political attention accorded to this global problem.⁵³

Despite the linkage established in UN approaches and UN documents between high rates of women's poverty and a lack of women's rights, recent discussions have pointed to the problematic fact that the term lends itself to generalizations that serve more to mask the qualitative features of the gender-specific dimension of poverty. Women are in fact more often affected, and jeopardized, by poverty. Lacking powers of control and decision-making powers, women – once having fallen into poverty – have far fewer chances to remedy their situation. This fact, however, should not be understood to imply globally that e.g. a rising number of women-led households is invariably linked with a rising poverty rate. It is instead advisable to bear in mind that a woman's decision to maintain a household of her own may very well be a voluntary decision – one that may, for instance, serve as an avenue out of a relationship marred by violence. If poverty is understood not only as income poverty but as a massive restriction of choices and options, a step of this kind, not taken in isolation, may also mean an improvement of women's life circumstances.⁵⁴

The debate among development experts over how "women can best be rescued from the poverty trap"⁵⁵ likewise indicates that categorizing women as a "vulnerable group" may involve a generalization uncondusive to poverty analysis. The concept of 'vulnerability,' applied to men and women alike, is certainly an important one, because it serves to underline the poor people's marked susceptibility to economic crises and lack of decision-making power. At the same time, though, the groups of society subsumed under this category tend not to be differ-

49 See UN (1995).

50 See Fues (2001b), p. 167.

51 See BMFSFJ (1999) and Fues (2001b), p. 167.

52 See Gsänger (2000), pp. 115ff.

53 See Baden (1999), Bridge (2001), and Rodenberg (2001b).

54 See Sweetman (2002), p. 4.

55 Jackson (1996). This refers to the development policy of institutions that include women in their programs *eo ipso* as a poor and unfree target group (*ibid.*).

entiated in terms of their social or legal situations in specific social contexts. In the canon of 'other' vulnerable groups (street children, the disabled, elderly persons) "women and girls" constitute a single homogeneous group, and no attempt is made to work out the gender-specific differences in each of these groups. There has therefore been criticism of the fact that labeling women as a 'vulnerable group' has led to a situation in which women "may be over represented" in the poverty discourse, while they are accorded little or no attention in debates on and approaches to political and economic transformation (globalization, democratization, governance).⁵⁶ With this critique in mind, it is essential to review recent poverty reduction approaches and strategies to determine the extent to which they place poverty and gender in the context of democratization and issues bound up with structural policy with a view to ensuring that they lead to necessary reforms of political, legal, and economic framework conditions.⁵⁷

The Millennium Development Goals

The United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set out eight goals aimed at halving, by the year 2015, the proportion of people living in extreme poverty; these goals in turn breakdown into 18 targets. Each of these is covered by two to five indicators designed to measure progress in social development.⁵⁸ Goal 3 is to "promote gender equality and empower⁵⁹ women." One positive aspect is that gender equality is an independent goal, listed separately from the goals of reducing child mortality (Goal 4) and improving maternal health (Goal 5). Also, the indicators designed to measure a narrowing of the gender gap in primary and secondary education were broadened in relation to the OECD's International Development Goals, from which they

were derived:⁶⁰ progress in education is measured, first, with reference to the ratio of boys to girls at all educational levels and, second, on the basis of gender disparities in adult education. A new element added was the proportion of female wage labor in the nonagricultural sector and the percentage of women in national parliaments, both of which are assumed to indicate progress in gender equality.⁶¹

Members of the DAC's "Network on Gender Equality" however, note critically:⁶²

- Both the targets and the related indicators focus, as usual, on empowerment and gender equality defined chiefly as equal access to primary and secondary education,⁶³ while they lack important empowerment indicators referring to economic power (e.g. land ownership).
- There is a lack of targets for the goal of political and economic empowerment: for instance, improvements in unequal economic situations, which are measured as women's share of paid work in the nonagricultural sector, are not linked with quantitative data. Increases in the proportion of women in decision-relevant positions – here: in parliaments – is linked neither with a target timeframe nor with UNIFEM's numerical target of 30 %.
- Goal 8, which is important in terms of macro- and structural policy and envisages "a global partnership for development," lacks a gender dimension.
- Country-specific MDG implementation efforts are either not linked or inadequately linked with parallel poverty reduction processes and strategies, such as e.g. the PRSPs. In addition,

60 For a feminist critique, see UNIFEM (2000b), p. 9.

61 See Kabeer (2003), pp. 19f.

62 From a discussion conducted with Naila Kabeer during the constituent session of GENDERNET on the subject of "gender and MDGs," on 09 July 2003 in Paris.

63 Target 4, "Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and at all levels by 2015," is an enlarged version of Target 3 "Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling"; see OECD (2001), p. 159.

56 Lachenmann (1999), p. 82.

57 On this point, see in particular Cagatay (1998) und Baden (1999).

58 The DAC Guidelines on Poverty Reduction contain a detailed catalogue of the MDGs. See OECD (2001), pp. 159ff.

59 When the present study speaks of "gaining power," etc., it is referring to the term *empowerment*.

the country reports on the implementation of the MDGs are not linked with the regular (and in part parallel) country reports on the implementation of the Women's Rights Convention (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action.

Still, the Millennium Development Goals are widely accepted as the lowest common denominators of the international community and should be supported by all groups of actors as an important point of departure in the development debate on effective and comprehensive poverty reduction strategies.

4 Donor Concepts and Policy Instruments: a Comparative Overview

Current donor policy and strategy papers are based on a conglomerate of different gender-related approaches to development:

- Women's promotion measures geared to advancing economic integration by strengthening the productive role of women as well as to meeting practical gender interests (improved access to credit and resources, land, water, education) are combined with programs aimed at improving women's capacities to claim their social and political rights (empowerment) and broadening their opportunities.
- They make – more or less – reference to elements of a rights-based approach (right to dignity and freedom from violence). While "equality" is generally seen as an autonomous development goal, the international development institutions do not regard it per se as an element of their mandate.
- These policy elements are interlinked and mediated through a win-win strategy which integrates various claims and standards and which clearly illustrates to all actors involved in the development process the advantages of gender mainstreaming: less gender inequality in the social sectors of education and health are ac-

cordingly assumed to pave the way for economic growth.⁶⁴ A World Bank study, for instance, found that governance tends to be "cleaner" and corruption lower in countries in which women hold more decision-relevant positions in politics and the public sphere.⁶⁵ The World Bank nevertheless stresses that while gender equity is relevant for a country's economic development, and hence for World Bank programs, this is not the actual objective of its efforts.⁶⁶

A win-win scenario with a high degree of reciprocity between greater gender equity, economic growth, and effective poverty reduction provides a reasonable framework to integrate the – currently separate – debates on economic development on the one hand and social inequality on the other. But as far as the gender policies of donor institutions are concerned, this combined strategy does not amount to any fundamental change in current development cooperation. The following section will cast some light on the more recent approaches to poverty reduction and gender policy pursued by selected bi- and multilateral donor institutions.

4.1 OECD: the DAC Guidelines

The Development Assistance Committee of bilateral donors in the OECD (DAC) has declared improved effectiveness of development cooperation to be the principal objective of its work. This is for the most part achieved by defining – regularly peer-reviewed – quality standards for the DC of DAC members and by a coordinated elaboration of conceptual guidelines for important policy fields involved in DC. True, the guidelines, which are worked out in DAC thematic "working parties," are not legally binding for bilateral DC, but they are regarded as a kind of soft law with a hard and fast political char-

64 UNIFEM (2000a), p. 148.

65 World Bank (2001b), p. 12.

66 See the interview with Karen Mason, Director of Gender and Development at the World Bank, in: Resource Net, Friday File, Issue 62 (01 Jan 2001), <http://www.worldbank.org/gender/events/interview.htm> (07 March 2003), Section 3.4.

acter (with a high degree of effectiveness in fostering political cohesion). The principles set out by the guidelines and the strategies developed on the basis of them are expected to reflect the principles of partnership and country ownership, broad participation of the populations of developing countries, development effectiveness, and accountability in DC.⁶⁷

The DAC can raise the claim to have started as early as the 1980s to accord consideration to the gender-specific concerns of women and men. The landmark guidelines that have been worked out in DAC working groups since the 1990s⁶⁸ include the "DAC Guidelines for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Co-operation."⁶⁹ They make explicit reference to the declarations of commitment set out in the Beijing Platform for Action and emphasize gender mainstreaming as a principle of future development cooperation. Furthermore, the voluntary commitment to anchor gender equality as a cross-cutting task is based on OECD declarations of commitment, in particular on the forerunner document to the MDGs, "Shaping the 21st Century" (1996). The aim of the gender guidelines, which have now joined a comprehensive sourcebook on methodological and conceptual foundations for the implementation of the gender approach in bilateral

DC, is to make social and legal gender equality as well as due consideration of gender-specific interests into an integral component of the DAC's goals – to achieve greater effectiveness and sustainable impacts in development cooperation. Elimination of structural inequality is at the same time viewed as an autonomous development goal and human right. As regards poverty reduction and social development, the aim is to achieve equal access to and control over resources as well as a larger measure of participation in development-related decision-making processes. Like the DAC "Network on Gender Equality" itself, which is actively and continuously engaged in cooperation with other DAC working groups and networks,⁷⁰ the gender guidelines are a response to the requirements posed by a cross-cutting issue, and they list points of departure for a systematic monitoring of the success of efforts geared to integrating the issue. But in practice there is little reason to be satisfied, for the central instrument used to implement conceptual coordination, peer reviews, is often short-sighted and superficial in the treatment it accords to the gender aspect in bilateral cooperation.⁷¹

The poverty reduction guidelines

The poverty reduction guidelines worked out under the responsibility of DAC POVNET against the background of the Millennium Declaration may be regarded today as one of the most important international policy declarations on record, and they are informed by a comprehensive understanding of poverty. One essential requirement for a structural embodiment of gender issues in the guidelines is a broadened definition of poverty that goes beyond income poverty. What is needed instead is poverty reduction approaches based on a concept of poverty

67 For an in-depth look at the development-related significance of the DAC and its importance for German DC, see Ashoff (2000). The study also includes, on p. 152, an overview on the legal significance of the strategy papers and guidelines of bilateral donors and their associations.

68 A resolution taken at the DAC's high-level meeting of March 28, 2003, reduced the number of permanent *working parties* (WPs) – until then five – to two (*the WP on Statistics and the WP on Aid Effectiveness and Donor Practices*). Apart from the WP on Gender Equality, the *WP on Development Evaluation and the WP on Environment and Development Co-operation* were transformed into networks. *The Network on Poverty Reduction, the Network on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation, and the Network on Governance and Capacity Development* continue to provide additional advisory capacities in the DAC.

69 The Guidelines (OECD 1998a) and *the DAC Sourcebook on Concepts and Approaches linked to Gender Equality* (1998b). They have replaced the "Guidelines on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Co-operation," which were revised in 1989 and made use of the experience made with the integration approach (WID).

70 Apart from numerous contributions to *high-level meetings*, this included above all collaboration on the guidelines on conflict prevention, special reconstruction measures for Afghanistan, a comprehensive cross-sectional evaluation of the anchoring of the gender perspective in DAC member countries, and – not least – collaboration on the most recent guidelines on poverty reduction and poverty and health.

71 See OECD/DAC (2002), p. 87.

Box 5: The Time Poverty Faced by Women

Time poverty is a central dimension of gender-specific poverty. It results from disproportionate workloads, due in particular to unpaid work and reduced opportunities to earn an income sufficient to secure survival. Women are responsible for the greater part of the unpaid work of the care economy essential for caring for children and ensuring the survival of households. A UNDP survey of nine developing countries and 13 industrialized countries found that both in developing and industrialized countries unpaid reproductive labor contributed by women accounts for 66 % of their work. By comparison, the corresponding figures for men in developing and industrialized countries are 24 % and 34 %, respectively.^a In most developing countries women manage to combine reproductive household, family, and farm work with income-generating activities in the informal sector. Furthermore, the percentage of women active in the informal sector is on the rise, which means that, on the whole, women work far longer hours than men. Recent studies come to the conclusion that women work at least one hour more than men per day. In the Kenyan countryside, for instance, women work roughly three hours longer than men per day.^b Only gradually are governments complying with the stipulation set out in the Beijing Platform of Action that requires them to conduct, at both the national and international level, more time-budget studies and to collect data on the gender-specific division of labor. But the data material available at present indicates that women's time poverty is significantly greater in poor households than it is in prosperous households.^c

a Figures for 1995. See Seager (1998), p. 60; UNIFEM (2000a), p. 102.

b World Bank (2001a), p. 66.

c Ibid.

which is itself embedded in the context of broad social analyses and multidimensional deprivation systems. Referring to this broad understanding of poverty as well as to Amartya Sen, the DAC Guidelines set out five interrelated key dimensions which impair people's capabilities to satisfy their basic needs and live a life in human dignity (capabilities approach (see 3.2):

- economic capabilities: consumption, income, assets;
- human capabilities: health, education, nutrition;
- political capabilities: freedom, rights, influence, participation;
- sociocultural capabilities: respect, dignity;
- self-protection capabilities: security, protection against external shocks.

"Gender equity" and "environmental protection" are seen here as overarching, cross-cutting issues with particular significance for poverty reduction.⁷² The aim is to use targeted political measures to promote and ensure both the systematic inclusion of a gender-oriented view in all areas and advancement of

gender equality: e.g. amendment of existing laws and awareness-raising work on women's rights, in particular as regards sexual and reproductive self-determination, the rights to physical integrity and protection against bodily harm, and measures aimed at preventing violence in the family. A further aim is to provide more poverty-oriented and gender-sensitive basic services in agriculture, education, and healthcare as well as to sensitize all actors to the problem of the time poverty faced by women (see Box 5).⁷³

One central prerequisite for the development of appropriate approaches – and at the same time an important component of the way in which poverty is defined and assessed – is that due consideration be given to social and socioeconomic differentials. The question, "Who are the poor?" – i.e. the task of differentiation – must constitute the starting point for all reflections on action and should be answered at all different levels of social organization – household, community, district, region. Attention has been drawn repeatedly to the need for gender-disaggregated data collection, consideration of the gender indices HDI, GDI, and GEM, all of which are important instruments for the preparation of

72 "Poverty, gender and environmental concerns are mutually reinforcing, complementary and crosscutting facets of sustainable development." OECD (2001), p. 14.

73 OECD (2001), p. 62f. The table (1) contains a useful overview on causes, measures required, and indicators of success.

poverty profiles. This is in line with one of the key demands of the Beijing Platform for Action and the special "Beijing+5" session of the UN General Assembly.

The concept of poverty shows signs of a shift to a multidimensional approach that centers on social inequalities. It is a perspective of this kind that makes it possible in the first place to clearly recognize unequal gender relations as a factor that causes and exacerbates poverty and to accord it due consideration in measures and strategies. This furthermore lays the groundwork to integrally link different cross-cutting issues of development policy to create effective poverty reduction approaches: in this case, participation, social inequality, and the need for ecologically sustainable development are not just stereotyped reference points, they are at the same time anchored in every field of action. It is in particular a nonadditive, structural integration of gender issues (as opposed to any notions of women as "a vulnerable group") that lays the groundwork for a paradigmatic improvement of poverty-oriented concepts. It is nevertheless advisable to foster the advancement of gender equality with a view to improving the effectiveness and sustainability of development-related poverty reduction.

The instruments proposed to implement these target objectives⁷⁴ also clearly call for a holistic policy that takes account of social and gender inequalities: "Ensure a gender perspective in all policies, Programs, instruments and modalities (as opposed to having a discrete section on gender implications)." However, no specific reference is made to the need to integrate gender aspects in PRSPs.

The OECD-DAC Poverty Reduction Guidelines represent a pioneering contribution to anchoring comprehensive poverty reduction policies on the donor side. The guidelines reflect a conceptual advance in international, development-oriented institutional policy, which is now proposing serious, concrete steps, down to and including measures to en-

sure coherence for development policy. With reference to the Beijing Platform for Action, these actors are also pointing explicitly to the need to involve women in "international negotiations and official decision-making processes."⁷⁵

Despite these advances at the conceptual level, we are still faced with the problem of implementation: there is reason to fear that the OECD's policy paper will not find any more expression in practice than other papers have found. A process of change within the relevant institutions themselves can only take place if its implementation is verified by a monitoring system and supported by the intra organizational capacity-building called for in the guidelines. If they do not lose sight of the aspects of gender and participation, the guidelines could, in the future, prove to be an important frame of reference for engendering the development policy of development institutions. The task of conveying to these institutions the substance of and the demands implied by the need to integrate the guidelines in existing concepts, or to supplement these concepts accordingly, are challenges that will have to be addressed in the near future.

4.2 The EU's Development Cooperation: Gender Equality and Poverty Reduction as Criteria for Policy Coherence

With its share of over 55 %, the EU is the world's major provider of official development assistance.⁷⁶ Set out in the Maastricht Treaty and affirmed in the Amsterdam Treaty, complementarity, coordination, and coherence are underlying principles of European DC. The EU plans to use programmatic targets to gradually realize its objective of an 'all in one development policy'; this will involve a) concentrating Community activities on certain priority areas, b) improving the division of labor between bilateral donors, and c) standardizing policy instruments.

74 The focus here is on bi- and multilateral programs with a marked partner-country *ownership* component, such as *sector-wide approaches*, PRSPs, county and regional programs. Ibid., pp. 94f.

75 Ibid., p. 118.

76 Although the Commission's share here is only roughly 20 %, while the bilateral DC provided by member states themselves accounts for over 80 %.

As the 21st century was getting underway, far-reaching criticism of the EU's development policy, its lack of conceptual focus, its lack of coordination with member state policies, and above all its qualitatively poor and inflexible implementation of foreign-assistance measures, led to efforts aimed at comprehensive structural and administrative reforms.⁷⁷ The EU's new openness and receptivity for international debates is documented in two elements of the joint declaration adopted in November 2000 by the Development Council together with the EU Council and Commission:

On the one hand, the declaration centers on the need for policy coherence: this means that in coming to decisions member states are obliged to take account of possible negative impacts on developing countries. The aim of Community policy is not only to contribute to a gradual integration of the developing countries in the world economy but also to promote sustainable economic and social development in the countries concerned. At present it is in particular the EU's trade, agricultural, and fisheries policies that are blocking the implementation of this commitment.⁷⁸

On the other hand, in the future the EU's development policy is set to be brought in line with the paramount goal of the Millennium Development

Goals, poverty reduction: the Community's future development policy will therefore

*support poverty reduction strategies which (...) are aimed at consolidating the democratic process, peace and the prevention of conflict, the development of social policies, the integration of social and environmental aims in macro-economic reform Programs, [and] respect for equality between men and women (...).*⁷⁹

That the Community's attention is now to be geared "systematically to human rights, environmental protection, equality of men and women, and responsible governance"⁸⁰ must be seen as a step forward in conceptual terms. But deficits have been noted in the implementation of this commitment. Development-oriented European networks criticize in particular the fact that the EU's development policy is neither geared to securing basic needs in poor countries nor reaches out primarily to the world's poor and poorest countries.⁸¹ One fact that is problematic here – and runs counter to the call for policy coherence – is that development policy is subordinated to the interests of external and trade policies. The EU Commission's new orientation has also been welcomed from the gender perspective, although the halting implementation process has come in for criticism.⁸²

Gender in the EU's development cooperation work

Above all in the 1990s, the EU Commission actively supported a progressive gender equality policy at

77 What triggered this "crisis of development policy" (Wardenbach 2001) was the publication, in August 2000, of the fact that over € 20 billion aid had accumulated but not been disbursed. The Commission DGs responsible for external relations and development are, however, not forced account for their lack of implementation capacities to critical civil society observers (VENRO 2002). In an internal evaluation, the Commission itself pointed critically to "poor quality and exaggeratedly centralized procedures." See Wardenbach (2002), p. 5. Even prior to the crisis the need for a reorientation of the EU's DC had been the subject of an international debate. See Cox/Chapman (1999) and Wiemann (1999).

78 The main point of criticism is that the EU's trade barriers and export subsidies are in many respects destroying local markets, doing their part to thwart an autonomous process of socioeconomic change in developing countries. See OECD/DAC (2000), p. 3. On the discussion over an improvement of the coherence between development policy and other policies, see Ashoff (2002).

79 Declaration of the Council and the Commission on the European Community's Development Policy, 16 Nov. 2000, p. 3.

80 Joint declaration, summary, op. cit., p. 11.

81 On the one hand, this criticism is aimed at the EU's definition of new priorities (see VENRO 2002); on the other hand, it focuses on the share of ODA provided for LDCs. While it is true that the DAC noted a 13.4 % rise in ODA to US \$ 4.91 billion for the year 2000, the share of ODA provided by member countries to LDCs declined from 31.2 % in 1990 to 13.05 % in 2000. See OECD/DAC (2002), p. 2.

82 See Painter/Ulmer (2002).

the international level, advancing important proposals aimed at creating forward-looking legal foundations for it.⁸³ Still, what is at stake today is the implementation of the Commission's gender policy – and not only in Community development policy.

A good number of guidelines, declarations, and EU partnership agreements concerning European development cooperation stress the need to promote gender equality as a cross-cutting task. Both old and new EU DC programs subscribe to the strategy of gender mainstreaming, which was embodied in the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty and is now a binding legal principle for the Community.

Apart from the 1995 Council resolution on integrating gender issues in development cooperation,⁸⁴ the new Commission "Program of Action for the Mainstreaming of Gender Equality in Community Development Co-operation" (2001) stresses the programmatic and political significance of gender equality issues in the development process. It focuses on measures designed to implement existing political agreements both in the European Commission and – against the background of the EU's present decentralization policy – in partner countries and EU delegations on the ground.⁸⁵

The aims of the gender action program are:

1. to analyze the gender problematic and its incorporation in the priority areas of the EU's DC (see below);

2. to systematically integrate the gender problematic in the overall project cycle at the country and regional level, to collect gender-specific data, and – in the framework of the required standardization of policy instruments – to anchor gender in country strategy papers;
3. to develop advanced training measures aimed at building capacities and gender competence within the Commission and to prepare sourcebooks and manuals on implementing gender mainstreaming.

The EU Parliamentary Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities has welcomed the action program as a comprehensive strategy which, using measures tied to time targets, is designed to avoid "evaporation tendencies" and in this way to ensure the quality of Europe's development policy.⁸⁶ On the other hand, there have been expressions of regret – even from EU member states – that gender issues and efforts aimed at gender equality are viewed chiefly as means of reducing poverty, and not expressly as development goals. Now that poverty reduction has been defined as the EU's overarching goals, gender equality has been assigned a key role in efforts aimed at alleviating poverty. The Martens Report also notes critically that a weighted reorganization of the six fields of action of the EU's DC has been initiated: 1. macroeconomic policies, poverty reduction, and social programs for education and health; 2. food security and sustainable rural development; 3. transportation; 4. institutional capacity-building and good governance; 5. trade and development; 6. regional integration. While poverty reduction based on macroeconomic and social programs and strategies set out in the action program are, it is noted, given a prominent role here, the action program on gender mainstreaming – incorrectly – accords the priority area "transportation" precedence over the areas "trade" and "regional integration," which are central to EU policy. This hierarchization, it is further noted, fails to mirror

83 The history of the comparatively progressive gender equality policy pursued by the EU and its organs extends back to the 1970s. In the 1980s saw the emergence of the first EU programs of action on gender equality (1982-1986; 1986-1990). Since the start of negotiations on amendment of the Maastricht Treaty in the mid-1990s, the EU Commission has actively supported a gender equality policy that goes beyond issues bound up with the labor market. Looking at the EU's organ's, it was the Council and the Commission in particular which, even prior to the 4th World Women's Conference, actively supported a policy of gender mainstreaming. On the women's and gender policy of the EU Commission, see e.g. Braunmühl (2001), Erbe (2002), and Rodenberg (2003a).

84 Council of the European Union (1995).

85 European Commission (2001).

86 See the so-called Martens Report of the European Parliament / Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities (2002).

what the EU is actually called upon to do in political terms, particularly in view of the fact that the Union claims to accord due attention to specific gender concerns. Viewed in terms of coherence aspects, it would be essential to conduct gender impact assessments precisely for the supposedly "gender-neutral" priority areas three to six with an eye to avoiding negative impacts.⁸⁷

Policy instruments provide information on effective approaches for a practice-oriented implementation of the gender-mainstreaming obligations set out in political guidelines. The EU's Country Strategy Papers (CSP) are among the Union's central strategy papers used for policy dialogue and cooperation with partner countries.⁸⁸ A cross-sectional analysis of 40 papers conducted with a view to the gender perspective found that no conceptual linkage is being forged between the analysis of the situation of women in the countries concerned, the action strategy derived from the analysis, and the country-specific priorities of EU programs. Despite repeated references to the gender concept and the EU's dual strategy (gender mainstreaming and empowerment), the fact is that while the situation of women is addressed, gender concerns are not; and despite the stated commitment to gender mainstreaming in all policy fields, attention is directed primarily to the sectors of health and education. Furthermore, the gender-related measures in the country strategies are for the most part not placed in the context of the three basic principles of complementarity, coordination, and coherence. What we find instead is a sup-

plementary reference to women's concerns.⁸⁹ This deficit is all the more problematic in that country strategy papers are seen as having major instrumental significance as a instrument for steering and controlling the complementarity of European DC. The reason is that the country strategy papers are supposed to be coordinated with the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) on the one hand and the PRSPs on the other.

Subjected to gender analysis, the guidelines on regional cooperation show a more differentiated picture.⁹⁰ The Cotonou Agreement deserves particular attention here: the agreement, which is binding under international law and governs the EU's cooperation with the ACP countries, contains a clear-cut commitment of the signatory states to gender equality.⁹¹ But there are no other references to this obligation in articles central to the agreement – like those on business and trade. The regional Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) set to be negotiated by 2008 in the framework of the Cotonou Agreement are to accord more consideration to gender aspects with a view to avoiding negative impacts on the concrete living conditions of women and men in the partner countries.⁹²

87 Ibid; see also APRODEV (2001).

88 Inter-service Quality Support Group/DG Development: Assessment of Country Strategy Papers (CSPs) with Reference to Gender (12 Nov. 2001). CSPs and *Regional Strategy Papers* (RSP) were introduced in 2001, on the recommendation of the DAC, as a planning instrument for the EU's DC. Comparable to the BMZ's priority area strategy papers, these papers are intended to help develop cross-project promotion strategies that lead to a coherent and complementary donor policy in recipient countries. The structure of the CSPs/RSPs provides for both a profound analysis of a country's political, economic, and social situation and an evaluation of the experiences made with ongoing activities.

89 For the results of the thematic evaluation on the integration of gender in the EU's cooperation with third countries, see Braithwaite et al. (2003), pp. 38ff.

90 The guidelines on regional cooperation also include the development program for Asia and Latin America (ALA). They are covered by the 1992 ALA directive, which is still in force. The latter refers explicitly to the EU's principles, under which the Union committed itself to gender mainstreaming. The present draft for a new ALA directive also anchors the binding principle of according systematic consideration to "horizontal aspects" in the "Joint Declaration of the Council and the Commission of 20 November 2000 on the European Community's Development Policy." See Council of the European Union (2000b), pp. 7ff.

91 With reference to the internationally binding anti-discrimination convention (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform of Action, and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, the agreement's general provisions as well as Article 31 ("Gender Issues") state that the agreement, will take "systematic account of the situation of women and gender issues in all areas – political, economic and social." See European Community (2000), pp. 8 and 46.

92 Looking at export-oriented business sectors (floriculture, meat production, and sugarcane production), a study by the

The most important points of departure for an effective gender mainstreaming in European development cooperation are the mechanisms and instruments involved in practical implementation. However, it should be noted that gender issues do not top the agenda in the fields of donor coordination, policy dialogue between partner countries and the EU, and participation of nongovernmental actors. A look at the institutional structures in Brussels shows that the external relations offices responsible for the implementation of gender mainstreaming (DG RELEX) are inadequately endowed with personnel and financial resources.⁹³ The thematic evaluation used to assess the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming strategies both in EU institutions and – based on selected case studies – in four developing countries pointed to two obstacles responsible for the weak institutional framework and the deficient, at times erratic implementation of the concept: for one thing, there is a lack, at all levels, of a clear understanding and sound knowledge in the fields of policy and strategy development ("gender competence"). For another, there is a lack of sufficient institutional support for gender mainstreaming especially at the higher political and administrative levels.⁹⁴

In retrospect, above all since the adoption of the Beijing Platform of Action – whose progressive orientation had been backed by the EU Commission – and since the 1995 adoption of the EU directive on the integration of gender issues in the European Community's development policy, some substantial progress has in fact been made in anchoring the gender mainstreaming strategy. In various agreements the EU Commission has made reference to an obligation to implement the dual strategy. But what is called for to sustain and effectively implement this linkage of measures designed to integrate gender aspects with specific promotion measures aimed at eliminating inequality is political will, sufficient

financial and personnel resources, and regular monitoring of the effectiveness of these measures. While appropriate efforts were documented in the practice-oriented 2001 Program of Action and have since been reaffirmed in the recently proposed EU regulation on "Promoting gender equality in development cooperation,"⁹⁵ progress in gender mainstreaming policy in the EU's DC has been threatened by general EU reforms which have weakened the autonomous development-policy structures within the EU, in the Commission, and in the European Parliament.⁹⁶ What is called for to ensure, in the future, an effective implementation of gender mainstreaming, and thus of a holistic development policy, is improved coordination between the Commission DGs responsible for external affairs and social development as well as between the individual member states.

The paramount development goals of poverty reduction, peace, environmental sustainability, human rights protection, and social equity are assuming more and more importance in the orientation of European external and economic policy. The goals of overcoming gender disparity and achieving gender equality are – and this point has been sufficiently documented by the EU and its member states – both elementary components of this policy, i.e. both indirect and autonomous development goals. But as long as the three structural elements of European development policy – complementarity, coherence, and coordination – are not applied to the social task of achieving gender equality, the principle of gender mainstreaming is bound to remain a playground incapable of generating the political clout needed to exert influence on the "actual making of policy."

ecumenical church umbrella organization APRODEV identified positive and negative impacts of free-trade agreements which affect poor population groups and women (APRODEV 2002).

93 See Painter/Ulmer (2002); Braithwaite (2001), and Braithwaite et al. (2003), pp. 15ff.

94 Braithwaite et al. (2003), p. VIII.

95 See Council of the European Union (2003).

96 These include the dissolution of the Development Council in June 2002 and the curtailment of the competences of the European Parliament's Committee on Development and Cooperation.

4.3 The BMZ: Gender Equality in the Program of Action 2015

In the Program of Action it adopted in April 2001 the German government signaled, in concrete form, its backing for the UN Millennium Declaration. This cabinet decision reaffirms Germany's commitment to integrating poverty reduction in all policy fields as an overarching task of development cooperation. The Program of Action, which was developed in a consultative process under the auspices of the BMZ,⁹⁷ provides for a number of measures at the different levels of global structural policy. The ten cross-sectoral approaches set out in it are – unlike the principal elements of the 1992 poverty reduction strategy – based on an enlarged definition of poverty. The helping-people-to-help-themselves approach pursued by the BMZ in the 1990s has given way to a more complex approach. The Program of Action is in line with ongoing international debates and centers on the structural prerequisites of poverty reduction, which include e.g. promotion of human security and crisis prevention, strengthening of good governance, debt relief, and improvement of trade opportunities for developing countries. Even though the BMZ, or the German government, has not yet adopted a human rights approach for development cooperation,⁹⁸ more emphasis than in earlier concepts is now placed on promotion of social justice and human development, the current priority areas being "Fulfillment of the

right to food" and "Implementation of the ILO's core labor standards."⁹⁹

The Program of Action underscores gender equality as a key factor involved in poverty reduction. All measures undertaken should – according to a guideline given prominence in the text – be mindful of the fact that the majority of the poor are women and girls. However, measures designed to "foster gender equality" come into focus only in Section 3.8 of the program. The choice of fields of action makes it plain that the particularly high number of women living in extreme poverty is seen in the context of women's lack of decision-making power. Promotion of basic education for women and girls is seen as a key instrument in eliminating gender inequality. A second approach is seen in attempts to combat violence, trafficking in women, and forced prostitution and child prostitution.¹⁰⁰ The official commitment – likewise made in this connection – to provide more support to NGOs and women's political networks in the future is due in large measure to the growing cooperation of the German government and other donor countries with non state actors. A further aspect relevant to poverty in the narrower sense is the government's declaration of intent to support a gender-oriented budgetary planning based on gender-sensitive budget initiatives.¹⁰¹ On the whole, the projects listed in the Program of Action and designed to contribute to reducing extreme poverty by eliminating gender inequality bear witness to a priority based on support for strategic gender interests. It also underscores the elementary importance of access to elementary education for girls.

97 The process that led to the adoption of the Program of Action may be compared with the process that gave birth to the PRSPs, and it may, in this sense, be termed "weakly participatory" (see 5.1): in essence, both its structure and its substance are the fruits of an intensive discussion process conducted by a BMZ working groups which was enlarged to include external experts. Representatives of civil society were officially consulted on two occasions and has an opportunity to comment on the draft-in-progress. By comparison, the economics and finance ministries were able to assert greater influence in the course of the coordination processes.

98 See the GDI-DIE reports on a human rights approach for German development cooperation, Krennerich/Lingnau (2002, 2003).

99 Although the present framework forbids going in any detail into the responses to the German Program of Action, some of which have pointed critically e.g. to the failure to focus and prioritize the great variety of measures involved (see in particular Eberlei/Fues 2001), one important point that deserves to be emphasized here is that the concept of (*pro-poor growth*) must be seen as insufficiently concretized as compared with the market-oriented economic growth prevalent in the program.

100 In this field implementation falls under the responsibility of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ). See BMZ (2001a), p. 34.

101 BMZ (2001a), p. 34. Gender-sensitive budget analyses have gained increasing significance especially in PRS processes; see Annex.

Box 6: The BMZ's Gender Concept
<p>The background of the gender policy set out in the Program of Action, geared as it is to strategic interests, is the equal rights concept developed by the BMZ in the late 1990s. It replaced earlier approaches designed to integrate women in development and was elaborated in keeping with the legal stipulations of the EU^a and the national legislation required by them. The new concept, anchored as a binding principle of the policy of the BMZ and its implementing agencies, requires consideration to be given to gender-specific concerns in all "external" measures. It furthermore establishes a close structural link between gender, poverty reduction, and target group participation.^b Additional measures aimed at eliminating discrimination against women (empowerment) serve to supplement the gender-mainstreaming principle, uniting the two elements to form a dual track strategy.</p>
<p>a Art. 2, Art. 3 (2), Treaty of Amsterdam. See Section 4.2, above.</p>
<p>b BMZ (2001c), p. 2.</p>

Yet one important component of the approaches set out in the Program of Action is not in line with the demand to accord due consideration to gender aspects. While it is true that in some areas, e.g. promotion of the economic dynamics and participation of the poor and the issue of the right to food, the program states unmistakably that it is essential to improve access to resources, above all to credit and land. But the approaches "Reducing debt – financing development," "Creating fair trade opportunities for the developing countries," and the instruments designed to promote democracy – "Resolving conflict peacefully" – and sustainability – "Fostering an intact environment" – make no reference whatever to the social dimension of gender inequality. In particular, the fields of action concerned with macro-economic issues are without exception presented as gender-neutral and make do without any real reference to social actors and the persons directly affected. The measures that focus on this point as a means of overcoming extreme poverty, however, fail to consider the fact that the mainly unpaid work – including market-oriented social reproductive work – done by women is necessary to ensure the survival of household and community and should be

recorded both statistically and in national economic accounting (e.g. in tax terms).¹⁰²

The 2002 interim report on the implementation of the Program of Action picks up on the criticism aimed at the program's failure to prioritize fields of action and specifies three to five central lines of action for each of its approaches. The prominently placed box entitled "Gender in the Program of Action 2015" can very well be understood as a response to the criticism leveled at the lack of sufficient gender mainstreaming in some of the program's approaches. The box stresses the great significance attached to gender equality in poverty reduction.¹⁰³ One other positive aspect is that the approach "Participation and good governance" combines support for "Reform of discriminatory legal systems" with combating state corruption and fostering gender equality to form one priority area for action. This adds greater weight to the reorientation of German DC and its poverty reduction policy toward rights-based approaches, which has at times appeared somewhat dilatory.¹⁰⁴

Viewed from the gender perspective, one basically positive aspect is that the Program of Action picks

102 The points of criticism discussed here were also the subject of an expert dialogue on the implementation of the Program of Action; the dialogue, convened in March 2002 on the initiative of the development NGOs EED and NRO-Frauenforum (NGO Women's Forum), took stock of issues bound up with an integration of the gender perspective. See NRO-Frauenforum (2002).

103 In the future efforts will center on improvement of the legal situation of women by seeking to ensure that they have adequate access to basic services and social, economic, and political resources (BMZ 2002, p. 11). Finally, the approach "Environment" makes mention of the gender issue, which was not even touched upon in the Program of Action (access to drinking water; *ibid.*, p. 25). For point 8, "Gender Equality," see *ibid.*, pp 33ff.

104 See Krennerich/Lingnau (2002a,b). The transfer of the BMZ's formerly autonomous Gender Equality Division, in the wake of structural reform, to Division 211 "Governance, Democracy, Women's and Human Rights" must be seen as an important political signal in this connection. If, on the other hand, the division had been incorporated into the Division "Poverty Reduction and Social Development," gender equality would have been reduced to this one single aspect of global social inequality, important as it may be.

up on recent international – academic and practice-oriented – discourses. Based on the expanded definition of poverty, gender inequality is identified as a significant problem of a structural and cross-sectoral nature. Elimination of social, legal, and economic inequality has been factored, as a cross-cutting task, into important fields of action such as legal system reforms, participation in public budgetary planning, and access to land. Embedded in the gender concept of international development cooperation, women are no longer perceived as a homogeneous vulnerable group or as "underutilized human capital" and are seen instead in their status as autonomous actors and persons in law. This has meant recognition of the great significance of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers as an effective instrument of sustainable debt reduction and autonomous development of partner countries, including the need to involve women and to adopt and integrate a gender perspective.

Both in its internal gender policy and in many fields of its external policy, the BMZ accords serious attention to the gender issue and supports a proactive gender equality policy. Still, there continues to be a gap between progressive rhetoric and consistent implementation. In country papers and sector papers, analysis of gender power relations for the most part tends to recede into invisibility behind a seeming "gender neutrality" of the concern under consideration (road construction, business promotion) or behind a target-group approach that addresses women in their stereotyped gender roles (reproductive health). Further efforts are called for to effectively implement empowerment and gender mainstreaming measures in all policy fields, and in particular in the fields of development financing, world trade, and the environment. If the concern at hand is to pursue, implement, and monitor a coherent policy, i.e. one that is both social and geared to gender equality, what is called for, apart from analyses of the gender problematic in partner countries, is, first and foremost, evaluations of the programs conducted by the BMZ. Continuous monitoring of activities is required in view of the complexity of a definition of poverty that not only aims at fulfillment of basic needs but also accords adequate attention to the social processes bound up with empowerment of the poor, a factor that is difficult to meas-

ure. This, however, presupposes an up-to-date (re)assessment (stocktaking) of gender-relevant measures. Only in this way it is possible to determine what poverty-reducing impacts measures actually have – e.g. measures aimed at preventing violence.¹⁰⁵

4.4 The World Bank: "Engendering Development"

The following section focuses on the gender concepts of the most important institution involved in global development policy, the World Bank. Compared with the policy guidelines of both bilateral donors and associations of donors (see Sections 4.1 – 4.3), the World Bank Group's programs in the field of social development have gone through the most striking changes in recent years.¹⁰⁶ The years since the inauguration of James Wolfensohn as World Bank President in 1995 have experienced the launching of a number of different initiatives, including institutional reforms keyed to the objective of effective poverty reduction.¹⁰⁷ In this connection,

105 To date the only evaluation available of gender-oriented measures deployed by German DC is a serial evaluation of the target-group differentiation of selected measures in three countries (BMZ, 2000b).

106 The World Bank Group includes five organizations: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). The present framework precludes any detailed presentation of the individual organizations and their programs. However, critical analyses conducted by development and gender experts and used for the present study refer generally to the financing and lending policies of the IBRD and the IDA. The present section focuses on the concepts and the policy and research departments of the World Bank Group, but without looking into how these concepts are implemented in country strategies and in projects.

107 In the mid-1990s the World Bank found itself in a legitimacy crisis, which Wolfensohn sought to resolve by setting new annual priorities in connection with his reform efforts. The aim of the 1996 *Strategic Compact* was to increase program efficiency with a view to cutting and concentrating efforts on social concerns. The 1997 *Partnership Initiative* laid the groundwork for neo-institutionalism,

the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) presented by Wolfensohn in 1999 marks a conceptual reorientation of the World Bank. From now on, institution-building and government effectiveness were to constitute central elements of poverty reduction strategies.¹⁰⁸ The reform efforts bound up with the post-Washington Consensus and launched under the influence of the Copenhagen World Social Summit finally gave rise to the concept of national Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) for debt relief, which the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund adopted on the heels of the expanded debt-relief initiative set out at the 1997 World Economic Summit. This initiative involved focusing the central principles of national ownership and broad participation of civil society in the development of sustainable poverty reduction strategies to form a new multilateral policy instrument (see Chapter 5). The following section looks into the extent to which gender issues have found a place in the Bank's research and new approaches.

World Development Reports: 1990- 2000

The 1990 World Development Report (WDR) for the first time showed signs that the World Bank was taking leave of the policy it pursued in the 1980s and the premise of the need for sound balances of payments. Broadly effective and labor-intensive possibilities of income generation as well as social investments in basic health and education were now seen as the keys to promoting pro-poor growth in the developing world.¹⁰⁹ While the World Development Report 2000/2001 again centered on broadly effective poverty reduction, it reflected a more differentiated understanding of poverty, with poverty now viewed in the dimensions of insuffi-

cient opportunities, inadequate security, and insufficient empowerment.¹¹⁰

Furthermore, the WDR 2000/2001 presented a more complex perception of the gender issue: the report stresses the extent and institutional character of gender inequality, describing the phenomenon with reference to discriminatory kinship rules, exclusionary community structures, and locally rooted traditions as well in terms of unequal legal and political systems at the national level. The report criticized in particular customary laws and rights of inheritance that run counter to an equal access to and control over resources and drastically restrict the personal autonomy of women.¹¹¹ The framework of the key dimensions of poverty reduction recognized by the World Bank – empowerment, opportunity, and security – accords great significance to reduction of gender inequality, and there is reason to believe that noneconomic dimensions of poverty and inequality have here found their way into the World Bank's political analysis. A report prepared by the World Bank for the Beijing+5 Special Session of the UN General Assembly confirms the close link between the extended concept of poverty and the need and obligation to embark on a course of gender mainstreaming:

Recently the Bank has renewed its focus on poverty reduction as its primary mission and adopted a broad definition of poverty that includes empowerment, opportunity, and security as well as income as necessary to the fight to end poverty. These changes have set the stage for the Bank to sharpen its focus on gender equality.¹¹²

But the question of whether the objective of gender equality – as the rhetoric of the WDR 2000/2001

which stressed the role of the state in the development process and reaffirmed the World Bank's concept of "good governance." The year 1998 experienced the birth of the concept of the "knowledge bank," which laid the foundations for the present, markedly expanded research activities and internal capacity-building efforts of the Bank and its fields of activity. See Schneider (2002).

108 See Wolfensohn (1999).

109 See World Bank (1990).

110 World Bank (2001a), p. 37.

111 This reading of the WDR does, however, involve a risk that gender inequality may be reduced to social and cultural discrimination at the micro-level: "The extent and manifestations of gender inequality vary among societies, shaped to a considerable degree by kinship rules." See World Bank (2001a), pp. 144ff.

112 World Bank (2000), p. 2.

would lead the reader to believe – is here, once again, understood and instrumentalized as a prerequisite for economic growth and increased productivity, or whether it is regarded as an independent development goal in its own right, remains an open one.¹¹³

"Voices of the Poor"

With a view to making the "Voices of the Poor" heard, as the declaration of intent puts it, in the mid-1990s, in the preparatory phase for the annual report, Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) were conducted in 47 developing countries and countries in transformation. Based on qualitative interviews that included roughly 60 000 poor persons, the three-volume final report documents the multiple – i.e. social, personal, and psychological – dimensions of poverty from the viewpoint of those affected. The interviews show that as a form of existence poverty is experienced as stigmatization and marginalization marked by feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness.¹¹⁴

"Voices of the Poor" documents the different impacts of poverty on men and women, above all with a view to cultural norms and traditional gender-specific role patterns and expectations which consolidate gender inequality. These very often under-focused links between poverty and violence (as an 'expression of male frustration') and economic need and traditions are discussed not from the perspective of the women affected but are also viewed in the light of the lack of options open to men and their tenacious adherence to traditional roles and stereotyped role patterns. Both types of behavior serve to reinforce the conflict-laden hierarchy between men and women, and the noneconomic dimension of poverty in marginalized households (see Box 7).

In sum, the "Voices of the Poor" has the merit of discussing gender-specific views of poverty in a differentiated way. The study recognizes that the disparity between men and women is both structural in nature and based on unequal access to natural and social resources (land, capital, income, basic health-care, education, and knowledge). The report refers to a number of global factors that tend, in a gender-specific way, to cause poverty and to deepen it. These include e.g. the fact that notions of (male) predominance and (female) subordination are encountered in all spheres of society and at many different levels (household, community, the judiciary). Another equally important observation is that social networks of women have a survival-securing function in day-to-day life. By comparison, local networks of men are endowed with a greater measure of social capital in that they are geared to processes of social influence and decision-making. Nonetheless, the study fails to address a number of central, for the most part noneconomic, aspects of female poverty, as a study by the Swedish foreign ministry emphasizes:¹¹⁵ Statistics on maternal mortality, which is on the increase thanks to inadequate healthcare (roughly 500 000 cases per year), present only the tip of the iceberg. The severe health problems faced by survivors are not reflected in them. Despite the constant emphasis placed by the study on the interrelationship between economic marginalization and growing violence against women, it makes no reference whatever to the fact that every year some 130 million girls and young women are subjected to genital mutilation. Essential economic factors such as the impacts of the privatization of public goods on women and their opportunities to influence and control social decision-making processes are neglected in the presentation of gender-specific poverty issues. The strategy proposals presented for an offensive pro-poor empowerment policy on the part of the governments of poor and rich countries that are developed in the conclusions to the study are couched in a gender-neutral language.¹¹⁶ In particular, the strategies aimed at political and legal reforms geared to securing livelihoods

113 *"Antidiscriminatory legal, institutional, and policy reforms for increasing gender equality have both instrumental value for development and poverty reduction and intrinsic value for furthering human rights and well-being."* World Bank (2001a), p. 149.

114 See Narayan et. al (1999).

115 See Johnsson-Latham (2002), pp. 4f.

116 Narayan / Petesch (2002), pp. 487ff.

Box 7: Gender in the World Bank Study "Voices of the Poor"

"Vast economic, social, and political restructuring has not – with few exceptions – translated into increased economic opportunities for the poor. (...) The household is a basic unit of society where individuals both cooperate and compete for resources. The household is an institution that is strained and in flux. (...) Under increasing economic pressure, men in many parts of the world have lost their traditional occupations and jobs, and women have been forced to take on additional income earning tasks while continuing their domestic tasks. These changes have touched core values about gender identity, gender power, and gender relations within poor households, and anxiety about what is a 'good woman' or a 'good man' seems pervasive. (...) Values and relations are being broken, tested, contested, and renegotiated in silence, pain, and violence. What is striking is that despite widespread changes in gender roles, traditional gender norms have shown remarkable tenacity, leaving families struggling to meet the often contradictory demands (175). (...) The changing roles of poor men: from breadwinner to burden: When men's roles are directly linked to income earning potential, any threat to earning potential becomes a threat to gender identity and spills into gender relations (182). (...) Social norms still support men's authority and indeed men's 'right' to beat women, and social norms still dictate that women should suffer in silence. While many households manage to survive intact, many are crumbling under the weight of social, political, and economic dislocations (269). (...) Men often seem to react with defeat while women react by 'swallowing their pride' and taking desperate action. When men are unemployed or underemployed, women enter low-income, low-status jobs in order to feed their families (184). [Consequently,] women's workloads also have consequences for their children (1987)."^a

a Source: Narayan et al. 1999, pp. 175ff.

by strengthening the capacities of the poor contain no gender-specific approaches.¹¹⁷

"Engendering Development through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice"

The 2001 research report "Engendering Development" documents the various dimensions of gender equality both in relation to social and local institutions and – above all – with regard to economic structures at the national and international level. Referring to avowedly feminist analyses of the household economy that point out the high share of unpaid reproductive work performed by women as well as to analyses of the market under the conditions of globalization, the study found clear-cut evidence of gender-specific segregation in the labor market and a hierarchic differential between the formal and informal sectors and the people employed in them.

While it is true that the World Bank study is saying nothing new when it notes that women are overrepresented in the informal sector and, unlike men, are forced to secure their livelihoods by accepting precarious and very low paid jobs – worldwide, this means wage differentials of 20 – 30 %¹¹⁸ – what is new here is that, for the first time, a World Bank publication sets the continuing economic discrimination against women in the world market in close relation to prevalent social values, cultural prejudices, and lack of rights. The study furthermore analyzes the impacts of globalization processes, noting that the expansion of markets they entail are opening up new opportunities for young women to find (better) paid wage labor.¹¹⁹ The study discusses critically whether and to what extent free competition is suited alleviating gender-specific discrimina-

118 World Bank (2001b), pp. 54f.; see also the final report of the Enquete Commission of the German Parliament (Deutscher Bundestag 2002) and Chapter 2.

119 The World Bank study here avoids the term *feminization of labor*, which was coined in the 1990s to designate the growth in female wage labor in manufacturing, export-oriented industries, in particular in the electronics and textile sectors. This labor, which often is bound up with migration to urban centers, is seen by many young women – despite working conditions that are frequently precarious – as enlargement of their choices and options. For an in-depth discussion, see in particular Dannecker's (2002) empirical study on female Bangladeshi textile workers.

117 Ibid; see also Johnsson-Latham (2002), p. 6.

tion.¹²⁰ Unlike previous World Bank analyses, this study seeks to establish a link between the broad-based economic growth strategies of the World Bank and the IMF and UNDP's legal approaches to human development.¹²¹ The study also reaffirms the frequently-made demand calling on the state to strengthen equal rights and establish nondiscriminatory legal systems. Yet the demand that the state should undertake targeted efforts to achieve civil and political rights, correct as it may be, does not go far enough if it fails to include economic and social rights.¹²²

In sum, the study "Engendering Development," with its wealth of data, illustrates the efforts of the World Bank to use substantiated research work to lay the foundation for a comprehensive and, in the end, more effective gender policy. The intent of the study is to signal a new thinking at the World Bank that focuses less exclusively on economic efficiency and investment in human capital as the goal of its financing programs. But there are questions as to what influence the recommendations elaborated by the research unit will have on the political will of the World Bank Group.

"Integrating gender into the World Bank's work: a strategy for action"

Apart from the "Engendering Development" study, gender experts from development-related institutions see the adoption of the new gender mainstreaming strategy as a marked advance in the

World Bank's gender policy.¹²³ Published in early 2002, the strategy was designed to operationalize the new concept. It consists of two elements: the first is to use advanced staff training, including gender training, to anchor gender mainstreaming in the organizations making up the World Bank Group. The second is to prepare, in cooperation with partner countries, what are known as Country Gender Assessments which, closely coordinated with the governments of partner countries, are expected to foster the development and implementation of gender-sensitive measures.¹²⁴

In this connection the impacts of economic poverty (which is seen in the World Bank's study as a lack of opportunities to participate in economic globalization processes) are translated into requirements for World Bank programs. The development and gender approach has been underpinned both methodologically and in terms of the tools to be used. The aim is to use participatory (ex ante) methods of planning and constant impact monitoring to ensure that due attention is accorded to gender-specific concerns. The fact that this may, in given cases, mean changes in projects that have already been outlined is understood and accepted.¹²⁵

In keeping with its reform approaches and the ongoing modification of its neoliberal structural adjustment policy, but also under the influence of the international discussions initiated in the framework of the UN's international conferences in Beijing and Copenhagen, the World Bank's gender-related concepts have, since the mid-1990s, taken a turn from a WID approach toward a mainstreaming approach.

120 Which is one reason why it would be important to strengthen the regulatory role of the state: "Competitive markets may not be the best way to eliminate gender discrimination, so government has a role to play in regulating markets and in providing critical economic infrastructure," World Bank (2001b), p. 196.

121 It is therefore all the more striking that the study seeks, in the face of well-founded critiques, to establish a positive effective correlation between structural adjustment measures and improvement of the situation of women. See World Bank (2001b), pp. 212ff.

122 "It stresses civil and political rights (and their negative 'freedom from') rather than economic and social rights (and their positive 'freedom to')", Kabeer (2003), p. 18.

123 World Bank (2002a); see <http://www.worldbank.org/gender>.

124 "The strategy basically says that, in a given borrower country, the Bank's Country Director has the responsibility to use the assessment in dialogue with government in order to come up with a country-specific set of actions. The strategy also stipulates that, if the country gender assessment identifies certain sectors as having particularly important gender issues, then Bank lending in that sector should be done in a gender-responsive manner" (Interview with Karen Mason, op. cit.).

125 "A gender-inclusive approach will change the kinds of projects which are financed." See Bamberger (2000).

This process was encouraged by the structural reorganization and upgrading of the World Bank's gender unit.

A further, less fundamental, criticism leveled at the World Bank's gender policy points to the fact that concrete implementation continues to focus on promoting women as a target group. While, it is noted, the Bank has, since the UN World Women's Conference, made available US \$ 5.3 billion for the promotion of (primary) education for girls and healthcare for women and their children, these programs must be seen more as a static continuation of WID measures which do nothing to alter, either at the micro-level or at the level of social institutions, role expectations, role assignments, and power relations. They are marked by a development interventionism that neither looks to partner concerns nor involves partner participation.¹²⁶

It is, however, essential to review high-sounding concepts in the light of the overall policy under which they are implemented as well as in terms of their impacts in practice. This review practice, which has yet to materialize, concerns above all the Bank's macroeconomic lending policy and structural adjustment measures, which are not reviewed suffi-

ciently with an eye to determining their gender impacts. A policy of gender mainstreaming is invariably undercut when the World Bank at the same time supports the promotion of new transnational markets which tend to exclude poor groups. The World Bank – critics assert – analyzes gender issues only in the framework given by the development parameter of globalization and structural economic reform.¹²⁷

5 Gender and National Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSPs)

The Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC II) was announced at the World Economic Summit in Cologne in 1999. This initiative aimed at a reduction by at least two thirds in the total debt incurred by the world's heavily indebted and poorest developing countries. In order to ensure that the resources made available by this debt relief were actually employed to combat poverty in the countries concerned, the World Bank and the IMF developed the concept of national Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). Approximately 70

Box 8: Nine Steps Needed to Adequately Integrate Gender in PRSPs^a

1. Ensure that gender is addressed in the four dimensions of poverty (opportunities, capabilities, security, empowerment);
2. provide documentation of gender-specific experiences in these four dimensions;
3. conduct a gender-specific evaluation of the data collected in the country-specific poverty analyses;
4. determine the political implications and conclusions of the country-specific gender analysis;
5. set priorities for the PRSP;
6. integrate gender-sensitive priorities in the policy framework and focal measures in the PRSP;
7. integrate a gender dimension into the monitoring system;
8. integrate a gender dimension into the evaluation strategy of the PRSP; employ gender-specific effectiveness monitoring processes;
9. form institutional capacities for gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation

a From a World Bank document on PRSP (2002), cited in: Vylter (2003), p.14.

126 "The Bank seems to have done very well in girls' education because it didn't threaten anyone," statement made by a World Bank staff member, quoted in: Long 2003, p. 5.

127 Long (2003), p. 9.

poor and poorer countries which have to date qualified for concessional loans from the IDA (a member of the World Bank Group) are required to prepare PRSPs in order to qualify for debt relief and any future concessional credits granted by multilateral donors.

Since the inception of this multiphase process the effectiveness of the PRSP approach has been examined in depth by the groups of actors involved. It is generally accepted that this reform initiative amounts to a strategy reorientation on the part of the Bretton Woods Institutions in which the IMF for the first time in its history has committed itself to the overarching goal of poverty reduction.¹²⁸ The World Bank is building here on the extension of its mandate, initiated in the 1990s, to cover noneconomic areas (see 4.4) by conditioning its lending on national ownership and participation of civil society. It is the level of success attained in implementing precisely these *soft* core elements of the PRSP approach which has attracted the attention of the international debate and in particular of civil society forces. Both actors and observers are looking critically into the extent to which the concept and the implementation structures are suited to contributing to the stated aim of using poverty reduction programs as a means of promoting democracy in developing countries. Selected cross-sectional studies will be used in the following section to look into this issue, focusing in particular on whether or not a given PRSP reflects the gender perspective. The secondary analysis will be followed by a summary and evaluation of two exemplary case studies which were carried out in Ghana and Kenya within the framework of the research project documented here.

5.1 The Core Principles of the HIPC Initiative and the Significance of Cross-cutting Tasks

PRSPs are country-specific poverty strategies which link structural macroeconomic reforms such as stabilization of financial policies and use of market-oriented principles with the sociopolitical measures

used in poverty reduction (e.g. promotion of basic education and employment). This involves, much as in the case of a classic policy cycle, preparing not a one-off paper but a series of PRSPs as part of a long-term and continuous discussion process involving the following phases: analysis of the poverty situation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and reformulation of the strategy. All countries involved are required to submit a new PRSP every three years.

A new and central element of the World Bank initiative is the requirement that PRSPs be developed in a comprehensive participatory process which makes it possible to involve broad segments of civil society actors and persons directly affected by poverty. The aim behind this approach is to strengthen country ownership. However, only broad acceptance creates country ownership and gives rise to a higher level of effectiveness of the measures developed.

Based on the principles of the CDF, PRSPs are expected contain the following elements:

- a comprehensive poverty analysis that takes into account both absolute figures and differentiations within society;
- a clear list of priorities with regard to planned structural economic reforms and poverty-oriented social programs;
- a description of the participatory process which led up to the drafting of the PRSP; and
- targets and indicators adequate for a transparent implementation and monitoring process.¹²⁹

In a comprehensive PRSP Sourcebook, the World Bank points to the need to accord due consideration to cross-cutting issues such as good governance, local government and decentralization, the environment, and HIV-AIDS. A separate chapter of the sourcebook emphasizes the need to integrate gender. Detailed guidelines on the integration of gender in

128 Eberlei/Siebold (2002), p. 5.

129 See the World Bank's website <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/strategies>, which contains a considerable number of introductory and more detailed documents and overviews on PRSP. See also the introduction in VENRO (2003), p.4f.

every phase of the preparation process and in *all* areas of a PRSP are intended to ensure that gender equality is fostered both in and through poverty reduction strategies.¹³⁰

All these principles have created high expectations as regards both the pro-democracy impacts generated during the preparation process and the poverty reduction effects of this new planning and steering instrument. In the present, fourth year of the PRSP process, 20 Full PRSPs and 45 Interim PRSPs have been submitted; the nominal debt reduction accorded to the six countries which have thus far reached the so-called completion point is reported to be US \$ 13.34 billion.¹³¹

Still, there has been justifiable and fundamental criticism of the results and, despite the repeated description of the instrument as "work in process," there is no doubt that thus far there are no signs of a paradigm shift in international development and financial policy. The criticism centers around the implementation of the ownership principle and the inadequate participation of civil society: representatives of a given HIPC country's civil society and of international NGOs criticize the fact that in many cases governments involve nonstate actor groups on a pro forma basis, merely in order to meet the formal requirements. In many PRS processes participation goes no further than quite general consultation processes which focus out the central questions of macroeconomic policy. Important demands made by critical civil society groups which have, despite considerable skepticism, become involved in the processes of their respective countries are disregarded in the final papers, as are alternative visions or new development paradigms. Even though the

approach, which even critics refer to as a "reform offensive," may be regarded as a (rhetorical) admission of the failure of structural adjustment programs, economic growth remains the central element of poverty reduction in PRSPs, despite the fact that the distributional effects of growth are dealt with only occasionally and in a sketchy way and, in qualitative terms, sociopolitical strategies amount to little more than an assemblage of cushioning measures. The term "pro-poor growth," which has become the central catchword of a new macroeconomic orientation, has yet to be concretized.¹³²

The standardized nature of the final products has been criticized in particular by representatives of civil society and by development experts. Generally speaking, little room has been accorded to country-specific issues in PRSPs, and both time pressure and the need to meet the conditions specified have led to considerable similarities in both the structure and content of the papers. In this connection, apart from the contradiction between the declared ownership on the part of developing countries ("the country in the driver's seat") and the factual dominance of bilateral and multilateral donor institutions ("donorship"), a further problematic resemblance appears to be emerging: the lack of or insufficient consideration accorded to issues of social inequality and in particular to gender inequality.

5.2 Between Claim and Reality: Results of Cross-sectional Analyses

Analysis of more recent donor concepts on poverty reduction strategies reflects the fact that they have adopted more complex approaches which also take social inequalities between men and women into account (see Chapter 4). However, in implementing international policy guidelines in national poverty reduction strategies and PRSPs, significant transmission losses have been noted for the gender approach. The results of a cross-sectional analysis of a

130 See <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/strategies/sourctoc.htm>. The sourcebook's gender chapter (Bamberger et al., 2001) is one of the documents most frequently downloaded from the World Bank's PRSP website. However, it is rated by the actors involved in the process as being too technocratic and unwieldy – which may be said of the sourcebook as a whole. The revised edition announced by the World Bank before the *Review Process* in 2002 has not yet been published.

131 A further 20 countries are considered potential PRSP countries: <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/strategies>.

132 It is beyond the scope of the present study to deepen this important discussion of the revised contents and poverty-reducing effects of PRSPs. See the discussion of case studies in Eberlei/Siebold (2002), Walther (2002).

Table 2: Median Values for Consideration Accorded to Gender Aspects in the Central Elements of Interim PRSPs and Full PRSPs^a

Component	I-PRSPs	PRSPs
Poverty analysis	0.5	0.8
Measures	0.5	0.8
Monitoring	0.2	0.5
Consultation process	0.5	1.3

^a The central areas of the strategy papers were quantitatively evaluated: 0 = no mention of gender issues; 1 = brief mention of gender issues; 2 = gender issues discussed. The ten Full PRSPs that had been accepted by the Board when the present study was conducted were from: Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Tanzania, Uganda, Bolivia, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Albania.

Source: World Bank (2001d)

total of 19 Interim and ten Full PRSPs carried out by the World Bank itself¹³³ show clearly that there is a qualitative distinction between Interim PRSPs developed without civil society participation and the final versions of the Full PRSPs. But even Full PRSPs do not perform well in the areas of poverty analysis, measures, monitoring, and the consultation process (participation):

In the World Bank study the gender issue was ranked as having been 'dealt with' if "*gender and gender issues were given more than cursory mention in the relevant section.*"¹³⁴ According to this definition, then, the gender issue has not been "dealt with" if all that is mentioned is the fact that women are disadvantaged in education, in the labor market, or in democratic participation, or if the need to incorporate gender into strategy development is merely referred to. The results of the quantitative cross-sectional analysis were not encouraging: both the median values for all components of the Interim and Full PRSPs under investigation (horizontal) and the median values for the whole of each category of Interim or Full PRSPs (vertical) were lower than

one. In general terms, this study shows that gender aspects have thus far only been briefly mentioned and that no efforts have been made to deepen the analyses, reflection, and conclusions reached.

A glance at the contents of the PRSPs shows that gender issues are principally dealt with in the sectors "education" (1.1) and health and nutrition (1.7). In all other areas, in particular "agriculture and financing" (0.5) and "infrastructure and transportation" (0.3), there are conspicuously few mentions of the issue to be found.¹³⁵ Hardly any of the documents studied deals with the spread of the HIV-AIDS epidemic from a gender perspective, and none of the documents discuss health problems or an expansion of basic healthcare measures with respect to men as a target group.¹³⁶ The World Bank's Gender Division therefore comes to the conclusion that gender issues are dealt with in a fragmentary and largely disjointed manner, without being addressed at any length. There is for the most part no logical connection between the various sections of a strategy paper, that is, in particular between superficial and barely disaggregated poverty analysis on the one hand and often vaguely outlined measures on the other. In the majority of cases, the measures proposed are not linked with any procedures to monitor their impacts.

The World Bank's Gender and Development Division must be credited with having pointed out, at an early point of time, in its cross-sectional analysis that if gender is not incorporated into the ongoing PRS process, this will mean missing a significant chance to work for comprehensive poverty reduction. In addition to this, the division was the first to include the Joint Bank and Fund Staff Assessments (JSAs) in the critical assessment and to point out a

133 A first study in August 2001 analyzed 19 Interim and four Full PRSPs. The revised edition of April 2002 included a further six Full PRSPs. With the exception of an improvement in the field of participation, the results and conclusions remain unsatisfactory. See World Bank (2001c, d).

134 World Bank (2002b), p. 3f.

135 The figures in parenthesis are for the Full PRSPs evaluated. The evaluation was conducted on the basis of the above-mentioned scale ranging from 0 to 2. See World Bank (2002b), p.6f.

136 Ibid, p. 7. Ghana's Full PRSP is an exception here in that it at least includes men as a target group with respect to preventive measures, aiming in this way to increase the number of men and women involved. It fails, however, to discuss means of narrowing the *gender gap*. See also Rodenberg (2001a), p. 41f., and Section 5.3.1.

lack of coherence within the institution itself. The objective of the JSAs is to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of Interim and Full PRSPs and thus to contribute to a decision on the extent of the assistance to be granted by the Bank and the Fund. The JSAs' assessments of Interim PRSPs are also intended to provide the HIPC countries with additional help and orientation on possible improvements and further developments which may be incorporated into the respective Full PRSP. The World Bank's Gender Division notes critically, however, that less than one quarter of JSAs have made reference to gender. The manifest weaknesses of the Interim PRSPs as regards gender issues in the fields of analysis, measures, or monitoring receive little or no comment. Only two of ten JSAs on Full PRSPs contain – very vague – comments on gender issues in specific areas.¹³⁷

The results of the World Bank's first and second cross-sectional analyses¹³⁸ have in the meantime been confirmed by other comparative gender analyses of PRSPs and PRS development processes.¹³⁹ These evaluations are either based on comparisons of selected Full PRSPs¹⁴⁰ or they subject individual country processes and papers to a chiefly qualitative analysis from a gender perspective.¹⁴¹ Even though the database used for the analyses is small, and caution is thus called for in deriving generalizations from them, it can be noted that, seen from a gender perspective, the analyses of the PRSPs submitted thus far do show similarities on important points. Despite the progress noted in the cross-sectional analysis of the PRSPs under study, the overall pic-

ture is homogeneous, though not particularly satisfactory:

1. There is a lack of differentiated gender-specific poverty analyses, disaggregated data, and long-term cross-sectoral strategies.
2. More attention is paid to gender issues in the fields of human development, education, and (reproductive) health, whereas central issues bound up with formulation of the economic-policy framework are gender-neutral.
3. Little success has been made in integrating the gender approach as a cross-cutting task (no mainstreaming). Instead, the target-group-oriented WID approach (targeting) is still in use.

5.2.1 Poverty Analysis and Diagnosis

The World Bank stipulates as one of the principles of a complete PRSP that a Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) be carried out prior to preparation of a PRSP. In order to ensure that – in keeping with the experience of "Voices of the Poor" – all Voices of the Poor are in fact heard, surveys and consultations are held at the district level as well, where the groups interviewed are differentiated for age and gender. It is essential here that both quantitative and qualitative data be collected on poverty situation, on depth of poverty, and on strategies for dealing with it. These data must then be evaluated from a gender specific viewpoint if poverty strategies are to lead to a reduction in, or elimination of, social inequalities. The poverty profiles which precede the PRSPs contribute little to this gender analysis and the task of transforming it into gender-equitable poverty reduction strategies.

- Quantitative poverty analyses continue to be based on the household unit, without documenting income differences within the household. A useful supplement to this approach is the use of time-use studies, which have long been practiced in some countries and which indicate the extent to which paid and unpaid work are unequally distributed.

137 Zuckerman and Garrett (2003) see a positive development in the JSAs prepared in 2002, but confirm that analysis continues to be insufficient: of eleven JSAs, seven (64 %) provided an "adequate but superficial" analysis of gender issues (*ibid*, p. 12).

138 World Bank (2002b).

139 See in particular Bell (2001), Rodenberg (2001, 2002), Vylter (2003), Whitehead (2003) and Zuckerman (2001, 2002), Zuckerman/Garrett (2003).

140 See Vylter (2003), Whitehead (2003). Zuckermann/Garrett's study (2003) looks into a larger number (all PRSPs submitted in 2002).

141 See Rodenberg (2001a), Zuckerman (2001).

- The qualitative gender-specific data collected with the aid of Participatory Poverty Assessments are not linked with an analysis of social power relations between men and women. Yet the situation of poor women is not improved by their simply being asked about their needs and interests.¹⁴² Nor does differentiating groups of interviewees in terms of gender or other criteria automatically guarantee that given social structures will be questioned.
- Gender-disaggregated data are of fundamental importance for developing a PRSP which is, among other things, gender-sensitive. However, data never speak on their own; they must be discussed against the background of a country's socioeconomic and cultural structures and then be translated into gender-differentiated strategies. One central problem that affects the processing of quantitative and qualitative data alike is the phenomenon known as policy evaporation. For instance, existing findings are either not evaluated, or not sufficiently evaluated, or do not find their way into higher-level reports (here: national PRSPs). In cases where particular methods have been used to produce disaggregated and gender-specific data, these data are often re-aggregated in summaries. By the time it comes to formulating recommendations for action and political guidelines, they have often vanished altogether.¹⁴³

142 See Cornwall (2000), p.25.

143 "At every stage, from the field to the final report, (...) gender issues slipped off the policy agenda. The rich seam of policy-relevant information in field reports was not effectively used in syntheses: gender issues barely made any appearance in policy recommendations" (see Cornwall, 2000, p. 26). For the results of a comprehensive study of past World Bank PPAs from a gender perspective, see Whitehead/ Lockwood (1998). On the problem of *policy evaporation*, which prevents the effective implementation of gender-specific demands at all stages of PRSPs, see Derbyshire (2002), cited in Zuckerman (2003), p. 89.

5.2.2 The Gender Blindness of the Economic-policy Framework

The most important paradigm of the macroeconomic framework in PRSPs is the use of market-based principles, i.e. liberalization and privatization. One central moment of economic prosperity is seen in high economic growth, though the figures assumed for growth rates are generally far too optimistic.¹⁴⁴ Despite declarations to the contrary, the concept of pro-poor growth – supposed to be the concept that best characterizes World Bank's departure from its erstwhile structural adjustment policies – has not been concretized either by the World Bank and the Fund or by bilateral donors. The concept is not even mentioned in the majority of the Full PRSPs submitted thus far.¹⁴⁵

The criticism of civil society actors focuses in particular on questions bound up with the transparency and negotiability of the cornerstones of macroeconomic policy. The critical view that civil society actors have been excluded from any real consultations has been nourished, first, by the dominant role played by the IMF in preparing the medium-term expenditure frameworks (MTEF) associated with every PRSP and, second, by the lack of coherence in the financial policies pursued by World Bank and IMF¹⁴⁶ on the one hand and the goal of socially equitable poverty reduction based on PRSPs on the other. In many HIPC countries in-depth criticism has also been expressed from a gender perspective and by women's affairs NGOs, insisting that PRSPs have not gone far enough toward revising the structural adjustment policies in use until now, and an increasing number of these organizations are demanding to be involved in macroeconomic de-

144 See the case studies conducted by Eberlei/Siebold (2002).

145 In Ghana's PRSP, for example, the expression "regular economic growth" is used in its place, while at another point the authors speak of a "sustainable foundation for accelerated and regular growth." See GPRS (2001), p. 14.

146 This is a reference to PRSP-related loans provided by the IMF (*Poverty Reduction and Growth Facilities*, PRGF). For a discussion of budget policy in the PRS process as exemplified by the Ghanaian PRSP, see Abugre/Killick (2001).

bates.¹⁴⁷ This represents the greatest challenge for a gender-specific analysis of PRSPs, since their most important capital – the economic policy framework for poverty reduction – is presented in an entirely gender-neutral manner.

PRSPs already submitted show that the macroeconomic concepts contain little that is new in terms of a sustainable, pro-gender and pro-poor debt relief policy. A new aspect can be seen in the expectation of the donors that in supporting PRSPs they are at the same time supporting a holistic and gender-equitable development policy. This, however, presupposes that due consideration is given to the daily reality of poor women's lives as well as to gender-specific roles and interests. If this is to be achieved, it is first necessary to overcome the conventional division between growth-oriented macroeconomics and social reproduction.¹⁴⁸ Yet the PRSPs submitted thus far give no indication that, as far as the measures proposed are concerned, e.g. reproductive and subsistence work is regarded as an element of poor countries' economies.

They in no way take account of the fact that

- socially necessary subsistence and reproductive work is not market-oriented and is therefore not recorded for statistical or tax purposes. The major part of unpaid work is done by women, because they bear the principal responsibility for the subsistence and care of their families (care economy);
- women perform a large proportion of voluntary community work and, more than men, are involved in grassroots and self-help groups, a fact which is accounted for neither in gross national products nor in national tax policies;
- national and international economic and financial policies, trade liberalization, and external shocks have serious impacts on women, who

are for the most part employed in low-paid work in petty trade, in the informal sector, and/or in factories producing for the world market or in small-scale subsistence farming activities;

- public expenditure policy affects men and women differently: the basic concept of PRSP emphasizes promotion of economic growth alongside a policy of stabilization achieved by cutting public spending. These budget cuts usually go hand in hand with the privatization of public services (water, electricity). Introduction of charges for these services may, however, increase the financial burden on the poor, particularly on poor women. Although the consequences of this policy have been analyzed in terms of the impacts of the structural adjustment programs of the 1980s, and are thus sufficiently well known, they are not accorded any attention in PRS processes;
- the burden imposed by state revenue policy is not necessarily the same for men and women. The mobilization of national resources required by the World Bank has, in some indebted countries, led to increases in the value-added tax. This runs counter to a pro-poor, socially just fiscal policy which could, for example, be used to specifically consider and promote poor women by granting exemptions to tax and licensing regulations in the informal sector.

5.2.3 A lot of WID, too Little GAD: some Basic Conceptual Features of PRSPs

Policy guidelines of bi- and multilateral donors, including those used for the development of poverty strategies, reaffirm a multidimensional understanding of poverty. And yet the gender analyses of all existing PRSPs show that poverty is not understood as a gender-specific phenomenon and that gender aspects are not sufficiently integrated as a cross-cutting issue in national poverty strategies. But the majority of strategy papers do display the following positive characteristics:

147 Since the 90s the spread of gender budget initiatives has gained greater political importance in PRS initiatives, and in some cases, e.g. Tanzania and Kenya, they have been involved in the MTEF development process (see also Chapter 5.2).

148 See Elson (2001).

- Women are perceived as a social group specifically affected by poverty. Practical, gender-specific needs are particularly frequently referred to, at least in the health and education sectors.
- A number of entry points are identified which aim at eliminating or alleviating the disadvantaged situation of women in the community and in the market. These include in particular, improved access to micro-credits, basic education and training, and greater use of feeder roads.
- In individual cases, though to an increasing extent, strategic interests have found their way into strategy papers. In this connection, measures geared to improving the legal situation (access to land and loans) or to preventing violence are frequently proposed.

The point here is not to argue over whether the glass is half full or half empty. But analyses conducted by international experts in the fields of gender and women's policies as well as by national civil society stakeholders read the same aspects critically:

- Measures, largely unconnected, address the micro-level, while there is a lack of gender-specific impact analyses of national financial and economic policies.
- Very few transsectoral strategies have been formulated, and PRSPs rarely include anything beyond the usual classic initiatives aimed at strengthening the position of women in poverty reduction efforts. Provision of micro-credits, education and training measures, improved access to basic services and local technologies are necessary but not sufficient if the aim is to develop a socially and economically integrative macro-policy approach and to dehierarchize gender relations.
- Simple quantitative word and phrase counts have shown that PRSPs include many references to gender aspects. It is a salient fact that "women," "girls," and "mothers" are mentioned much more frequently than "men" or "boys."

"Fathers" are not mentioned at all.¹⁴⁹ Stereotyped role assignments are not questioned, and there is a tendency to portray women as a homogeneous "vulnerable group." This is why the central critique of PRSPs focuses on a misguided formulation of the gender concept. While the gender approach presupposes comprehensive planning and analysis of social and economic gender roles and aims to alter gender relations within the context of strategies which affect society as a whole, WID-oriented measures concentrate on women as victims as well as on attempts to compensate for their discrimination, which is viewed in isolation.¹⁵⁰

Three reasons are given for continuing to employ the WID approach and its classic target-group approach for the measures concerned.¹⁵¹

- inequality between men and women in the institutions of development cooperation and among the actors involved in the process, which stands in the way of any effective implementation of GAD;
- widespread conceptual confusion as to the precise distinction between WID and GAD; and finally,
- the problem posed by the lack of political will to draw the consequences indicated by a comprehensive gender analysis. That is, mere involvement of women's organizations and gender experts in the discussion process for a PRSP is not sufficient to anchor gender interests in all sectors of a PRS process.

Still, the differences in quality noted for PRSPs as regards integration of gender is closely associated with the process of their preparation as well as with

149 See the study on the PRSPs submitted by Vietnam, Bolivia, and Zambia in Vyllder (2003), p. 15.

150 The continued use of the WID approach can be regarded as one of the most marked political weaknesses of PRSPs, a fact which was emphasized at an early stage; see Zuckerman (2001) and Rodenberg (2001a).

151 See the study by Derbyshire (2002), cited in: Zuckerman/Garrett (2003).

the influence available to the forces working for an engendering of PRSPs.

5.3 Engendering PRSP through Participation? Examples from two Countries

If the principle of country ownership is taken seriously, then it is not only the content of a submitted Full PRSP which is of significance but also the question as to whether central aspects are missing or what demands raised, for example, by participating women's organizations have *not* been taken up. The crucial point, then, is how the results were arrived at and how much participation is involved in the implementation of the strategies developed. Gender relations are complex and relevant in all areas of society. They can only be altered by means of social change. As far as unequal gender relations are concerned, the greatest potential of PRSPs lies in their ability to contribute to this process of social change by means of broad-based, participatory processes.

The pressure on HIPC countries to fulfill all the conditions stipulated, including those referring to cross-cutting issues such as gender, has meant that some countries have commissioned external gender experts to advise the national team in charge of drafting the PRSP. Reasonable as it may well be for this body to receive support during the preparation process from external experts, normally financed by international donor institutions such as the World Bank or UNDP, their impact is limited when the advice they provide remains restricted to the – technocratic – preparation phase.¹⁵²

Over and above this, the engendering of PRSPs can only be sustainable when it is embedded in ongoing national debates by civil society or women's organizations. Despite the importance of the role played by official and nonofficial donor institutions in the integration of cross-cutting topics such as gender, AIDS, or sustainability, gender issues are neither an "export concern" of Western feminists nor a donors'

issue. On the contrary, they are a component of regionally specific but autonomous debates in African, Latin American, or Asian contexts.

Generally speaking, effective participation of women and women's organizations in the PRS process is confronted with the same structural problems that other civil society stakeholders and NGOs are forced to contend with.¹⁵³ Women's organizations, for example, criticize the time pressure and the low level of transparency involved in the participation procedure. Feminist organizations and networks, however, are often far more wary than other groupings of being coopted in the PRS process, and they are faced with tensions that tend to overshadow the necessary political dialogue between NGOs and governments. In Africa and Latin America in particular, women's organizations regard the PRSP approach as little more than a rerun of the old structural adjustment programs of the 1980s which led to a "feminization of poverty" as a result of the privatization of basic services and cuts in public social services. They now fear that their governments may use the participation procedure as a means of co-opting them, i.e. of using their active participation to legitimize and formulate disguised growth-oriented structural adjustment programs instead of encouraging them to participate actively in implementing sociopolitical changes.

It is true that there is no lack of well-meaning declarations which express the intent to integrate gender in the papers and involve representatives of gender interests in the processes, but in reality forms of participatory negotiation often amount to little more than discussion or consultation procedures. Opportunities for women's organizations to influence the processes more deeply – for example in harmonization workshops – are generally only given where the participation process is shaped by a politically active civil society and committed debt relief initiatives. With respect to the implementation phase, which is currently beginning in a number of countries, effective means of participating in evaluation and monitoring processes still have to be developed

152 See Zuckerman (2001), who describes the process with reference to Rwanda's PRSP.

153 See e.g. the evaluations in Eberlei (2001a, 2002), Eberlei/Falk (2003), and McGee/Norton (2000).

and tested. Participation processes designed to serve the end of realizing gender interests are described in the sections on Ghana and Kenya.

5.3.1 Ghana¹⁵⁴

With a total debt of US \$ 6.6 billion, this West African country is one of the most highly indebted on the continent. Ghana submitted its Interim PRSP in June 2000 while still under the rule of the National Democratic Congress, NDC, which formed the last government. After the change of government in December 2000, several drafts of a Full PRSP were drawn up by a special task force within the National Development and Planning Commission (NDPC), and the final paper was presented in February 2003. If it qualifies for the debt relief program, Ghana stands to benefit by seeing a total of US \$ 3.7 billion of its debt cancelled.¹⁵⁵

Despite the country's large debt, the poverty situation in Ghana is less severe than in the majority of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. By the end of the 1990s the percentage of poor people in the total population had declined to below 40 %, although it must be noted that there is a steep differential between the arid north of the country and the more urbanized south and that this circumstance constitutes an obstacle to the country's social and economic development. The growth processes noted in agriculture in recent years have mainly affected the export-oriented sector (cocoa, fruits). Small subsistence farmers throughout the country are either affected by or face the threat of poverty. While there has been positive development on the social indicators for life expectancy and mortality rates,¹⁵⁶ access to health services, basic education, and – particularly in the north – drinking water has deteriorated.

154 See Rodenberg (2001a) for further details.

155 For an overview of the framework conditions involved, see the Ghana country profile under <http://www.prsp-watch.de/laender-profile/ghana.php> and the discussion in Eberlei/Siebold (2002), p.19ff.

156 See the IMF/World Bank's JSA, cited in Eberlei/Siebold (2002), p.19.

The reason for this deterioration is seen in the long-term negative effects of structural adjustment programs. Representatives of both the international networks active in Ghana, Third World Network (TWN) and ISODEC, strongly criticize the strict cost-cutting policy imposed by the IMF and question whether poverty reduction really is the overarching goal in the PRS process.¹⁵⁷ They also criticize the fact that the international financial institutions dominate the process, while civil society representatives are largely excluded from macroeconomic planning and decision-making processes. Both governmental and nongovernmental actors agree on the need for macroeconomic stabilization policies. Civil society representatives in particular advise against new moves to try once again to use privatization and structural adjustment measures to address the problems of high inflation and low interest rates, the weak cedi, and low GDP growth rates (3.7 % in 2000); as a model pupil of the IFIs, Ghana has been conducting comprehensive stabilization programs since the 1980s, but without success.¹⁵⁸

Participating in the process

Toward the end of the Rawlings government any interaction between state institutions and civil society stakeholder groups had more or less come to a standstill, a situation resulting from rigid autocratic structures and more than 20 years of implementation of structural adjustment policies which had led to the cooptation of all social sectors. Nevertheless, civil society organizations, which can look back on a long history in Ghana, have sought to elude the

157 Abugre/Killick (2001) mention the lack of coherence in the procedure and criticize the subordination of GPRS to the budget plan, MTEF. Furthermore, the PRGF adopted by the IMF in July 2001 includes cost-reducing policies but does not envisage even charity measures to protect or support the poor (Abugre, oral communication).

158 One of the most recent measures introduced within the framework of the ESAF agreement was the payment of fees for the use of health services which, while it exempted certain groups, for example pregnant women, from payment, has, all in all, led to a reduction in the numbers of people using the services (see Eberlei/Siebold 2002, p.19). See also the comparative study on the effects of structural adjustment programs in SAPRIN (2002).

restrictive policies of the National Democratic Congress (NDC).¹⁵⁹

The election of the strongest opposition party, the National Patriotic Party (NPP), as the country's new government aroused the confidence of the country and of the donors that a progressive parliamentary democracy could be established.¹⁶⁰ The government's actions were more widely publicized in the spring of 2001, when the debate on Ghana's joining the HIPC Initiative and continuation of the PRS process was widely and publicly discussed in the media. For civil society forces the start of the PRS process went hand in hand with the hope that the old structures were set to experience sustained changes.

In the run-up to the first consultations on Ghana's PRSP, the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS), participatory poverty analyses (PPAs) were conducted in selected districts of the country with the support of the GTZ's country office. During the data-collection phase in selected municipalities care was taken to ensure gender differentiation, which made it possible to come up with gender-specific results based on the view of those affected concerning causes of poverty, definition of poverty, and strategies for coming to terms with poverty. Thanks to this process, the Ghanaian PRSP features a broader understanding of poverty which goes beyond the quantitative characteristics of economic poverty. On a more critical note, however, neither the data collection for nor the analysis of the PPAs

were consistently gender-specific. And neither the gender-disaggregated data from the qualitative poverty analysis nor the broken-down statistics obtained from the Ghanaian census were included in the final draft of the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy.

At the beginning of the consultation process, in mid-2000, the task force set up five core teams in keeping with the Comprehensive Policy Framework. Their task was to formulate a poverty analysis for a specific focal issue and to draw up a set of recommendations based on this analysis. Representatives of the government, ministries and administration, civil society, the private business sector, and the donor community were invited to work together on the five fields macroeconomics, production and employment, human development and basic services, vulnerability and exclusion, and governance.

From the beginning, the number of women participating in these core teams and in the expert consultation rounds was encouragingly high. However, a large number of women representatives does not necessarily mean that gender issues are represented to the same extent. The women involved in developing the GPRS, for example, did not "automatically" focus on women's issues in the working groups, nor did they continuously introduce them into the discussion. When asked about this, they denied their responsibility for gender issues, explaining that they had been invited to attend as experts on specific fields, such as employment policy or human development.¹⁶¹ This understandable reaction indicates that gender aspects are still generally treated as "women's problems." In the preparation process for Ghana's PRSP, however, this division resulted in all gender aspects initially being allocated to the core team responsible for "vulnerable groups" (see below).

Participation of representatives of independent women's NGOs was also provided for right from the start of the PRS process. The fact that political NGOs and networks were invited, i.e. organizations which focus on strategic gender interests, was viewed positively. The umbrella network, Netright, for

159 Amponsem (1995), p.14, and Gyimah-Boadi (1994), p. 143.

160 In connection with the demand for an institutionalization of participation, there is also mounting pressure to include parliaments in the PRSP process; this demand, raised by German DC, has been taken up in the World Bank's PRSP review. It is beyond the scope of this study to deal with this debate in any detail, but ten criteria for ideal institutionalised participation should be mentioned here (Eberlei 2001 a): participation should be sustainable, structurally anchored, thematically embedded, politically relevant, broad and inclusive, decentralized, qualified, representative, conflict-aware, and safeguarded by the rule of law (ibid, p. 12 ff.) It is pointed out that what is called for is sufficient involvement of women's organizations and consideration of gender issues with respect to the aspects bound up with broadly-based, inclusive, and representative participation (ibid).

161 See Rodenberg (2001a), p.37f.

example, is active in advocating women's human rights, preventing gender-specific violence, and strengthening women's rights of codetermination. A look at the final drafts and the completed version of the Full PRSP shows that these social and political aspects of the poverty situation have been included in the paper. At various points the government states its intent to initiate legal reforms aimed at eliminating gender-specific discrimination and violence – even though they are unlikely to be translated into long-term strategies.¹⁶²

Certain obstacles "in their own ranks," however, also prevented a more comprehensive participation by women's organizations. First, many representatives were reluctant to participate actively, fearing they would be coopted by government interests. Second, the majority of women's organizations lack access to economic policy issues that are of vital importance for the PRSP discussion process. The Ghanaian NGO Gender and Economic Reforms in Africa (GERA) which, together with the Third World Network, has been involved in the PRS process since the beginning of 2001, criticized this lack of capacities and the widespread lack of interest in macroeconomic issues among women's NGOs.¹⁶³ The NGO also criticizes the fact that civil society is lacking in its resolve to place gender issues on the political agenda and to link this analysis up to a criticism of the economic policy of both government and donors.

Ghana's full PRSP provides for a monitoring and evaluation system in which civil society forces are also to be given the opportunity to monitor and review the budgeting of the poverty strategy. Participation of women's organizations is not specifically mentioned here. Ghana has no gender budget initiative such as the one that exists in Tanzania and has gained a say in budgetary issues going beyond the usual consultation process (see Annex).

Gender policy in Ghana

The following section focuses on an analysis of state gender policy. As the Ghanaian PRS process shows, this influences both the political guidelines on gender policy in the PRSP and the scopes of action that women's NGOs have in this process. It is for this reason not possible to decide whether gender aspects are sufficiently or poorly integrated in PRSPs without taking a look at the women's or gender policy pursued by the state.

In Ghana, national women's policy – both that subscribed to by the state and that pursued by the international donors – has, since the 1970s, been determined by the Women in Development approach (WID). The principal focus of the 1980s measures geared to the advancement of women's interests, embedded as they were in structural adjustment programs, was improvement of women's productivity. The most important means to this end was provision of micro-credits to women in the informal sector. The PAMSCAD programs also failed to cushion the impacts of the structural adjustment programs in terms of poverty reduction and status improvement through increased income (see Box 9).

Early in its term of office the new government of Ghana set up a women's affairs ministry which was likewise involved in the PRSP preparation process, setting the tone for a new focus on women. This ministry, however, continues seamlessly on with the substance of the women's promotion programs generated by the former structural adjustment programs, establishing a priority program designed to provide micro-credits to women. Once again the focus is on women's self-help potential, women are expected to form groups which will then offset, through their own initiative, any inequalities generated by the market: "*If there are not enough employers to employ women for the long term, then women have to employ themselves.*"¹⁶⁴ Flanked by health and HIV/AIDS information campaigns directed particularly at vulnerable groups as well as by projects promoting girls' education, the stated goal is em-

162 See Government of Ghana (2003 – 2005), pp. 25, 128, 253.

163 "Market policies are left to men" (Zo Randriamaro, Director of GERA/Accra, oral communication). See Rodenberg (2001a), p. 27f.

164 Representative of the Ministry of Women's and Children's Affairs, oral communication.

Box 9: Structural Adjustment for Women – between World Market and Household Economy

The gender-specific impacts of structural adjustment measures during the "lost decade" in Africa in general and Ghana's Economic Recovery Program (ERP, 1983 – 86) in particular have been comprehensively documented. The evaluations highlight the fact that women were particularly hard hit by loss of income and access to the formal sector as well as by increased workloads.^a Trends toward impoverishment were identified in those economic sectors in which disproportionately many women still work, that is: small-scale farming, food production and processing, petty trade, and the civil service.

Following the drastic fall in the world market price for cocoa, a comprehensive economic stabilization program was put in place to counteract the deepening economic crisis of this country, dependent as it was on cocoa exports. Based on the two classic pillars of facilitation of foreign direct investment by devaluing the national currency on the one hand and cutting costs by limiting expenditure in the civil service and abolishing subsidies on food and other important raw materials on the other, a two-track policy was again pursued to strengthen the world-market-oriented economy – while weakening household economies.^b

The second phase of structural adjustment (1986 – 1988) focused more strongly on liberalization and privatization and was accompanied by an "experiment with a social dimension."^c However, the "Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Consequences of Adjustment" (PAMSCAD), which made Ghana the preferred testbed and "model country" for economic promotion programs of the IMF and the World Bank, did nothing to change the actual framework policy of structural adjustment or bring any real reduction in poverty for those groups particularly hard hit, namely women and the rural population.

With regard to Ghana's current government policy on women, special mention should be made of ENOWID (Enhancing Opportunities for Women in Development), which was geared specifically to the needs of women and carried out within the PAMSCAD framework. The program was implemented in three of Ghana's ten administrative districts and involved primarily allocation of credits and loans to promote small businesses and income-generating measures, which were provided on "soft" terms to women belonging to a group founded specifically for this purpose. Experience showed the rate of repayment to be high, but the program is, nonetheless, not considered to have been a success since the majority of the projects assisted were in the reproductive and subsistence sectors and concentrated on the traditional areas of food processing and preparation. It would appear that little or no attention was paid to questions of marketability through product diversification or the use of new technologies to further develop processing techniques, even though the market for the products produced was already saturated in many of the communities concerned.^d

This classic method of promoting women, widespread in Ghana and elsewhere, which is obviously based on a limited range of products but ignores a market economy's laws of "supply and demand," was linked by ENOWID to an additional awareness-raising component geared to promotion of families. These "training measures" encouraged participants to invest their new income principally in the education and well-being of their children, thereby leaving the women themselves with no further resources for investments. However, the founding of numerous new groups and the mobilization of existing women's groups were considered to have been a success beyond the duration of the program, since these activities served to support the autonomy of women.^e

a Baden et al. (1994), p.24

b Amponsem (1995), p.13ff.

c Amponsem (1995)

d Zdunnek (1998), p.159

e Baden et al. (1994), p.28

powerment of women.¹⁶⁵ Despite the declared aim of increasing the decision-making powers of women by improving their political participation,¹⁶⁶ the gender concept remains fragmentary and goes no

further than the classic components of WID. The opportunity to use the PRS process to develop a comprehensive concept for consideration of gender aspects in all sectors has thus far been neglected. The chance to move towards a gender and development policy has once more slipped away.

165 On a positive note, it should be mentioned that this includes not only primary but also secondary and further education of girls.

166 Only 7 % of local government representatives are women. For this reason US \$ 64,000 was provided to promote female political representatives in the 2002 municipal elections.

Participation and ownership, understood in terms of society and not in purely national terms, do, however, offer the chance to use policies anchored in PRS processes to go beyond the given national framework of thematic or sectoral focal points. Precisely in the case of a more traditional gender policy (which should, more correctly, be termed

(which should, more correctly, be termed "women's promotion policy"), a PRSP may contain more progressive aspects designed to ensure the establishment of a gender mainstreaming approach as compared to the national, political concepts of a given state. This, however, presupposes the involvement of a country's national - governmental and nongovernmental - gender expertise. Against the background of many years of restrictive government policy toward civil society, tensions initially hindered cooperation. It was not until the revision phase of the initial draft of the Full PRSP that an independent gender workshop was organized, in which various women's organizations based in the capital were involved in discussions on the draft.

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In terms of a gender perspective as well, the Full PRSP adopted in February 2003 mirrors the process of review and improvement that went into its making. The first striking aspect is the fact that – in contrast to the draft versions of 2001 and 2002 – there are numerous references to the category "gender."¹⁶⁷ The document contains numerous references to the discrimination of women in Ghanaian society. It mentions the need to eliminate gender-specific discrimination in central areas of political action. With a view both to decentralization and boosting employment opportunities in the civil service, it urgently recommends that recruitment policy be used to bring about a reasonable measure of gender equality. Women's strategic gender interests also receive attention. On the issue of poverty reduction through rural development it is suggested that land distribution policies be reexamined with a view to improving women's access to land. Improvements in the legal system are also recommended as a means to ensure better protection for vulnerable groups and to eliminate gender-specific violence. This has meant a stronger focus on the issue of *gender inequality*. In accordance with the central strategy on promotion of growth and market-oriented production identified in the GPRS as central to the elimina-

tion of poverty, the present focus is "promotion of improved access to the market" through better access to micro-credits for men and women alike. This, combined with education measures, is intended to reduce the discrimination faced by women.¹⁶⁸ This combination is a reasonable one, although it is no replacement for a holistic policy framework which integrates the gender issue.

However, it would be wrong to speak of gender mainstreaming in the GPRS, since a large proportion of the references to forms of gender-specific discrimination are not taken up and are not linked to the measures listed. Women continue to be perceived first and foremost as recipients of development measures, and not as actors. Empowerment of women goes no further than promotion of their political participation at the local level.

The greatest shortcoming of this PRSP, then, no longer lies in the fact it refers only to the practical needs of women but must be seen in its failure to develop coherent strategies to overcome the exclusion of women from social resources. The analysis of poverty dimensions in Ghana takes pains to employ gender-specific statistics in order to pinpoint gender differences in the field of education. And yet the GPRS makes no use of the data available, for instance, from the Ghana census, which might be used for an analysis of access to resources (e.g. land or time). The macroeconomic and macro-policy framework remains largely gender-neutral.

Thus there is, on the one hand, the danger that Ghana's PRSP will firmly establish a deficit approach which places the unsatisfactory nature of gender-specific access to social and natural resources in the foreground, without naming the causes of this deficit. On the other hand, there is no transformation approach of the kind that could be developed on the basis of problem-oriented positions on the issue of structural inequality. What is more, women, together with other disadvantaged groups, are classified under the broad concept of "vulnerability." It is this concept which determines to a large extent the social analysis in the GPRS:

167 See Ministry of Finance of Ghana (2000); GPRS (2001); GPRS (2002); GPRS (2003).

168 See GPRS (2003), p. 75.

instead of (poor) actors we have "vulnerable groups" which are in need of special protection. Despite the undisputed relevance of the vulnerability concept, the dimensions enablement and empowerment, as supported by the DAC, should not be missing from national poverty strategies.

Taken as a whole, the final document of the GPRS bears witness to the fact that it was developed in an attempt to meet the conditions set out by the donors and international financial institutions. Following the public debate on joining the HIPC Initiative, attempts to firmly anchor in politics and society a broadly based discussion process on new approaches to poverty reduction have clearly failed.¹⁶⁹ True, the participation of nongovernmental and critical civil society organizations must be classified as "relatively strong";¹⁷⁰ these groups played a major role in concretely developing the Full PRSP. And, throughout the process, participation was more than merely an instrument used to meet certain criteria. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen in the implementation process whether participation in Ghana's PRSP was merely a process employed to meet formal requirements or whether it will open up new chances for all social groups for an open, democratic involvement in political decision-making processes and in shaping Ghana's future development. Linking Ghana's poverty reduction strategy to the MTEF, which was developed in an independent process, will certainly prove to be a sensitive point here. As has been the case with all negotiations on macroeconomic issues, civil society groups or participatory budget initiatives have thus far not been granted access.¹⁷¹

5.3.2 Kenya

This East African country has an overall debt of US \$ 6.3 billion, though Kenya does not belong to the group of HIPC countries. In order to qualify for concessional loans, the country entered the PRS

process at an early stage. In June 2000 Kenya was one of the first countries in the region to present its Interim PRSP, and in September 2001 the Full PRSP was adopted. Disputes between the previous government under Daniel arap Moi and the IMF on combating corruption had led to the refusal of IMF and World Bank, prior to the change of government in January 2003, to accept the paper. The resulting lack of funding is the reason why the poverty strategy has not as yet been implemented (see below).¹⁷²

From independence in 1963 up until the 1980s Kenya was considered a politically stable country with economic development potential, though it remained reliant on extensive donor funds. However, since the mid-1980s, and in particular in the 1990s, Kenya's social and economic situation has severely deteriorated, with a constantly growing percentage of the population living in absolute poverty; at present an estimated 52 %.¹⁷³ In addition to increasing impoverishment in the disadvantaged drought regions and in outlying urban areas, the growing poverty rate is also becoming manifest in a rise in violent crime.

The development of social indicators mirrors a conflicting picture. The overall rate of school enrolment has increased continuously in recent years – with a slight disparity for boys and girls, and poor and non-poor. The abolition, early in 2003, of school fees up to year 8 has led to a sudden increase, in some regions of 30 %, ¹⁷⁴ in the numbers of children starting school. This contrasts with the marked cuts in the healthcare system which have been effected over the course of the years in connection with structural

172 For details see the Kenya country profile under <http://www.prsp-watch.de/laenderprofile/kenia.php>; Eberlei/Siebold (2002), p. 27ff., and Hammer et al. (2003).

173 The Human Poverty Index rose from 26.1 % in 1997 to 31.8 % in 2001 (see UN 2002). Per capita income is US \$ 340, as compared with an average per capita income in Sub-Saharan Africa of US \$ 500.

174 In the capital Nairobi it is expected that some 80 % of children aged six to twelve will attend school in the school year from July 2003 – June 2004 (compared with 52 % in the previous year). In the period from January to June 2003 free education gave rise to costs amounting to € 95 million. Free education in the new school year will cost approx. € 135 million. See Die Tageszeitung, Sept. 8, 2003, p. 3.

169 Eberlei/Siebold (2002), p. 26.

170 Eberlei (2001a), p. 6.

171 Eberlei/Siebold (2002), p. 25; Rodenberg (2001a), p. 24.

adjustment programs; these cuts, together with the dramatic spread of HIV/AIDS, have led to a negative development in the field of basic and reproductive health.¹⁷⁵

The Kenyan economy is to a large degree dependent on export-oriented agriculture and hence on fluctuating world market prices. These fluctuations, particularly in the case of coffee, have led to considerable revenue losses in recent years. Given the imbalance in land distribution and lack of access to land and resources which particularly affect women working on small farms, the problem of reliable and sustainable food security is becoming increasingly difficult in Kenya's arid and semi-arid regions.¹⁷⁶

The 1990s saw a severe deterioration in the economic situation as a result of poor governance and the terms of world trade. Systematic corruption among civil servants and power-mindedness, together with human rights violations and suppression of oppositional forces, were typical features of the politics of the previous government, headed by the Kenya African National Union (KANU).

In December 2002 a new government was elected in a largely peaceful manner and was celebrated as a "beacon for the region". This sparked off an atmosphere of a "fresh start" in Kenyan society, and Mwai Kibaki, at the head of the National Rainbow Coalition which replaced Daniel arap Moi after 24 years in power, provides reason to hope for a "second liberation" after the experience of colonization, despite the fact that Kibaki, too, for many years held a share of political power under the old regime. Since his inauguration he has repeatedly asserted his commitment to good governance on the basis of a comprehensive fight against corruption and continuation of the constitutional reforms initiated by KANU.¹⁷⁷ The government cabinet also points to

important changes in policy, and although there is no parity, the president has appointed the highest number of female ministers and undersecretaries (three each) since independence.¹⁷⁸

The reactions of Western donor countries to the negative state of political affairs in Kenya were ambivalent as far as the Moi government was concerned. For many years Kenya was valued as a reliable partner country, and human rights violations by the regime were not allowed to stand in the way of bilateral relations. Starting with the first loans backed by the IMF and the World Bank for structural adjustment programs, however, relations to the IFIs were characterized by disharmony and disruptions caused by the extreme corruption prevalent in the Kenyan government.¹⁷⁹ Since the KANU government was not prepared to meet the IMF's conditions for a loan (PRGF), the IMF ceased all disbursements in December 2000 and in September 2001 refused to accept Kenya's PRSP, despite a committed and participatory PRS process. This led to a further withdrawal of bilateral donors, and this in turn obstructed – and even today continues to hamper – implementation of the PRSP.¹⁸⁰

2003"; see Daily Nation, February 19, 2003, <http://www.nationaudio.com/News/DailyNation/19022003> (20 Feb. 2003).

178 These include the internationally renowned environmental activist and leader of the *Green Belt Movement*, Prof. Wangari Maathai (assistant minister in the Ministry of the Environment and Protection of Natural Resources). Other leading activists from civil society and past members of the opposition are also members of the cabinet or of parliament. The present discussion now centers on whether civil society has lost its watchdog function as a result of this cooptation, an issue which also has some bearing on the manner in which the PRSP process is critically accompanied. Government work as a means of coopting leading forces of a many-sided but not well-organized civil society does present a real danger which could curtail the scope of activities and synergy effects hoped for in the processes of sociopolitical transformation presently envisaged.

179 Following "stand-by credits" in the 1980s, Kenya was a regular recipient of ESAF loans after 1989. Eberlei/Siebold (2002, p. 27f.) speak of a "stop-and-go cycle."

180 See here the Kenya country profile of PRSP-Watch under <http://www.prsp-watch.de/laenderprofile/kenia.php> (08 Jan. 2003). In this connection, Eberlei/Siebold criticize the IMF policy for undermining the Fund's own basic principle of *ownership* by ignoring national parliamentary de-

175 The second Kenyan Poverty Report provides data on education and other sectors broken down by gender and region. See Ministry of Finance and Planning (2000a,b).

176 See also the BMZ's country concept for Kenya (2001b).

177 "'Corruption (...) starts at the top. Now the fight against corruption will start at the top,' Kiraki stated in his speech at the opening of Parliament in Nairobi on February 18,

The government's attempts to induce the donors to return began to bear fruit shortly after the change in government, early in 2003. Once the government had fulfilled its pledge to guarantee free primary education, the World Bank provided comprehensive funds to support both the overall budget and efforts in the fields of education, health, and infrastructure. Further poverty reduction projects aimed at rural development and combating corruption are to be inaugurated in accordance with the national development plan and the PRSP. The IMF held out the prospect of new loan negotiations for the middle of the year, although precise conditions have not yet been stipulated.¹⁸¹ The new government appears to be realigning the focus of its political reform projects, and its efforts are no longer centered on the PRSP. Nevertheless, the government has reaffirmed its intention not only to retain the sociopolitical goals of the PRSP, such as free access to basic healthcare, but also to work for rapid implementation of these goals. Furthermore, the focus is now to be on economic growth and promotion of employment. To this end the government is to develop a multi-section Economic Recovery Plan (ERP) which will be incorporated into the PRSP of September 2001.¹⁸²

In parallel, the current year will see the adoption of the constitutional reform which, in addition to other legal reforms, provides above all for political and fiscal decentralization and a strengthening of local governance structures.¹⁸³ The participatory constitutional reform process is of greater political signifi-

cance for civil society forces in Kenya than the actual PRS process itself, since the constitution lays down basic civil rights and liberties. The PRSP, as understood by nongovernmental organizations, and thus also by women's organizations, in Kenya, centers on socioeconomic issues. The organizations involved in the PRS process are primarily women's organizations which in many cases have expertise on economic issues, particularly on issues bound up with budget planning.

The socioeconomic and political-legal status of women

The fact that the increase in absolute poverty to over 52 % affects single women and their children more than any other group is not a phenomenon which is peculiar to Kenya, but it is one that these figures make particularly clear. The second poverty report points clearly to the gender-specific differences in the spending patterns of poor households. These show that women-headed households have on average 25 % less money available for food.¹⁸⁴ Despite women's heavy workloads, it is estimated that some 60 % of their economically relevant work in subsistence activities, the informal sector, and agriculture is not included in national economic accounting. The markedly high percentage of women working in subsistence agriculture (69 % women as compared to 43 % men) makes it clear, first, that women in rural regions are particularly threatened by poverty and, second, that they play an important role in the economy as a whole.¹⁸⁵

Bearing in mind the existing disparity in the distribution of social resources between men and women, it can be seen that the legal situation, and in particular the question of rights of ownership and property, is of special significance for approaches aiming at change.¹⁸⁶ As with genital mutilation of girls and

cisions and supreme court decisions, thus – as in the case of Kenya – blocking both the PRS process and the beginnings of national democratization processes. See Eberlei/Siebold (2002), p. 33.

181 "World Bank boost for free education," in: Sunday Nation, February 9, 2003, p. 3.

182 The *Economic Recovery Plan* (ERP) contains four policy documents: a) the PRSP of September 2001, b) the *Government Action Plan* on PRSP of December 2002, c) the Government's election manifesto (*NARC Election Manifesto*) and the *NARC Post-Election Plan*, and d) the National Development Plan. The donors welcome this initiative to further develop the PRSP as a reinforcement of *ownership*. In principle, the non-HIPC countries have greater scopes of action than the HIPC countries.

183 Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (2002).

184 Ministry of Finance and Planning (2000b and 2000c).

185 See the study on "Gender, Growth and Poverty Reduction in Kenya," which was commissioned by the PRSP "Gender" working group (2002, p.2f.).

186 See the Human Rights Watch Report (2003) on human rights violations suffered by widows (Chapter 2).

young women,¹⁸⁷ which is widespread in Kenya, these practices are "legitimized" by common law or traditional law. In the course of the consultative process on constitutional reform, Kenyan women's organizations have pointed out the deficiencies in the current constitution which permit discrimination on gender grounds. It is for this reason that they argue in favor of establishing protective legal rights which are valid for all, irrespective of gender.¹⁸⁸

Kenya's poverty reduction strategies from the gender perspective

Although Kenya is not one of the HIPC countries and although neither the predecessor to the present PRSP, the National Poverty Eradication Plan (NPEP), nor the Full PRSP have thus far been accepted by the IMF, the PRS process has been positively received by the international community.¹⁸⁹

The Interim PRSP was drawn up under the (previous) Ministry of Finance and Planning and was submitted to the IMF and the World Bank in the summer of 2000. The draft of this Interim PRSP, together with the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), was discussed at a National Stakeholder Workshop held in March 2000 with representatives of civil society. The Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development (CCGD), which had provided input on prioritization in the MTEF process from a gender perspective since 1999, played a central role among the women's organizations and was able to involve more women's NGOs in the workshop and to ensure that their posi-

tions received attention there. At the same time, the Centre assumed responsibility for providing preparatory briefings for the groups involved in the workshop. Before the workshop the CCGD and other women's rights organizations had presented a joint strategy paper on poverty reduction in Kenya which analyzed the core areas of the PRSP from a gender perspective.¹⁹⁰

The Full PRSP was prepared between November 2000 and May 2001 and was embedded in a markedly broad participation process. Consultations were carried out in Kenya's 70 districts, in some cases right down to the village level. Following the example of the surveys carried out by the World Bank,¹⁹¹ information was gathered and systematized in a participatory process, serving as an example of the needs of those concerned. The actual consultation process, which was largely managed by NGOs and international development organizations, involved three to five workshops in the districts, each lasting one or more days and attended by some 150 to 200 people. The results were presented at District or Constituency Reporting Workshops and processed for to be used for the comprehensive district PRSP report.¹⁹² More than 60,000 people were involved in the overall process. Great importance was attached to gender parity and to adequate participation of young people (see Box 9).

The results of the district reports were also passed on to the sectoral and thematic PRSP working groups at the national level.¹⁹³ Representatives of

187 Official estimates assume that (*female genital mutilation, FGM*) is practiced in more than half of the country's districts and that more than half of the women over 35 in the entire country have been subjected to this practice (Ministry of Health, 1999, p. 4; Hon. Linah Kilimo, Minister of State/Office of the President, Kenya in a talk given at the Federal Foreign Office, Berlin, on March 8, 2003). As part of its sectoral priority area "Reproductive Health," the GTZ is supporting the Ministry of Health in its sensitization program to combat FGM in a country-wide campaign.

188 See Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (2002). For a gender perspective on the debate see the contributions in: Heinrich-Boell-Foundation (2002).

189 For an analysis of the process, see Abong et al. (2001), Awori/Atema (2001), Eberlei/Siebold (2002).

190 The central areas analyzed in the PRSP are: trade and industrialization, infrastructure, public law and public security, administration, human development, agriculture and rural development. See Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development (2000).

191 See Chapter 4.4.

192 For an example of this, see the "Kilifi District PRSP Consultation Report for the Period 2001 – 2004" and the detailed overview of the consultation process in Abong et al. (2001).

193 Eight thematic working groups: gender, governance, HIV/AIDS, media, pastoralists, youth, disability, finance. Nine sectoral groups: agriculture and rural development, public administration, public security and law and order, human resource development, information technology,

civil society participated in the preparation of the draft Full PRSP by the PRSP Secretariat in the spring of 2001 and were involved in discussions at public forums before it was submitted to the directorates of the IMF and the World Bank. One visible effect of this comprehensive participation process was seen in a shift of the priorities for poverty reduction. When these priority areas were brought together from a) the sectoral working groups, b) the thematic working groups, and c) the participatory poverty analyses in the districts, the result was a ranking in favor of agriculture and rural development, human (resource) development, and infrastructure. The fields public safety, law and order, and information technology, on the other hand, were placed at the end of the list of priorities for poverty reduction. These latter focal points were, however, the ones favored by the government:

*The difference in ranking between the districts and sector working groups and the ministries at national level reflected the glaring disparity between the priorities of majority of Kenyans and what policy makers wanted.*¹⁹⁴

The considerable time pressure on all involved in the PRS process in Kenya (as in other HIPC countries) was heightened enormously by the fact that the PRS process was embedded in a substantial reform of the state administrative and legal system, and that macro-policy documents had to be prepared simultaneously. Representatives of civil society organizations complained in Kenya, as elsewhere, that preparation time was insufficient, that papers were too comprehensive and not distributed in time, and that there was increasing pressure to meet the demands posed by a learning-by-doing process. Lobby organizations which represented the positions of grassroots organizations and of those concerned also criticize the fact that communities were not systematically informed of the results of consul-

infrastructure, tourism, trade and industry, national security.

194 Wandia (2003), p.18.

tations. The network GROOTS,¹⁹⁵ for example, describes the reform of the constitution as a benchmark for future NGO work in Kenya, whereas the PRSP is seen as an important but not unique instrument in the ongoing reform process. In order to be able to implement the document, however, it will have to be "translated" so as to make it comprehensible to those affected by it. Not until this has been done will the goal of country ownership be achieved.¹⁹⁶

The Kenyan PRSP from the gender perspective

Like the other thematic working groups, the Gender Working Group consisted of representatives of government, civil society (NGOs, science) and the private sector. Group members report that constituting the group was a difficult and time-consuming process, since a) various interest groups and b) varying degrees of experience had to be harmonized within a short period of time. The Gender Working Group is one of only two groups which were led not by an NGO but by a representative of the former Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sports. However, this came in for less criticism from representatives of civil society than the dominant role played by the international NGO Oxfam within the group.¹⁹⁷

195 GROOTS is a network of grassroots organizations embedded in an international umbrella organization. GROOTS sees its role as working exclusively with extremely poor segments of the population (above all with women), who generally only benefit from short-term charity measures. GROOTS, however, is seeking to strengthen the empowerment process by supporting *political literacy and civic education*. In connection with the Kenyan PRSP the organization was involved in poverty analyses and consultations at district level and, together with their target groups in the poor districts of Nairobi, they fought for discussion of a *grassroots agenda* in the municipal council.

196 The subtitle of the Kenyan PRSP (2001 – 2004) "*Prepared by the People and Government of Kenya*" stresses *country ownership*. The GROOTS coordinator, however, criticizes the sales price of 300 KSh which is too high to be affordable for any community. The previous Ministry of Finance, supported by the GTZ's *Social Policy Advisory Service* (SPAS), has published popular versions of poverty reports and analyses. See Ministry of Finance and Planning (2000a,b).

197 The contradictory nature of the two terms *ownership* and *donorship* and the dominance of governmental and non

Box 10: The Consultation Process in Kilifi

Since 1997 the GTZ has been supporting the multisectoral Kilifi District Development Program, KDDP, in the district of Kilifi. This program has worked out a Participatory Integrated Development Approach at the local community level. One of the most important aspects of the success of KDDP has been the establishment of new local bodies which have laid the groundwork for a process of decentralized grassroots participation of communities in questions of development and development financing (Village Development Committees and Village Development Funds). The organization is seeking to integrate gender aspects in the sense of gender roles, rights, and responsibilities of men and women in all phases of its program as well as to promote the active participation of women in political bodies. When, in the run-up to the Kenyan PRSP, the KDDP was assigned the task of conducting the consultation process in Kilifi District, it was able to make use of the contacts and structures it had developed, though it ran into difficulties as well. The passive recipient attitude of the rural poor presents an obstacle in the promotion of autonomous development. When people were asked to formulate their own interests and to describe their unsatisfactory living conditions, excessive expectations vis-à-vis government and donors often came to light, with people assuming that a village need only express its needs to see them met.

For the consultation process in Kilifi the KDDP, in cooperation with the District Development Office, organized five workshops, each of several days' duration, which also included trainings for political leaders. In the course of the workshops focal groups were formed, taking care to ensure parity among the various social groups (50 % young women in the youth groups and 50 % women in the adult groups).

One staff member of the major women's organization Maendeleo Ya Wanawake, who works in Kilifi as a trainer and who, as a team member, also conducted PRSP consultations at the local level, reports continuing difficulties in winning women for political representation tasks. The poverty reduction priorities named by women were water, education, health, and improved cropping techniques for agricultural production. In discussions and workshops women, unlike men, also stress the legal aspects of their unequal poverty situation: land titles and property rights, decision-making rights (e.g. the right to decide to take a child to hospital when necessary), and freedom from violence – these are the central demands of rural women.^a

a In an overall assessment of Kenya's PRS process from the gender perspective, FEMNET stresses that women in numerous districts and communities complain most frequently of domestic violence, genital mutilation, rape, and wilful exposure to the dangers of HIV/AIDS. See Wandia (2003), p. 15ff.

The result of this working group is a memorandum adopted by all those involved, which presents a comprehensive gender-specific analysis of the poverty situation and recommends poverty reduction strategies from a gender perspective. Not only does the paper cast light on inadequate access to basic services such as health and infrastructure, it also establishes a direct relationship between the fact that women are disproportionately threatened and affected by poverty and points to the fact that women lack rights and are faced with a political and social situation marked by discrimination. It also stresses the increase in violence toward women and children as well as traditional practices and human rights abuses which violate the physical integrity of women and girls.¹⁹⁸ Structural links between economic poverty, or direct poverty reduction, and

human rights violations against women have not been incorporated in the Full PRSP in a way that reflects the stance taken by the Gender Thematic Group in its paper. For example, the memorandum points out that while improved access to public transportation is necessary for women for economic reasons, using public transportation exposes women a permanent risk of sexual assault and violence.¹⁹⁹ Forced and child prostitution and trafficking in human beings are becoming an increasing danger faced by poor groups in the tourism sector. In this sector of the economy, which is so important for the promotion of growth and employment in Kenya, legal measures are urgently needed to prevent the growing exploitation of women and girls. Yet the PRSP makes no mention of this dimension.²⁰⁰

The PRSP Secretariat and other group members admit self-critically that, as a result of a work over-

governmental actors from donor countries in the process have also been addressed by other countries, e.g. at the BMZ International Conference on the PRSP Review in Uganda. See BMZ (2002).

198 Gender Thematic Group (2001).

199 Ibid, p. 6.

200 Government of Kenya (2001a), p. 53f.

load, once the memorandum was adopted, there was no revision or follow-up process concerned with the results presented. The declared intent in the run-up to the PRS process was to require gender mainstreaming for all development-relevant sectors. This was not put into practice, and the Gender Thematic Group itself lacked sufficient staff capacity to follow up on this process.²⁰¹ Although many positions represented by lobby groups and gender experts during the consultation process went down in the fray, and although the NGOs involved did not succeed in anchoring a gender approach as a cross-cutting task in the document, the PRS process did entail some important positive effects:

- For the first time, gender issues were accepted as a cross-cutting issue in Kenya, and, what is more, they were dealt with by government, civil society, and donors in an independent body.
- This was the first time that the government had guaranteed a balanced participation of both genders in all committees/commissions. The result of this was that the proportion of women representatives at all levels of the PRS process was at least 30 %.
- Thanks to the large numbers of women who participated in the data collection phase of the PPAs it was possible to analyze the gender-specific dimension of poverty and to introduce it into further discussions.²⁰² One of the reasons for the marked clarity and the express wish for a shift in priorities towards rural and human development (see above) in the Kenyan poverty reduction strategy must be sought in the effective participation of women in the process.

In contrast to the Ghanaian process, the considerably more positive assessment of the Kenyan PRS process by NGOs and women's organizations results from the broad participation of civil society from the very outset of this voluntary PRS process. Furthermore, the PRSP, as mentioned above, is neither

the decisive nor the only reform engine in the country which NGOs are able to influence.

For the gender networks, with their targeted lobbying for social and economic issues in the field of society and gender, the PRS process offered the first opportunity to cooperate with government representatives to discuss macroeconomic framework conditions from the gender perspective at the national level.

The budget negotiations on the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) presented the best opportunity to achieve this aim. Even prior to the start of the PRSP process, the Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development (CCGD) was actively involved in the monitoring process for budget issues, an experience which meant the CCGD was particularly predestined to take on a coordinating role during the development of the Interim PRSP.²⁰³ With the support of the GTZ, the NGO FEMNET is now active in conducting budget analyses in cooperation with the PRSP Secretariat. However, no members of these networks or the gender working group took part in the macroeconomics working group. FEMNET criticizes the fact that neither the proposed trade liberalization measures nor the pro-poor growth strategies make mention of the anticipated impacts of these measures on local industries, the agricultural sector, or the informal sector. No link is established between the macroeconomic framework and the gender-specific division of labor.²⁰⁴

Despite the positive approaches developed with a view to including a gender-specific and critical analysis in budget consultations, how effective this participation was is still an open question. In 2002 FEMNET protested against a tax increase on kerosene on the one hand and cuts in spending for family planning in the health sector on the other, demanding that these additional revenues be diverted to health services. It is, however, uncertain whether and to what extent the government can be commit-

201 See Wandia (2003), p.18.

202 See Wandia (2003), p. 20f.

203 See Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development (2001a,b).

204 Wandia (2003), p. 24.

ted to fulfilling these demands or, beyond this, to a gender-equitable poverty policy which cuts right across society.²⁰⁵ The new government is at least demonstrating political will, and it is holding out the prospect of an as yet nonexistent framework program on gender mainstreaming.

Government women's affairs policy

Before the new government came to power women's affairs and gender policies were the responsibility of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sports. With the exception of an official recognition of equal rights for men and women, no comprehensive gender policy strategy papers or concepts were made public in this period. However, donor institutions have supported and are currently supporting numerous training and sensitization programs on gender mainstreaming right down to the local level.²⁰⁶ As early as 1995 the Ministry of Agriculture prepared studies on gender inequality under the law. The goal was to identify entry points from which to improve the situation of women in rural areas with a view to promoting agricultural production. The establishment of a ministerial committee, the Gender Equity Mobilization Support (GEMS), which offers analyses and trainings at all levels of agricultural administration is intended to, first, sensitize staff members to gender-specific concerns and, second, to give women access to adapted technology, loans, and legal information.²⁰⁷

Under the new government the Ministry for Gender, Culture, Sports and Social Services is now responsible for women's issues and gender mainstreaming. The fear expressed by gender experts and women's organizations that gender issues might vanish in a "medley of leisure activities" is rejected by the ministry, which has confirmed plans to set up a department for gender issues. Furthermore, there are plans for an independent Gender Commission which will include representatives of government and civil

society, the private sector and the donor community and deliberate on and critically accompany processes of integration and implementation of gender issues.²⁰⁸ It is stressed that men will also be involved, but that the focus is to be on improving the situation of women, "because women are most disadvantaged and historically, culturally and traditionally underprivileged."²⁰⁹

However, the critical monitoring of committed yet in part overburdened NGOs will determine the extent to which the new government will – in contrast to the PRSP – swiftly implement their demands in this project or whether there will be no more than rhetorical declarations of intent that vanish in the seemingly "gender-neutral" reform process.

6 Conclusions

Up until the 1990s the issue complex "gender, poverty, and development" was marked by a more problematic analysis: on the one hand, women were regarded as a "vulnerable group" in need of special protection measures in view of their susceptibility to economic crises and poverty risks. On the other hand, lines of argument borrowing from the triangle: poverty – degradation of resources – population growth cast them in the role of those responsible for the effects of ecological and economic crises which cement gender-related social inequalities. If we accept the tenor of the political guidelines now set out by the donors, which are more and more coming to resemble one another, both the established victim image and its pendant, feminization of responsibility, appear to be a thing of the past in international discourses.

205 Mary Wandia, FEMNET, oral communication.

206 The program "Gender Mainstreaming and Empowerment of Women" initiated and supported by UNDP is of nationwide significance.

207 National GEMS Coordinator (2003).

208 "My government plans to establish a fully-fledged Gender Commission to mainstream gender issues in national development. A Bill shall also be brought to the House to directly address issues of domestic violence whose prevalence is unacceptable" (Kibaki in his speech at the opening session of Parliament; op. cit.).

209 The undersecretary in the *Ministry for Gender, Culture, Sports and Social Services* during a discussion (Nairobi, February 14, 2003).

New conceptual prerequisites as well as international negotiating processes have led to a broad perception of poverty that also pays heed to the noneconomic dimensions of social, legal, and political deprivation and aims to strengthen the status of members of poor population groups as legal entities. Nevertheless, not enough attention is paid to gender-disaggregated analyses and data examining the structural causes and risks of poverty and the strategies used to cope with it. The interrelationship between economic marginalization and social exclusion or poverty and violence affects women in particular, but this fact is not adequately translated into demands at the level of national and international policy.

In this respect, the policy instruments of multilateral or bilateral macro-level poverty reduction programs have a critical function. Country strategy papers (of the EU, the World Bank), priority area strategy papers (of the BMZ), or poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) of developing countries evidence substantial deficits when examined for their concern with cross-cutting tasks such as gender equality. The actors involved in the process are therefore faced with the following tasks.

- Thematic integration: The issues of social inequality or gender equality should be more firmly embedded in higher-level PRSP and poverty reduction analyses (and not supplemented by extra analyses). This includes conceptual and programmatic aspects such as poverty reduction through democratization, anchoring the human rights approach in development cooperation, creating a world social order, and achieving harmonization and coherence among donors. But it also includes strategic approaches such as promotion of good governance through involvement of parliaments, institutionalization of participation, and a trend toward budget financing ("rescuing gender from the poverty trap").
- Gender and macroeconomics: The idea of an "impersonal" or gender-neutral market (Elson) is a characteristic feature of development economics in general and PRSPs in particular. A harmonization of the macroeconomic framework of PRSPs with sociopolitical measures,

however, presupposes that markets are recognized as social institutions that function on the basis of social networks and norms.²¹⁰ Existing studies analyzing gender-specific market mechanisms and economic and social policies that consolidate inequality should therefore be incorporated in national poverty reduction strategies. Gender budget initiatives which critically review national budgets from a gender perspective should also be accorded support in their efforts to use active monitoring as a means of influencing "hard" sectors such as financial policy, alongside social policy.

- Institutionalization: If the gender mainstreaming approach is to be successfully anchored in development policy institutions, and go beyond conceptual advances and the occasional good-practice approach, more financial and human resources will be needed, as will a sense of ownership in relation to gender competence (gender training). The lack of political will to address this cross-cutting task and the predominantly low status accorded to gender within the pertinent structures can be altered by creating a closer interlinkage between national and international policy dialogues (on poverty reduction, donor coordination and governance issues).

What would be called for in addition to consideration of these key dimensions of poverty would be a poverty reduction strategy that understands unequal gender relations as an expression of social inequality, bearing this fact in mind in all areas of society. It may thus be said that economic questions concerning redistribution and pro-poor economic growth, no less than demands for processes of political democratization, should be premised on a gender divide that structures society.

While there may be other forms of socioeconomic disparity in a society that are far wider than gender – e.g. race (...), caste (...) or class (...) – gender inequality is most pervasive than other forms of inequality. It is a feature of social relations in most societies,

210 See Elson (2001).

*although it may take different forms. Consequently, understanding the causes and consequences of gender inequality should be of concern to all societies in the world, rich as well as poor.*²¹¹

Gender concerns are generally delegated to women. But the core of the gender approach is precisely this: no longer to focus only on women as an isolated group, but rather to see socially constructed gender relations in such a way as to ensure that analyses and policy measures center on exclusion mechanisms and inequitable social relations. Gender-specific interests that question a society's role models can and should also be generated and advocated by men, for in the 21st century efforts to bring about an altered gender system should be discussed in the light of social inequalities among and between both sexes.

211 Kaber (2003), p xiii.

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Annex

Selected Guiding Questions on Gender Monitoring in PRSPs

1 Participation: Involvement in the Process

The stated features of PRSPs include country ownership and broad participation of society. Participation of women's groups, women's organizations, gender experts, and community-based organizations (CBOs) which represent gender interests is one of the elementary conditions involved. What follows are some guiding questions designed to assess the participatory process from the gender perspective.²¹²

- Are women involved in the process? In what areas (experts within the PRSP unit, NGO representatives, politicians and/or parliamentarians)?
- What women's organizations are involved? Are they representative of central gender concerns in the country (urban/rural, internationally oriented networks or donor country NGOs, lobby groups, national NGOs, local CBOs)? Are they interlinked with other groups of actors involved in the process?
- In what form and to what extent are women's organizations involved (carrying out PPAs; consultation – simple, multiple, or decision-relevant involvement; corrective)? Number and selection of representatives in coordination workshops and committees?
- In what phases of the PRSP cycle are they involved (preparation, implementation, verification, e.g. budget-tracking/MTEF)? In which sectors?
- Framework conditions for a decision-relevant, inclusive participation: Are resources made available (transparency through public information, time, documents in national or local languages, travel expenses, training in economic literacy)?

2 The Papers: the PRSP Poverty Reduction Strategy

The most important innovation in the PRSP process is the priority requirement to align national debt relief strategies to the overarching goal of reducing extreme poverty. Structural macroeconomic reforms are no longer to be geared chiefly to balances of payments; they are expected to be designed in a broadly effective and coherent manner with a view to sociopolitical measures. One of their important cross-cutting tasks is to accord due consideration to gender.

- Is the poverty analysis based on gender-specific or otherwise disaggregated data? Does it give due consideration to gender aspects? Which (practical/strategic; health, (basic) education, food security, income, access to resources, time budgets, etc.)?
- In which sectors and priority areas are gender aspects specified (social policy: health, education; infrastructure: rural development, transportation; economic policy: employment, trade, structural adjustment/stabilization)?

212 For an extensive discussion of participation of women's organizations in PRSPs, see the study by Rodenberg (2001a). On the participation of forces of civil society and other relevant actors in the PRSP cycle, see Eberlei's (2001a) interview matrix. In another study, Eberlei (2002) worked out minimum standards for a participation of civil society in national processes. While these analyses do not center on the gender perspective, they make frequent and explicit reference to it.

- What measures are used to target the problems involved? How are they distributed? What levels are the measures geared to (micro-, macro-level)? Are medium- and long-term goals distinguished or medium- and long-term strategies developed? In what areas? Are these linked to clear-cut indicators?
- Are women's strategic interests (rights) accorded the same attention as their practical needs? Which are they? Does the PRSP show any signs of a gender approach, or is advancement of women's interests reflected in it? How is empowerment understood and strategically implemented? How is the terminology used aligned with the measures concerned?
- Is due attention paid to possible impacts of stabilization, privatization, and structural adjustment measures, in particular those affecting women (e.g. increase in unpaid reproductive labor)? Is "pro-poor growth" concretized with a view to its gender-specific impacts? I.e.: Does the PRSP present a coherent strategy (in the sense of coherence between economic and social policy) aimed at reducing extreme poverty among women?

3 Policy: Framework Conditions and Structures

Whether and to what extent gender interests can be anchored in a PRSP is a matter that depends on the orientation of state women's or gender policy, but also on the political will of the government concerned. Another important – and often neglected – factor is the role played by the donor community. It is striking how infrequently the directorates of the World Bank and the IMF make reference in their Joint Staff Assessment (JSA) to cross-cutting tasks.

- Is there any information available on the gender- or women's-policy approach (e.g. targeting or mainstreaming; WID or GAD) pursued by the country's government (working papers, concepts)? Is there an institutionalized state gender or women's policy (ministry, councils, interministerial commissions, gender units, etc.)? Resources and budgets for official gender policy? Is the existing setting (political will!) conducive or obstructive as far as an integral consideration of gender aspects in the PRSP is concerned?
- Are resources or a budget available to integrate and implement the cross-cutting task of gender in the PRSP? Is this cross-cutting task a topic of donor efforts at coordination and evaluation? What role does it play in donor coordination?
- Where are gender concerns situated in the process of consultation and preparation? Is there (from the very start?) a) a working group on gender issues, or b) is a gender mainstreaming strategy pursued (gender as a cross-cutting task in every sectoral/thematic working groups), or c) are both given? Are gender-relevant issues subsumed under the category "vulnerable groups"?
- Is there an (internationally) active women's movement in the country? Is there an autonomous gender discourse? Do the gender experts involved in the PRSP process stem from a nonofficial women's movement, or are they at least in close contact with NGO representatives?

4 Gender-sensitive Budget Initiatives

In recent years, at the international level, gender-sensitive budgeting procedures have grown in importance as an instrument for monitoring the social and gender-specific equity of budgetary management.²¹³ These instruments are conducive to processes involving a broad and transparent participation in the drafting of public budgets. The aim here is not to draft a separate budget for (promotion of) women but to monitor a) gender-specific appropriations, b) gender-specific impacts of key expenditures in all sectors and services, and c) revenue policy.²¹⁴

Any monitoring of budget policy for its effects on gender equity calls for review of the weighting of overall expenditures in three areas: What percentage of overall expenditures is explicitly earmarked for the promotion of gender equality? What percentage is earmarked for public institutions that are used mainly by (poor) women? And finally, what percentage of overall expenditures is earmarked for services provided primarily for women?²¹⁵

To avoid any gender-discriminatory impacts of budget policy, it is essential to select appropriate indicators for gender equality in participation; these might e.g. include:

- gender balance in the use made of business promotion funds (government-subsidized credits);
- gender balance in participation in (state) education/training programs;
- gender balance in committees/commissions that decide on the allocation of funds.²¹⁶

Gender-sensitive budget analysis brings together two branches of knowledge that are otherwise separate: first, gender analysis, which provides information on gender inequality; second, knowledge about a given country's economic and financial policies. It is this coupling that makes gender budget initiatives so important for the PRS process of individual countries. It has become an increasingly frequent practice to involve initiative representatives in the process in a consultative capacity when the concern is to incorporate socially equitable and pro-poor priorities in medium-term expenditure frameworks and public expenditure reviews.²¹⁷

Still, a gap remains between the declarations of intent of many governments to actively involve female representatives of civil society not only, as at present, in the strategy formation process but in consideration of budget issues as well. In 2000, for instance, the Tanzanian Gender Networking Program (TGNP) succeeded in gaining a commitment of all ministries and authorities to embark on a course of gender-sensitive budgetary planning. The Tanzanian government subsequently assigned the TGNP a participatory role in the country's PRS process. Apart from its monitoring activities concerned with the budget for the national poverty reduction strategy, the TGNP offers gender training units and capacity-building measures for the state actors involved in the PRS process. At the same time, the gender networks involved in the PRS process are given advanced training on the macroeconomic issues bound up with PRSPs (economic literacy). But in the end, and despite the Tanzanian government's declared willingness to provide for comprehensive gender mainstreaming in the PRSP process, very few if any gender analyses went into the making of the chapter on the macroeconomic framework.²¹⁸

213 See in particular Budlender et al. (2002).

214 See Young (2002): "Geschlechtergerechte Haushalte," p. 6.

215 See Elson (2002a), pp. 28f.

216 Elson (2002a), op. cit., and (2002b).

217 For the case of Kenya e.g., see Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development (2001a, b). The Platform for Action of 4th World Women's Conference contains a declaration that requires signatory states to adopt a gender perspective in the process of drafting and implementing public budgets (BMFSFJ, 1996).

218 See Rusimbi (2002).

Despite these setbacks, gender budget initiatives – and not only in PRS processes - are seen as playing an increasingly important role in the propagation and establishment of gender mainstreaming as both an instrument and a principle of nondiscriminatory and socially equitable public policy. The (potential) role played by instruments devised to monitor the allocation and distribution of public resources from the gender perspective is also seen by UNIFEM as a legal contribution to eliminating discrimination against women and, accordingly, to promoting the implementation of women's human rights.²¹⁹ According to this view, comprehensive and effective implementation of gender budget planning in the PRS process is also a step toward achieving the demand raised by bi- and multilateral donors to use PRSPs to strengthen global governance process.

219 See UNIFEM (2002), p. 186.

5 Gender in the Millennium Development Goals: World Bank Proposals on Engendering the MDG Monitoring Process

MDG	Targets – 2015	Gender Dimensions	Principal Actions
Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Halve % in poverty ◆ Halve % of the hungry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender inequality slows economic growth and impedes poverty reduction ◆ Poverty and vulnerability different for men and women ◆ Women's key role in agricultural production and food preparation ◆ Women's dependence on men in accessing productive and other resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Integrate gender into poverty analysis and PRSPs ◆ Address gender roles in market and household economies ◆ Address gender inequality as an obstacle to sustainable growth and development ◆ Gender-responsive rural development ◆ Raise female labor productivity ◆ Gender-responsive budgets
Achieve universal primary education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Ensure universal primary education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Persistent gender gaps in school access, dropout, and performance ◆ Socio-cultural barriers to girls' education ◆ Time constraints 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Address cultural and other obstacles to female education ◆ Address time constraints via investment in household economy ◆ Gender inclusion in
Promote gender equality and empower women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Eliminate gender disparity at all education levels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Legal rights and protection ◆ Property rights/land ◆ Voice and inclusion, at national community, and household levels in setting priorities/ agenda ◆ Legal and sociocultural barriers to women's access to economic/financial resources ◆ Conflict resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gender and Law Program for institutional strengthening and capacity-building: (i) gender-responsive legal reform; (ii) legal literacy and education; (iii) access to legal services ◆ Gender-responsive budgets ◆ Gender-responsive ◆ Access to financial services/credit
Reduce child mortality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Reduce the U5 mortality rate by 2/3 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Maternal education ◆ Access to and control over resources/assets ◆ Persistence of harmful (traditional) practices detrimental to women's and children's health (FGM, early marriage/ pregnancy, food taboos) ◆ Access to reproductive health services ◆ Women's subordinate status ◆ Time constraints/workload ◆ environmental factors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Improve access to appropriate healthcare services ◆ Improve women's access to resources/decision making ◆ Address "many pathways" to maternal/reproductive health ◆ Access to appropriate reproductive health services ◆ Maternal education ◆ Gender, Health and Poverty training by WBI
Improve maternal health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Reduce maternal mortality by 3/4 		

Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Halt, and reverse, spread of AIDS ◆ Halt, and reverse, incidence of malaria and other diseases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Explicit focus on "gender dynamics" – age/sex-differentiated prevalence rates and risk/vulnerability ◆ Sociocultural norms affecting sexual behavior, power relations ◆ Gender-based violence (rape) ◆ Lack of preventive/protective legal provisions for PLWHA, esp. widows & orphans ◆ Impact of AIDS on nonmarket work ◆ Care responsibilities ◆ AIDS orphans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Engendering HIV/AIDS operations by according attention to 4 critical tasks in the strategic approach: (i) gender-differentiated analysis of risk, vulnerability, and impact; (ii) gender-appropriate targeting of prevention, care, treatment, and support programs; (iii) systematic age/sex disaggregation of data and indicators; (iv) gender inclusion in participatory processes at all levels
Ensure environmental sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Integrate principles of sustainable development into country programs ◆ Reverse environmental losses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Address gender roles in environmental resource management: water, wood, fuel, soil fertility ◆ Gender inclusion in environmental management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Prioritize investment in the household economy: domestic energy, water and sanitation, labor-saving technology ◆ Gender inclusion in participatory processes
Develop a global partnership for development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ <i>Achievement of the 7 other MDGs</i> (not explicitly set out as a target) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Focus on the wider gender dimensions of the MDGs ◆ Synergy and linkages across MDGs ◆ Prioritize promotion of gender equality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Engender poverty analysis and PRSPs ◆ Build on cross-sectoral synergies ◆ Prioritize gender inclusion ◆ Promote accountability for gender outcomes in MDGs ◆ Partnerships for gender equality

Factors/elements	Components	Yes/No	Comments
Awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is there interest in and concern for gender issues among staff, community groups, committee members etc.? ◆ Is there a clear understanding of gender concepts in PRSP sector programs? ◆ Assess experience with gender analysis among PRSP sector programs at all levels. ◆ Is there awareness and a clear understanding of gender mainstreaming concepts in PRSP sector programs? 		
Gender sensitivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are staff/members sensitive to gender differences and how they affect gender equity? 		
Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Has there been training on gender-related policies for staff, committee members, and community groups? ◆ Assess integration of gender issues into seminars, conferences, documents, product development, training activities, etc. ◆ Organize training for sector staff members based on assessment of gender training needs. ◆ Incorporate gender balance in all training, meetings, workshops, rallies. ◆ Are sector program staff/members trained in gender analysis? 		
Institutionalization/ Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Need to ensure that gender is institutionalized in all programs. ◆ Check the promotion of gender balance in the composition and management of programs/projects/processes/decision-making organs for effective consultations and implementation of PRSP sector activities. ◆ Are there gender focal points in the various program designed to help steer and operationalize the gender mainstreaming process within sector program? ◆ Are the gender focal points institutionalized by facilitators and catalysts to bring about change? ◆ Has there been gender balance in national consultative committees? 		

Table 3: (continued) Tool A: Assessing the Capacity of PRSP Implementers to Mainstream Gender in Sector Programs – Checklist			
Gender analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Have there been gender-responsive needs assessment studies within the various sectors? ◆ If required, do they receive assistance from gender experts active in the PRSP process? 		
Application of findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Do sector program staff/members have the capacity to apply findings from gender analysis to sector program activities? 		
Monitoring and evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Do sector program staff/members have capacity required to understand gender-integrated monitoring and evaluation of activities? ◆ Are there specific indicators for each subprogram activity reflecting gender issues, to help in monitoring substantive outcomes and impacts? 		
Source: Ministry of Finance and Planning / UNDP (2002): <i>Mainstreaming Gender in Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Gender Responsive Monitoring and Evaluation Tool for the PRSP/MTEF Processes and Outcomes</i> , Nairobi (April 2002), p. 11			

Factors/elements	Components	Comments
Target group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ How many men and women are participating in program activities at different levels? ◆ What are the activity areas that identify women as a target group in sector programs? 	
Gender concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are gender concerns reflected in program design? ◆ Are gender concerns reflected in operational methods? ◆ Are gender concerns reflected in implementation strategies? ◆ Are gender concerns reflected in monitoring and evaluation? 	
Design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Do program compile relevant gender-disaggregated data prior to designing programs/projects? ◆ Have gender issues been integrated in the methodology and at all stages of program design? ◆ How many women and men are already participating in program/project activities? ◆ Will the sector program activities strengthen women's decision-making role? ◆ Will the sector program activities increase women's access and control over resources and services? ◆ Are program activities contributing toward empowerment of men and women? 	
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are there gender-disaggregated data available, and are they used to design gender-responsive programs and policies? ◆ What is the capacity of sector group members to translate gender-disaggregated data into gender analysis? ◆ Are activities outlined to link gender issues to project objectives and outputs? ◆ Are there gender-sensitive criteria for project formulation and in project activities? ◆ Are there participatory approaches involving both men and women in defining their needs and subsequently in addressing these needs? ◆ Do the success criteria established reflect differentiated gender roles and their bearing on project outcomes? ◆ Is there evidence that gender issues have been addressed where they already exist? 	

Table 4: (continued) Tool B: Tracking Gender Mainstreaming in PRSP Sector Program Activities – Checklist		
Awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are preparations of briefs by gender experts including gender consideration, gender reflective and gender sensitive? ◆ Do program activities replicate where possible, best practices on gender and poverty issues? ◆ Do sector programs document and disseminate useful practices to promote gender-inclusive local development programs on poverty reduction? ◆ Is there dialogue geared to orienting staff on gender mainstreaming in programs / at meetings enabling them to understand the PRSP process? 	
Evaluation, monitoring and reporting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Is there systematic inclusion of gender in every evaluation of program? ◆ Has gender-disaggregated data been collected on the delivery of all programs or project services, activities and resources? ◆ Have gender-disaggregated indicators been used to measure, in quantitative and qualitative terms, the outcomes and impacts of sector programs? ◆ Does the evaluation framework examine the extent of gender mainstreaming in the program? ◆ Is monitoring of project activities gender-responsive? ◆ Are women being empowered as a result of this activity? ◆ Are program staff reporting gender relevant data and issues in evaluation reports or other publications? 	
<p>Source: Ministry of Finance and Planning/UNDP (2002): Mainstreaming Gender in Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Gender Responsive Monitoring and Evaluation Tool for the PRSP/MTEF Processes and Outcomes, Nairobi (April 2002), pp. 13f.</p>		

Table 5: Tool C: Women's Participation in the PRSP Consultative Process – Checklist		
Factors/Elements	Components	Comments
Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Will activities to be initiated by the PRSP be made accessible to all groups, including women, men, boys and girls? ◆ How will indigenous knowledge of rural men and women be used in the consultative process? ◆ How will local knowledge be effectively incorporated in the strategy paper? ◆ How will the local communities be informed about the process? ◆ How will women be specifically informed about the PRSP, bearing in mind their low literacy levels and limited participation in existing community structures and organizations? ◆ Are women participating fully in the existing community organizations, since these could be the entry points for implementation of PRSP activities? ◆ Are there women's organizations that represent a cross-section of women? 	
Impacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Are there any negative impacts that could lead to exclusion of any particular gender? ◆ What steps could be taken to avert this? 	
Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ What channels of communication already exist between service institutions (e.g. education, health, water, and local community), especially for women? ◆ Do the existing institutional structures impede or facilitate dialogue with the community, especially women? ◆ How will community interests, including those of women, be represented during the consultative process and in the final strategy paper? 	
<p>Source: Ministry of Finance and Planning/UNDP (2002): Mainstreaming Gender in Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Gender Responsive Monitoring and Evaluation Tool for the PRSP/MTEF Processes and Outcomes, Nairobi (April 2002), p. 18</p>		