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THE INSTITUTIONALITY OF GENDER EQUITY IN THE STATE: A DIAGNOSIS FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Document prepared by the Women and Development Unit of ECLAC.

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ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of the 1990s, all the Latin American and Caribbean countries have completed the process of setting up national mechanisms for the advancement of women. This does not mean, however, that the State as a whole has been transformed into a structure that generates gender equity; nor does it mean that the majority of government offices with responsibility for this issue have access to the means and resources necessary to accomplish their specific functions of promoting equality of opportunity for women and for men to participate in the life of society and to make use of their abilities.

With a view to providing an outline diagnosis of the situation in the region, the document examines the data contained in the *Directory of national organizations dealing with programmes and policies on women in Latin America and the Caribbean*, published by ECLAC 1997, and reviews the institutional situation of the national mechanisms for the advancement of women, considering their access to the instruments and resources of State power - in such aspects as the legitimacy of their legal mandate, the human and financial resources at their disposal and the range of State functions that they can carry out.

This institutional mapping of national gender-equity authorities in the region leads to a double-sided diagnosis, for although national offices for women have managed to carve out a formal space in the State apparatus, real power in terms of resources and coercive measures remains beyond the reach of most of them. In order to identify more accurately the structural conditions in which they are, or are not, exercising executive power, an ideal typology for national mechanisms is constructed; it highlights the gaps been substantive authority and strictly formal authority, depending on the levels in the State hierarchy at which these mechanisms are to be found. This classification attempt reveals both that there is scant substantive- formal power in the region and that such power is closely tied to the upper echelons of executive power.

The document concludes with some parameters for transforming the gender basis of State apparatus without neglecting current concerns as to the need for a less heavy, more efficient State structure.

INTRODUCTION

A growing consensus about the need to transform the cultural, legal, political and economic norms, as well as the social practices, that perpetuate inequality between women and men (ECLAC, 1995) is giving rise to increasing demands for the State, as an agent "capable of producing concerted action" among members of society in order to achieve objectives that have been collectively agreed upon (Atria, 1995: 103), to be reformed on the basis of a new gender order. Some women scholars who have studied the issue argue that this is not only needed to meet the claims of women, but is a necessary condition for State reform itself, since they regard the collapse of the old gender order as an absolutely crucial factor in the crisis being faced by the modern State (Fraser, 1997).

In the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, the first State mechanisms for the advancement of women appeared in 1976, as a means of addressing the needs identified at the First World Conference on Women held in Mexico the year before. Implementation proceeded gradually during the 1980s, being finally completed in the present decade. Although it may now be said that all the countries in the region have set up a body to take charge of policies and programmes for women within the structure of the national State apparatus, we can barely even begin to speak of transformation of the bases of the State in the direction of a structure that (re)produces gender equity.² At best, the bodies in charge of this issue within the executive have succeeded in sponsoring the creation of a variety of sectoral and territorial mechanisms which are coalescing into a network that integrates programmes and policies for women into the different levels of decision-making, but this does not mean that the State structure as a whole has genuinely accepted the objective of ensuring that women and men have equal opportunities in terms of their participation in the life of society and the scope for using their capabilities.

The problem has very complex aspects, when we consider not just cultural resistance to the idea of women participating in decision-making and power on an equitable basis, but the very nature of the modern State and what it requires to function properly. Thus, the vast majority of government Women's Offices in the region are situated at intermediate and low levels of the State hierarchy and have severely limited executive capabilities, if any. Furthermore, the crisis of legitimacy currently being experienced by the State

¹ See the analysis of Nancy Fraser (1997) where she explains how "existing welfare states are based on suppositions about gender that are increasingly out of step with the lives people lead and the way they regard themselves" and how "therefore, they do not provide women and children with the social protection they need" (p. 55)

² Since the concerns of this document lie in the realm of the political sciences, the substantive elements of gender equity will not be dealt with in depth. It may be said, however, that it is indispensable for public policies to look beyond the satisfaction of women's basic and practical needs and to address their strategic ones, and this will mean generating processes of power and autonomy among women by means of information, participation in decision-making, training and free child-care services, placing in question the rigidity of the sexual division of labour in both the public and private spheres.

as an agent of modernization processes raises questions about what functions should be given priority in order to enable the substantive objectives of these bodies to be implemented within the framework of a new instrumental rationality that seeks innovative ways of managing the public interest, with the support of a lighter and more efficient State apparatus (Touraine, 1994). Under these circumstances, the need to strengthen national mechanisms for the advancement of women cannot be dissociated from theoretical considerations about reform of the State, particularly in the present Latin American context where in most countries the relationship between the State structure, civil society and the market is being drastically redefined.

Given this situation, the purpose of the present document is to sketch out a map of the institutional situation of national authorities dealing with gender equity in Latin America and the Caribbean and, setting out from this, to offer some guidelines that are valid for the different national situations with a view not only to integrating the gender perspective into certain sectors of the State structure but also to transforming the gender order that sustains this.³ The study is based on the information received by the governments of the region both for the first version of the *Directory of national organizations dealing with programmes and policies on women in Latin America and the Caribbean* published by ECLAC in September 1997, and for the second edition that is now being produced. The directory provides information about the position in the State apparatus of each of the governmental bodies that act as national coordination centres for programmes to advance women, their political level, legal mandate, administrative capabilities, staffing, functions and activities.⁴

The intention is for this effort to complete the work of the Directory, which aimed to make it easier for countries to exchange experiences regarding the institutionalization of the issue of women and development, and to provide them with an instrument for monitoring progress in attaining strategic objective II.1 of the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001. The Beijing Platform for Action similarly recommends, as an essential precondition for an efficient gender equity strategy, that institutions responsible for fostering equality of opportunities and equity in society between the life situations of women and men be situated at the highest level of the State hierarchy.

With this purpose in mind, then, the first section reviews the institutional situation of the national mechanisms for the advancement of women, considering their legal mandates and position in the State apparatus, their staffing situation, the source of their funding, the State functions they discharge and the extent to which all the gender equity programmes that exist in each country operate in a transversal

³ Reference may be made here to the distinction drawn by Jahan (1995, quoted in Staudt, 1998), identifying two ways in which the gender perspective may be integrated (mainstreaming): the first way is for this perspective to be "integrated" into the existing institutional mission, without greatly affecting it, while the second "transforms" this mission by making the quest for gender equity an intrinsic part of it. At the end of the document, the role played in the second alternative by the production of a public agenda will be detailed more fully.

⁴ The governments of the region are currently in the process of revising the Directory information that relates to them, so it is possible that the data adduced in the present work may differ in some respects from the situations in the countries. This does not in any way invalidate the theoretical considerations set forth, however, as these refer to what is at any rate a very recent situation in Latin America and the Caribbean.

⁵ "To create or strengthen the political, administrative, legislative and financial capacity of government institutions that formulate, coordinate and evaluate public policies aimed at improving the status of women and promoting gender equity, and to ensure that such entities become a permanent part of the highest level of the State apparatus" (ECLAC, 1995: 24).

manner. This will lead us, in section II, to identify the main achievements and weaknesses of these mechanisms, going on in section III to construct an ideal typology for national Women's Offices, the purpose of which is to facilitate theoretical reflections about ways of strengthening their institutional situation. This section concludes with some parameters for substantive institutionalization, i.e. an institutionality that is not only expressed in a formal framework which integrates the issue of gender equity into the State but that also provides the financial and human resources and the terms of reference which are essential to the real exercise of power.

Finally, once this diagnosis is complete, it must not be forgotten that current efforts to institutionalize gender equity are taking place at a time when the organization of the State is being subjected to searching questioning, with consideration being given rather to weakening the State apparatus than to strengthening it. Again, in the complex field of governability, on governmental agent can irrefutably establish the legitimacy of its authority, even though a particular organization may achieve dominant control over certain processes, the promotion of equal opportunities and equity between men and women by national Women's Offices being a case in point. Now more than ever the public debate has to be conducted on the understanding that governing is always an interactive process insofar as no single agent, whether public or private, has all the knowledge and resources necessary to solve problems on its own (Stoker, 1998: 22).

 $^{^6}$ For a more thorough examination of the issue of governability, see the article by Gerry Stoker (1998), "Governance as theory: five propositions".

I. REVIEW OF THE INSTITUTIONAL SITUATION OF THE BODIES RESPONSIBLE FOR WOMEN'S POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES

Of all the aspects of the State that have been identified by sociological studies⁷ as vital to its operations in modern society, it has proved particularly fruitful for gender studies to consider its role as a <u>form of domination</u>, as this provides a way of examining how the State is organized "for structured and continuous social control" while taking into account the areas of resistance to this control that affect the actual functioning of the State, which in turn is "a manifestation or working-out of the relationships of domination that arise at the base of the social structure" (Atria, 1992: 20). The consequences of this process are reflected in the decision-making capabilities of the State apparatus and its power to enforce the decisions reached which, to be effective, need to be translated into formal processes of institutionalization that operate nationally in such a way that public order can be maintained and collective action made possible (Stoker, 1998).

It is through a stable and legitimate institutionality that the State can fulfil its function of legitimizing the social compact or agreement and "bring influence to bear so that the particular interests of each group are formulated in relation to a wider social interest" (Faletto, 1994: 15). This means that the different institutions of the State structure need to have "guaranteed and continuous access to the instruments of the State and its resources of power" (Atria, 1997: 16), meaning, among other things, a legitimate legal mandate, the human and financial resources needed to exercise compulsion, and the ability to perform a range of functions that is wide enough for the desired results to be achieved.

A. LEGAL MANDATE AND POSITION IN THE STATE APPARATUS

In the case of the bodies responsible for promoting gender equity in national life, the twofold nature of the power relationships maintained by the State has the potential to weaken the control apparatus itself, depending on whether or not the tensions existing in society are strong enough to prevent the emergence of an institutional structure that has real and not just apparent power. It is noteworthy, for example, that only a fifth of the national Women's Offices in Latin America and the Caribbean have a high enough ranking in the State hierarchy to give them a degree of autonomy and the level of power that would supposedly enable

⁷ For a more thorough look at this issue, see the article by Raúl Atria (1992) in which he explains the role of the State in society as a collective representation of that society, a form of domination, a social institution and a social agent. This last aspect of the role of the State will be considered in part D of this section, "State functions taken on by the national mechanisms".

⁸ According to Max Weber, administrative staffs and the material means of administration are the "armed wing of rational legitimacy" (Weber, 1987: 1085 in Atria, 1998: 46).

them to secure compliance with their decisions on the part of other bodies in the State apparatus, whether these Offices are autonomous bodies constituted by law or national administrations attached to the Presidency and headed by a woman minister of State (see annex, table 1).

To put into perspective the process whereby national mechanisms for the advancement of women are institutionalized in the region, it is worth noting that personal authority is a factor that has played an important role in the establishment of Offices in a number of countries. Furthermore, we may suspect that in the case of the majority —i.e., those that are still mired in intermediate and low levels of the State structure— a lack of outstanding figures at the different stages in the process of institutionalizing the Women and/or gender equity issue has had adverse consequences for the legal mandate established for these nascent bodies. Although for certain institutional processes there may be times when it is helpful to have a charismatic leader, however, the legitimacy of national mechanisms for the advancement of women can only be secured if the foundations of the authority they wield are expressed in a system of legally established instrumental norms.

Logically, the first of these instrumental norms concerns the legal mandate of the body, and in more than two thirds of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean this is particularly vulnerable to changes of government because it has not been integrated into the corpus of national laws (see annex, table 2) and is subject to the will of the head of State (supreme or presidential executive order), Parliament (act) or the Cabinet (mandates). Another situation of even greater vulnerability is when the person heading the organization is appointed by the Government, which is what happens in 4 of the Caribbean countries for which information is available.

Although there is no absolute equivalence, the legitimacy of the mandate secured by the authorities for women's advancement and gender equity has a clear influence on their position in the State apparatus. Thus, of the 11 offices established by a Law of the Republic or recognized by the Constitution in a total of 39 countries, only three are situated at a low level in the hierarchy as bodies integrated into sectoral ministries which are not directly concerned with the gender issue, examples being the Ministry of Welfare, Family and Humanitarian Affairs (Netherlands Antilles), the Civil Rights Commission (Puerto Rico) or the Ministry of Education and Culture (Uruguay) (see annex, table 1). Of the eight offices established at the highest level of the State apparatus under the direction of a woman minister of State, five were created by law and three either by executive order or an Act of Parliament, which attests to the very close relationship existing between executive power and political will.

To sum up, it may be said that if roughly a fifth of the national mechanisms are situated at the highest level of the State hierarchy, about half are at an intermediate level as national administrations attached to the Presidency or to a ministry concerned with the issue, while another third are still at a low level as bodies of various kinds in sectoral ministries. It is interesting to note that the "focal point" form still

⁹ In this context, it is interesting to note that Max Weber defines the distinguishing feature of *charisma* as the ability to break the rationalizing order of bureaucracy and the historical order of traditionalism, by standing out against any institutionalized regulation on the one hand, and by subverting history on the other (Weber, 1987 in Atria, 1998).

¹⁰ It needs to be emphasized, however, that under the circumstances existing in certain Latin American countries it is easier for an emerging issue such as gender equity to receive support from the head of state than from legislative chambers. In these cases, the decision not to seek constitution by Law may have been an efficient way of furthering the process of institutionalization, as an alternative to wasting years in parliamentary battles.

survives in two Caribbean countries. This is a hangover from historical institutionalization processes often initiated by a single person appointed by the government in order to comply with the letter of international mandates, but without resources or any prospect of bringing about change in the existing order.

B. STAFFING

Another rational norm essential to the proper performance of State institutions —especially when processes of State reform are underway— is constituted by the technical and administrative capabilities of the government, which depend on a critical mass of qualified staff with the knowledge, experience and information necessary to formulate medium and long-term strategies and policies (Sagasti and Guerra-García, 1996: 407). For this purpose, the primary resource of the public sector is the civil service, which needs to be properly managed, professionalized and trained, to be transparent, and to have a high degree of internal communication (Lahera, 1997: 3).

Without even going into the crucial subject of technical training, merely reviewing the numbers of staff available to the national mechanisms for the advancement of women reveals the Achilles' heel of the gender equity institutionalization process in Latin America and the Caribbean. Thus, in some 30% of the countries in the region the national Women's Offices have a staff of no more than 5, including non-specialist staff, while in the case of a further 13% staffing is described as inadequate, although numbers are not specified (see annex, table 3). In barely 23% of the countries do these offices have a staff of over 50, which is the sort of number required to perform the range of functions that the magnitude of the task under consideration entails. Of the nine offices that are in this advantageous situation, seven are headed by a woman minister of State and two are national administrations attached to the Presidency, a situation which once again brings to light the tautological link between proximity to power and access to the means to exercise it.

C. ORIGIN OF FUNDING

State budgets are undoubtedly another of the essential resources of power, not only because of the financial value they represent but because they reveal the political priorities of the government, with the level of expenditure agreed to determining the operational priority assigned to the issues concerned within the national consensus (Goetz, 1995; ECLAC, 1998). Consequently, and to an even greater extent than the monetary value of the budgets allocated to the national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity, the origin of their funding may be regarded as perhaps the most significant indicator of the degree of institutionalization attained by these bodies in the State apparatus, as it clearly reveals the organization of the State's priorities.

Thus, the most stable situation for these bodies within the national institutional structure is for them to have their own budgets and to have full responsibility for managing them and negotiating them in future years. In only three countries in the region (8%) out of a total of 39¹¹ do these bodies have funding of

¹¹ It is important to note that the Federation of Cuban Women has to be excluded from these remarks. This is a non-governmental organization that is recognized by the constitution as the body responsible for promoting policies and programmes for the advancement of women. The Federation is funded by the quarterly subscriptions of its 3,600,000 members.

this type: Argentina, Chile and Costa Rica, all headed by a woman minister of State. The next level down from this, which is also a stable one, is where funds are allocated to the national mechanism as a percentage of the budget of the authority it comes under, whether this be the Nation as in the cases of Paraguay and Peru where these bodies have ministerial status, the Presidency, another ministry concerned with the issue or sectoral ministries. Considering the three countries for which no information is yet available, this could be the situation of a quarter to a third of the national Women's Offices of the region. The most widespread situation however —between perhaps 36% and 44% of the countries— is one of changeability and uncertainty each year when the government carries out periodic re-evaluation of funding allocations.

According to the data collected for the *Directory of national organizations dealing with programmes and policies on women in Latin America and the Caribbean*, even in the cases where institutional stability is greatest, the budget is not sufficient to cover the running costs of the organization, let alone to allow of its sphere of operations being extended. Consequently, the great majority of the national Women's Offices top up their budget in one way or another with support from international organizations. In almost 20% of the cases, this "support" actually becomes the principal means of survival for national mechanisms, since the financial contribution made by international bodies accounts for more than half of their budgets. This situation highlights the extreme weakness of these agencies' position in the institutional structure.¹² It is highly revealing to note that funding from this source is received by bodies at every level in the hierarchy, right up to the highest (see annex, table 4).

D. STATE FUNCTIONS TAKEN ON BY THE NATIONAL MECHANISMS

As Enzo Faletto points out (1992), the best way to define a specific State in its historical context is by reference to the functions it discharges. The concept of history is crucial here because, as Weber also affirmed, the functions of the State as a social agent cannot be determined theoretically. Rather, they need to be defined in relation to the complexity of a given society, considering its historical circumstances and taking social and political consensuses into account (Atria, 1995: 105-106). In the case of national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity, then, an examination of the functions they perform, as well as of those that they do not succeed in performing even though they are necessary, allows us to gauge the tensions underlying their role as emerging social agents in a context of profound and controversial cultural changes.

Reviewing the information provided by the governments of the region for inclusion in the *Directory of national organizations dealing with programmes and policies on women in Latin America and the Caribbean*, we find that these bodies exercise promotional, coordination, regulatory, executive, monitoring and advisory functions. Although these are all an intrinsic part of the ideal operating programme for national Women's Offices, only a few Offices succeed in carrying them out in a comprehensive and interactive way (see annex, table 5). In fact, only the Offices of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Uruguay state that all of these are carried out, followed by the Dominican Republic, Panama, Paraguay and Venezuela, which omit the monitoring function from their descriptions.

Although international aid is a vital contribution without which many programmes for women in Latin America and the Caribbean could not operate, it cannot be denied that the commitment of the State to these programmes is weaker when its contribution is less than that of donors from the world community.

Furthermore, the Offices that have succeeded in expanding their role to take in more than promotion and coordination do not refer to their particular advisory function —probably because in many cases it has been transferred to a national commission with special responsibility for it (see annex, table 6).

To give a better picture of the national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity in terms of the State functions they discharge, we shall now look at their actual performance, following in descending order the degree to which the functions referred to are common to the countries of the region, which in turn reveals an almost organic logic between each of them.

Promotion, being common to all the national Women's Offices without exception, is the function par excellence of national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity, being concerned by definition with the identification and social recognition of beneficiary groups (Atria, 1995). Performance of this function begins with the very existence of the Office, even if this is merely an isolated focal point in a sectoral ministry without the means to carry out any other function, and it extends in complexity and scope as the operating capabilities of the organization increase.

Once a certain level is reached, promotional activities lead to the *coordination* function coming into play. This function, which around 80% of the Offices in the region state they carry out, is directly related to the transversality of gender issues in the State. As coordinators of policies with other governmental authorities —such as ministries, administrations and sectoral offices—national Women's Offices are faced with the obstacles produced by the existing gender order and have to cope with "the problem of changing official methods and styles of management that do not take gender aspects into consideration" as well as strong cultural resistance, which make it difficult to implement gender policies (Arriagada, 1998: 9). The extent of the task varies considerably depending on where the Office is situated in the State hierarchy, ranging from coordination of specific sectoral projects at a low level to coordination of equal opportunities plans covering a substantial part of the spectrum of sectors in the country at the intermediate and high levels (9 countries at present).

Regulation, carried out through the formulation of public policies, comes next after the functions mentioned above in the logic of change followed by national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity and, as would be expected from the higher degree of penetration into the workings of the State that it entails, is carried out by what is now beginning to be a smaller number of bodies (63.2%). Being dependent upon "the existence of a suitable regulatory framework, highly qualified specialist teams and an institutional structure that ensures the efficiency of the regulator" (Lahera, 1997: 4), the ability of national Women's Offices to discharge this function is bound up not so much with their position in the State hierarchy as with the legitimacy of their legal mandate in terms of providing them with the authority —and the financial resources— to award incentives to guide social processes. Thus, all the Offices that were created by law, and most of those that were created by executive order, with the exception of Barbados and Puerto Rico, are involved in regulatory activities. Some Caribbean countries with a more limited legal mandate (Aruba, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Trinidad and Tobago) also refer to this function, but it may be doubted that they have sufficient human resources to carry it out (see annex, table 3).

The next step in the institutionalization of gender equity is the ability to implement the necessary programmes, which requires a matching *executive* capability not readily granted in the terms of reference of national Women's Offices. Over the years just over half (52.6%) have succeeded, at least in part, in

¹³ Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Venezuela.

arrogating a function that requires the executive to share its power, but this capability is often limited to programmes directed at women in which other State institutions do not wish to get involved, or projects financed by international aid funding (Goetz, 1995) which do not involve sharing the power resources of the State.

Finally, what is one of the key functions in the process of State reform due to its role in the modern quest for efficiency, the *monitoring* function, may be regarded as something of a rare privilege in the realm of national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity. Although 14 of them include it in their descriptions, only 8 (21.1%) have the minimum administrative capability (staff of six people or more) without which it is unlikely that this function can be exercised in practice (Atria, 1995). If we consider, furthermore, that Offices with monitoring functions, to be really effective, need to have powers of revision and authority over the planning of programmes and budget decision-making (Staudt, 1998), this number is probably lower still. We may also question the monitoring capabilities of bodies situated at intermediate (Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico) and low (Uruguay) levels of the State structure, since an important prerequisite for monitoring to be carried out effectively is the political legitimacy provided by the monitoring organization having a higher status in the hierarchy than the bodies that have to answer to it.

The last function under consideration, the *advisory* function, belongs to the substantive part of the previous logic between the promotional and coordination functions. However, the small group of Offices (20.5%) that still mention this as one of the functions they perform are isolated from the operating logic just seen, whereby the functions with less of a political impact are shared by a wider range of bodies. In fact, the advisory function is a vestige of the historical process —still found at the lower levels of the State hierarchy— by which the national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity were formed, when advisory functions were both a response to the difficulty of obtaining a legitimate field of action and a part of the strategy for securing this.¹⁴

E. TRANSVERSALITY OF GENDER EQUITY PROGRAMMES

The subject of functions leads us naturally to look at the State apparatus as a whole, because of the need to differentiate these functions within each ministry, dividing them between those authorities that are responsible for general guidelines and strategic planning (ministries of State), bodies that produce regulations for their sector (general administrations), bodies in charge of applying regulations (regulatory agencies) and bodies responsible for providing goods and services (decentralized public institutions and State companies) (Sagasti and Guerra-García, 1996: 419). Following this logic, national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity are gradually transforming themselves into what is rather a set of mechanisms, which might include, in addition to the main office, a specialist office in the ministry for foreign affairs, programmes and focal points in sectoral ministries, provincial or state offices, municipal

¹⁴ Referring to the same issue, Kathleen Staudt (1998) remarks, in a working document prepared with a view to the next *World report on the situation of women*, that "advocates, or as some termed them, policy entrepreneurs in entryism strategies, walked the fine line between building inside technical capability and outside allies in coalitions. These change catalysts rarely had sufficient resources and staff to manage their own programs or leverage change in other parts of their institution (...). Their institutional space and location seemed to matter little for effectiveness, whether at the top, near or with the chief executive, in planning, or in operations".

offices and some supporting commissions that are responsible for extending the coordination and advisory functions (see annex, table 6).

In quantitative terms, the process of extending gender institutionality into sectoral ministries -other than the body to which the national Women's Office is affiliated— has made progress in almost 60% of the countries in the region. This is a vital step in the promotion of a new gender order in the State as a whole and in efforts to ensure that all sectors incorporate concern for equal opportunities between women and men into their mission. There is however a wide gap between the progress made in institutionalizing gender equity in central government and the situation in territorial governments, since provincial and/or municipal offices have been set up in less than a third of these.

National advisory commissions, which exist in 44% of the countries according to the information received, are another important mechanism. These commissions, whether attached to the executive or the legislature, have the function, depending on their position, of supporting the national Office in the work of devising a national strategy, or of providing an internal forum for male and female members of parliament so that they can thoroughly discuss the issues relevant to the processes of change.

The final mechanism of a transversal nature, which is destined to develop rapidly in the interwoven logic of integration between the gender perspective and reform of the State, is the interministerial Committee. Interministerial Committees exist in somewhat less than a quarter of the countries, but the concept is a particularly interesting one in that the intention behind it is to introduce and apply the gender approach effectively in the institutions of Government and to give life to women's policies emanating from the national women's authority (ECLAC, 1997a: 108).

II. MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS AND WEAKNESSES OF NATIONAL WOMEN'S OFFICES IN THE REGION

A. THE SUCCESS OF VISIBILITY: THE PROMOTION OF GENDER EQUITY AND RELATIONSHIP WITH CIVIL SOCIETY

Although the diagnosis now underway has identified weaknesses and serious limitations in the way national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity are positioned in the State structure, there can be no doubt that great success has been achieved in making the issue visible over the last 20 years by means of these same mechanisms, chiefly through the implementation of their promotional function which has generated diagnoses, statistics, awareness campaigns and training programmes throughout the Latin America and Caribbean region.

In the same period, the other vital agent in the promotion of gender equity has been civil society, and it is perhaps one of the merits of the national Women's Offices that they have welcomed this contribution and been among the first State authorities to understand that in the Latin America and Caribbean region, which has been profoundly affected by dictatorships, "it is not possible to separate gender from democracy" (Vargas and Olea, 1997: 45), thus strengthening the relationship of mutual profit and interest between the two.

According to the report of a meeting of women experts held at ECLAC in 1997 on the relationship between non-governmental organizations and the State, "the forms of linkage with Women's Offices are very varied, often depending on the legitimacy that the action of these same offices enjoys within the State, which is manifested by the level at which they are situated in the apparatus of government, whether or not they can implement policies directly, and the human and financial resources they have at their disposal" (ECLAC, 1997b: 7). Since the IV World Conference on Women in 1995, however, the rate at which governments have set up mechanisms for joint monitoring of international agreements has accelerated to such an extent that there are now formal government-NGO mechanisms in 22 of the 30 countries for which information on this matter is available, while in a further 5 regular meetings and consultations are organized to discuss issues proposed by the government.

This shared follow-up work is reinforced by the fact that governments and NGOs have "a common agenda, one which had been developed at international and regional fora" and that what is essentially being sought is "to ensure compliance with the agendas that have already been adopted, through dialogue and

discussion mechanisms, and to have some input in policy design and implementation" (ECLAC, 1997b: 18).

B. THE LACK OF SUBSTANTIVE POWER

As we were able to ascertain in the previous chapter, national Women's Offices are managing to appropriate an official sphere for themselves within the State apparatus, but the substance of power in terms of resources and the means of compulsion is out of reach for most of them. Explicit reference has already been made to the key role played by budgets and staffs in the processes of State institutionalization, but it is worth insisting on the fact that the human resources deficiency is a particularly acute problem when it is considered that the lack of first rate specialist and political teams results in "problems of excessive rotation of managers and executives, a scarcity of first rate professionals, a lack of continuity in policies, non-existent information systems, insufficient control over the agenda, inability to set priorities, political interference and excessive attention to procedures to the detriment of results" (Sagasti and Guerra-García, 1996: 412), due above all to inability to carry out the necessary monitoring.

Another factor that diminishes the authority of national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity is the modesty of their performance in the sphere of monitoring and policy implementation. This once again underlines the need to combine technical, administrative and political rationalities to match the means to the scope of the objectives proposed (Faletto, 1994: 13).

¹⁵ To emphasize the success of collaboration between the State, public and private spheres in relation to gender policies, Irma Arriagada refers to the example of domestic violence, "a subject that was not on the public agenda but which the work of non-governmental organizations enabled to be defined as a problem, so that public policies could be designed to address it and successful solutions found. Since 1990, all the countries of Latin America have produced legislation to deal with family violence" (Arriagada, 1998: 8).

III. PROPOSAL FOR AN IDEAL TYPOLOGY FOR NATIONAL WOMEN'S OFFICES

With the aim of reaching a more precise understanding of the work done by national bodies in charge of policies and programmes for women in the region, a typology has been constructed for these on the basis of the instrumental norms that are favourable to the institutionalization of power relationships, i.e. legal-rational domination in Weberian terms. As reviewed earlier, these favourable elements are hierarchical rank as an expression of the form of domination, the legal mandate as a recognition of authority, and the material resources necessary for compulsion, i.e. the administrative staff (human resources) and the material means of administration (financial resources).

The criteria used to produce the ideal typology that is set out below are based on the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean, which means that the validity of the cut-off points between the types should be considered from a strictly formal point of view, and not in terms of the specific conditions of these. Thus, four types of authority are identified, of which three are divided between formal-substantive authority and formal authority to distinguish between a type of authority that has a legal mandate and the human and financial resources appropriate to its hierarchical level in the State structure, and an authority whose legal and administrative resources do not enable it to exercise the power that has supposedly been vested in it. It is not suggested that this assessment of the resources which ought to be available at a given level of authority can be applied to national mechanisms in other regions of the world.

A. FORMAL-SUBSTANTIVE AND FORMAL TYPES

This presentation of the ideal types of national mechanisms for the advancement of women starts with the type that has the greatest authority, the high formal-substantive level, and ends with the type that has the least institutional weight, the individual focal point, the intention being to discover the conditions that all national Women's Offices should aspire to. The individual focal point represents the minimum starting point for representing the issue in the institutionalization process. The categories of the types are based on the recognized levels of the State hierarchy (high, intermediate and low). The term "formal" signifies that institutionalization is supported by a legal framework, while the term "substantive" is used in its literal sense of "having substance", be this legislative, financial or administrative in the form of a staff.

The first group in the classification, the *high level*, includes autonomous bodies in the State apparatus, whether they are institutes or ministries, and bodies that are headed by a minister of State. These are divided into two types, the formal-substantive type and the formal type.

¹⁶ See Weber, 1987: 1085 in Atria, 1998: 46.

With the *formal-substantive type*, the authority of the organization is legitimately established by a constitutional mandate or a constitutional law of the Republic. The organization is furthermore "substantively" endowed with the necessary means to exercise the power that is formally vested in it, which in funding terms means that it is responsible for its own budget or at least can be certain of being allocated a set percentage of the budget of the Presidency, the body it is affiliated to if it is not autonomous. In the Latin America and Caribbean region, this also means having an administrative staff of at least 50, which is what is required for Offices at this level to carry out the complete sequence of functions as described in subheading I.D. In only four countries in the region, out of a total of thirty-nine covered by the study, do the offices fall into this category: Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Paraguay. The Dominican Republic and Peru may be added to this list as their offices have the human and financial resources of the high formal-substantive level and the necessary position in the hierarchy, the absence of a law making their cases unique in the region (see figure 1).

At the *high formal level*, the shortcomings found are directly linked to the subject of resources. Firstly, the fact that funding is in the form of an annual government grant or comes in large part from international donors is a sign of potential instability and institutional weakness. The other aspect of this same problem is staff size, which is insufficient to implement the State functions that a high level in the State hierarchy presupposes. In the continent, Haiti is subject to the first of these conditions and Nicaragua to the second.

At the *medium level* are the national women's departments attached to the Presidency of the Republic or incorporated into ministries concerned with the issue, such as the Ministry for Youth, Women, Children and the Family in Panama. The instrumental norms of the *formal-substantive type* are similar to those of the high level, as are the sources of weakness of the *formal type*. The first of the two types, however, is non-existent in the region, while the national mechanisms of 18 countries, making up the largest group in the States of the region, can be placed at the intermediate formal level. The fact that the intermediate formal-substantive level is not actually found in real life suggests that meeting the conditions necessary for a solid and stable institutionality, in terms of authority and resources, requires a political will that is lacking at the intermediate level of the State administration.

The *low level* of the State apparatus embraces women's bureaux, departments, councils or sections situated in sectoral ministries. If in the *formal-substantive type* no concessions are made in terms of the legitimacy of the body's authority and the source of funding, the administrative staff adapts to the limitations of the power that can be exercised at that level and shrinks to a considerable degree, without however falling below the minimum needed to ensure some degree of operating capability (six people). Nonetheless, it may be stated that the formal-substantive type does not exist at the low level either, and this once again underlines the vital importance of political will at a high level for providing national mechanisms for the advancement of women with the substantive resources they require. In the ten countries of the region where the *formal type* is found, it is also seen that, with the exception of Uruguay, there is a

An episode in the recent electoral campaign in Paraguay calls into question whether it is correct to place the Ministry for Women at the highest level of the state structure. As the then minister for Women was a candidate for the Senate —and was ultimately elected to it— it was understood that she had to resign from her post 90 days before the date of the elections to comply with the provisions of the country's constitution. The President of the Republic, however, refused to accept her resignation, arguing that "she only has the 'rank of minister' and the constitutional requirement does not apply to her" (CDE, 1998: 7).

direct relationship between the inadequacy of resources at the low level and the inadequacy of the resources of the national State.

The last type of classification —the *individual focal point*— has practically disappeared from the region, surviving only in two small Caribbean countries, Suriname and Montserrat. This category, which has no legal mandate, administrative staff or financial resources, recalls the modesty of the first attempts to establish the legitimacy of the Women issue, and enables us to appreciate how far we have come, as symbolized by the different ideal types of State bodies for the advancement of women and gender equity.

Figure 1

Type of legitimacy	Instrumental norms	Major functions	Countries
High formal-	Constitutional mandate, constitutional law,	Monitoring	Argentina
substantive level	executive order or act of parliament	Coordination	Chile
	Own budget or % of budget of body it is affiliated	Regulatory	Costa Rica
	to	Executive	Dominican Republic
	Administrative staff of 51 people or more	Promotional	Paraguay
			Peru
High formal level	Presidential or supreme executive order or act of	Coordination	Haiti
	parliament	Regulatory	Nicaragua
	Budget allocated annually by the government, or	Promotional	
	dependent upon international aid to the extent of		
	50% or more		
	Administrative staff of less than 50		
Intermediate	Executive order, government resolution or	Coordination	Antigua and Barbuda
formal level	Cabinet mandate	Regulatory	Belize
	Budget allocated annually by the government, or	Executive	Bolivia
	dependent upon international aid to the extent of	Promotional	British Virgin Islands
	50% or more		Cayman Islands
	Administrative staff of less than 50		Colombia
			Dominica
			Ecuador
			El Salvador
			Grenada
			Honduras
			Mexico
			Panama
			Saint Kitts and Nevis
			Saint Lucia
			Saint Vincent and the
			Grenadines
			Trinidad and Tobago
			Venezuela

Low formal level	Executive order, government resolution or	Coordination	Aruba
	Cabinet mandate	Regulatory	Bahamas
	Budget allocated annually by the government, or	Promotional	Barbados
	dependent upon international aid to the extent of	Advisory	Brazil
	50% or more		Guatemala
	Administrative staff of less than 5		Guyana
			Jamaica
			Netherlands Antilles
			Puerto Rico
			Uruguay
Individual focal	Focal point designated by the Government	Promotional	Montserrat
point	No resources allocated		Suriname
	Activities carried out by a single person		

B. TOWARDS A SUBSTANTIVE INSTITUTIONALITY

The production of an ideal typology as a framework for classifying the national mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equity makes it apparent how little formal-substantive power there is in the region and how closely this power is tied to the highest spheres of the executive authority. It is clear that the absence of just one or two instrumental norms of legitimacy can jeopardize the authority of an organization and prevent it from discharging functions that are a core part of its operating mandate, the regulatory, executive and monitoring functions being particular cases in point in the present study.

Taking into account the caveats expressed in the introduction about the weakening of the State in the current reform processes, and considering that the aim is nevertheless to strengthen the institutional position of national Women's Offices, some guidelines are given below for possible ways of reconciling the concept of governability with the lessons of Weber regarding the elements that are favourable to legalrational domination. According to studies that have concerned themselves with the subject, strategies to cope with the potentially unstable nature of governability should consider in the design of institutions the need for these to be capable of developing, learning and adapting to changed circumstances (Stoker, 1998: 25-26), which will require autonomy in decision-making, the freedom to allocate their own funds, and highly qualified human resources.

A first proposal derives from innovations in public management that have laid stress on strengthening higher public management, insisting on the need to "devise an improved strategic approach; use information systems; create coordination procedures; implement recruitment and training programmes for key staff; establish policy objectives; decide on priorities for government action; follow up and evaluate the results of policies and programmes" (Sagasti and Guerra-García, 1996: 400).

Another proposal emerges from studies on the institutionalization of the gender perspective, which should be considered in conjunction with the previous recommendations, and which emphasize the importance of engaging the support of the executive authority for priorities relating to the advancement of women and gender equity; developing programmes of action and setting aside funds for all sectors; 18 producing indicators and data that are broken down by sex; and designing "gender-specific quantitative and qualitative achievement goals at macro and sector levels" (Goetz, 1995: 28 in Staudt, 1998). These recommendations can accord perfectly well with the current concern for a lighter and more efficient State structure, while the political and economic infrastructure is established on a different gender order.

Setting out from this basis, priorities need to be set for the public agenda, with particular emphasis being placed on transversal treatment of intersectoral issues¹⁹ and models, which "require a more comprehensive treatment of reality, and help to give a common direction to fragmented viewpoints and knowledge that arise within the State" (Vargas and Olea, 1997: 44). The public agenda emerges as a particularly important instrument in the process of transforming the gender bases of the State structure,

¹⁸ It is particularly important to grasp that "budgetary resources matter, particularly when they are targeted, set aside, and monitored for outcomes toward gender equality (...) no budgetary allocation is gender neutral." (Staudt, 1998).

19 A strategic issue not only for the institutionalization of gender equity but for the reform of the State in

Latin America (Atria, 1995).

since it is from the choice of operating priorities that future projects are developed and the material and technical resources to implement them brought into play.

It is important to emphasize on the fact that the subject of the agenda is central to all debates about the State, not just because democratic governance depends on the ability to define the social, political and economic aspects of the public agenda (Lahera, 1997: 3), but because this very definition is a necessary precondition for social cohesion (Atria, 1995: 97). To put it a different way, concern about the contents of the agenda derives both from the rationality of State efficiency and from civil society, which seeks to identify its demands and needs there, be these practical or strategic, if cultural change is the issue. It is by negotiating this agenda that the tension between problems that need to be resolved if the cohesion of society is not to be jeopardized and those that can and will be postponed is maintained, whether well or badly. It is by implementing it that progress can continue to be made towards a new gender order.

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ANNEX

Table 1
AFFILIATIONS OF NATIONAL WOMEN'S OFFICES WITHIN THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

COUNTRY	AUTONO- MOUS BODY	OWN MINISTRY OR INSTITUTE	NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN PRESIDENCY HEADED BY A MINISTER OF STATE	NATIONAL BODY ATTACHED TO THE PRESIDENCY / PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE	NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN MINISTRY CONCERNED WITH THE ISSUE	BODIES OF DIFFERENT KINDS IN SECTORAL MINISTRIES	FOCAL POINT IN SECTORAL MINISTRY
Level in hierarchy		1	2	3	4	5	6
Antigua and Barbuda				X			
Argentina		X					
Aruba						X	
Bahamas						X	
Barbados						X	
Belize					X		
Bolivia					X		
Brazil						X	
British Virgin Is.				X			
Cayman Islands							
Chile			X				
Colombia				X			
Costa Rica		X					
Cuba	x (Ngo)						
Dominica					X		
Dominican Republic			X				
Ecuador				X			
El Salvador				X			
Grenada					X		
Guatemala						X	
Guyana						X	
Haiti		X					

COUNTRY	AUTONO- MOUS BODY	OWN MINISTRY OR INSTITUTE	NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN PRESIDENCY HEADED BY A MINISTER OF STATE	NATIONAL BODY ATTACHED TO THE PRESIDENCY / PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE	NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN MINISTRY CONCERNED WITH THE ISSUE	BODIES OF DIFFERENT KINDS IN SECTORAL MINISTRIES	FOCAL POINT IN SECTORAL MINISTRY
Level in hierarchy		1	2	3	4	5	6
Honduras				X			
Jamaica						X	
Mexico				X			
Montserrat							X
Netherlands Antilles						X	
Nicaragua		X					
Panama					X		
Paraguay		X					
Peru		X					
Puerto Rico						X	
Saint Kitts and Nevis					X		
Saint Lucia					X		
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines					X		
Suriname							X
Trinidad and Tobago					X		
Uruguay						X	
Venezuela				X			
TOTAL							
39 countries	1	5	3	8	10	10	2
100 %	2.6%	12.8%	7.7%	20.5%	25.6%	25.6%	5.1%
Similar levels in the hi	ierarchy		8		18		
			0.5%		46.1		

Table 2 LEGAL MANDATE OF NATIONAL WOMEN'S OFFICES

COUNTRY	Constitutional mandate	Constitutional Law or Law of the Republic	Presidential or Supreme Executive Order or Act of Parliament	Government resolution	Mandate of the Cabinet	Focal point designated by the Government	Unspecified
Antigua and Barbuda				$(3)^{1}$			
Argentina	(2)						
Aruba						(5)	
Bahamas						(5)	
Barbados			(5)				
Belize				(4)			
Bolivia		(4)					
Brazil			(5)				
British Virgin Islands					(3)		
Cayman Islands							(4)
Chile		(2)					
Colombia		(3)					
Costa Rica		(1)					
Cuba	2						
Dominica							(4)
Dominican Republic			(2)				
Ecuador			(3)	·			·
El Salvador			(3)				
Grenada							(4)
Guatemala				(5)			

¹ The number in brackets indicates the level of the office in the hierarchy as established in table 1: "Affiliations of National Women's Offices within the Structure of the State". ² The Federation of Cuban Women is a non-governmental organization set up by the decision of the women of the country themselves; it is however recognized by the constitution.

COUNTRY	Constitutional mandate	Constitutional Law or Law of the Republic	Presidential or Supreme Executive Order or Act of Parliament	Government resolution	Mandate of the Cabinet	Focal point designated by the Government	Unspecified
Guyana							(5)
Haiti			(1)				
Honduras				(3)			
Jamaica							(5)
Mexico			(3)				
Montserrat						(6)	
Netherlands Antilles		(5)					
Nicaragua		(1)					
Panama			(4)				
Paraguay		(1)					
Peru			(1)				
Puerto Rico		(5)					
Saint Kitts and Nevis							(4)
Saint Lucia							(4)
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines							(4)
Suriname						(6)	
Trinidad and Tobago					(4)		
Uruguay		(5)					
Venezuela			(4)				
TOTAL							
39 countries	2	9	10	4	2	4	8
100 %	5.1%	23.1%	25.6%	10.3%	5.1%	10.3%	20.5%

Table 3
HUMAN RESOURCES OF NATIONAL WOMEN'S OFFICES ³

						100 people and	
COUNTRY	A single person	2 to 5 people	6 to 15 people	16 to 50 people	51 to 100 people	over	Unspecified
Antigua y Barbuda			(3)				
Argentina					(2)		
Aruba	(4)						
Bahamas		(5)					
Barbados		(5)					
Belize							(4)
Bolivia				(4)			
Brazil				(5)			
British Virgin Islands	(3)						
Cayman Islands		(4)					
Chile						(2)	
Colombia				(3)			
Costa Rica					(1)		
Cuba			(Ngo)				
Dominica							(4)
Dominican Republic					(2)		
Ecuador							*(3)
El Salvador					(3)		
Grenada							*(4)
Guatemala							(5)
Guyana		(5)					
Haiti						(1)	
Honduras			(3)				
Jamaica							*(5)
Mexico			(3)				

³ Includes only the staff of the body responsible for the women issue nationally. This excludes the staffs of regional or municipal offices and those working in gender programmes in sectoral ministries.

COUNTRY	A single neason	2 to 5 people	6 to 15 people	16 to 50 people	51 to 100 people	100 people and	Unspecified
	A single person	2 to 5 people	o to 15 people	10 to 50 people	51 to 100 people	over	Unspecified
Montserrat	(6)						
Netherlands Antilles		(5)					
Nicaragua				(1)			
Panama			(4)				
Paraguay					(1)		
Peru						(1)	
Puerto Rico							*(5)
Saint Kitts and Nevis		(4)					
Saint Lucia		(4)					
Saint Vincent and the							
Grenadines		(4)					
Suriname	(6)						
Trinidad and Tobago							*(4)
Uruguay				(5)			
Venezuela					(3)		
TOTAL							
39 countries	4	8	5	5	6	3	8
100 %	10.3%	20.5%	12.8%	12.8%	15.4%	7.7%	20.5%

^{*} The information supplied by the National Women's Office states that human resources are insufficient.

Table 4

SOURCE OF FUNDING RECEIVED BY NATIONAL WOMEN'S OFFICES

COUNTRY	Own budget	% of budget of body it is affiliated to	Annual allocation by the Government	50% or over from international donors	Members' subscriptions	No funding assigned	Unspecified
Antigua and Barbuda			(3)				
Argentina	(2)						
Aruba							(5)
Bahamas		(5)					
Barbados			(5)				
Belize			(4)				
Bolivia				(4)			
Brazil			(5)				
British Virgin Islands			(3)				
Cayman Islands							(4)
Chile	(2)						
Colombia				(3)			
Costa Rica	(1)						
Cuba					(Ngo)		
Dominica			(4)				
Dominican Republic		(2)					
Ecuador		(3)					
El Salvador		(3)					
Grenada			(4)				
Guatemala			(5)				
Guyana			(5)				
Haiti				(1)			
Honduras		(3)					
Jamaica			(5)				
Mexico		(3)					
Montserrat						(6)	

COUNTRY	Own budget	% of budget of body it is affiliated to	Annual allocation by the Government	50% or over from international donors	Members' subscriptions	No funding assigned	Unspecified
Netherlands Antilles			(5)				
Nicaragua				(1)			
Panama				(4)			
Paraguay		(1)					
Peru		(1)					
Puerto Rico							(5)
Saint Kitts and Nevis				(4)			
Saint Lucia		(4)					
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines		(4)					
Suriname		(1)	(6)				
Trinidad and Tobago			(4)				
Uruguay				(5)			
Venezuela			(3)				
TOTAL							
39 countries	3	10	14	7	1	1	3
100 %	7.7%	25.6%	35.9%	18.0%	2.6%	2.6%	7.7%

Table 5
STATE FUNCTIONS OF NATIONAL WOMEN'S OFFICES

COUNTRY/ LEVEL IN	COORDINATION	MONITORING	REGULATORY	PROMOTIONAL	EXECUTIVE	ADVISORY
HIERARCHY	FUNCTION	FUNCTION	FUNCTION	FUNCTION	FUNCTION	FUNCTION
Antigua and Barbuda (3)	X			X	X	
Argentina (2)	X	X	X	X	X	
Aruba (5)	X		X	X		
Bahamas (5)	X	*		X		
Barbados (5)	X	*		X		X
Belize (4)	X			X	X	
Bolivia (4)	X	X	X	X	X	
Brazil (5)			X	X	X	
British Virgin Islands (3)	X		X	X		
Cayman Islands (4)			X	X		
Chile (2)	X	X	X	X	X	
Colombia (3)	X	X	X	X	X	
Costa Rica (1)	X	X	X	X	X	
Cuba () (NGO)	n/a	n/a	n/a	X	n/a	X
Dominica (4)	X			X		
Dominican Republic (2)	X		X	X	X	
Ecuador (3)	X		X	X	X	
El Salvador (1)	X		X	X	X	
Grenada (4)	X			X	X	X
Guatemala (5)	X			X		X
Guyana (5)			X	X		X
Haiti (1)			X	X	X	
Honduras (3)	X			X		
Jamaica (5)	X	*	X	X		
Mexico (3)	X	X	X	X	X	
Montserrat (6)				X		
Netherlands Antilles (5)	X		X	X		
Nicaragua (1)	X	X	X	X		
Panama (4)	X		X	X	X	

COUNTRY/ LEVEL IN HIERARCHY	COORDINATION FUNCTION	MONITORING FUNCTION	REGULATORY FUNCTION	PROMOTIONAL FUNCTION	EXECUTIVE FUNCTION	ADVISORY FUNCTION
Paraguay (1)	X		X	X	X	
Peru (1)			X	Х	X	
Puerto Rico (5)				Х		Х
Saint Kitts and Nevis (4)	X			X		
Saint Lucia (4)	X	*		X		
Saint Vincent and the						
Grenadines (4)	X	*		X	X	X
Suriname (6)				X		
Trinidad and Tobago (4)	X	*	X	X		
Uruguay (5)	X	X	X	X	X	
Venezuela (3)	X		X	X	X	
TOTAL						
39 countries	30	8	24	39	20	8
% ⁴	78.9%	21.1%	63.2%	100%	52.6%	20.5%

* The monitoring function is included in the descriptions provided by the National Women's Office, which does not however have the administrative capabilities needed to carry it out (see Table 3).

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⁴ Except for the promotional and advisory functions, Cuba was excluded from the countries total when the percentages were calculated.

Table 6
SUMMARY OF MECHANISMS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN THAT EXIST IN EACH COUNTRY

COUNTRY/LEVEL IN HIERARCHY	NATIONAL OFFICE	OFFICE IN MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	INTER- MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE	FOCAL POINTS IN SECTORAL MINISTRIES	PROVINCIAL AND/OR MUNICIPAL OFFICES	NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION
Antigua and Barbuda (3)	ü	ü	COMMITTEE	MINISTRIES	OFFICES	COMMISSION
Argentina (2)	ü	ü		ü	ü	ü
Aruba (5)	ü	u		u	u	u
Bahamas (5)	ü					ü
Barbados (5)	ü			ü		ü
Belize (4)	ü			u		ü
Bolivia (4)	ü			ü	ü	ü
Brazil (5)	ü			u	ü	u
British Virgin Islands (3)	ü					
Cayman Islands (4)	ü					
Chile (2)	ü		ü	ü	ü	
Colombia (3)	ü		ü	ü	ü	ü
Costa Rica (1)	ü		ü	ü	ü	
Cuba ()	ü			ü		ü
Dominica (4)	ü					
Dominican Republic (2)	ü		ü	ü		ü
Ecuador (3)	ü			ü		ü
El Salvador (3)	ü					ü
Grenada (4)	ü		ü			
Guatemala (5)	ü			ü		ü
Guyana (5)	ü				ü	
Haiti (1)	ü					
Honduras (3)	ü					
Jamaica (5)	ü		ü	ü		
Mexico (3)	ü	ü		ü	ü	
Montserrat (6)	ü					
Netherlands Antilles (5)	ü					

COUNTRY/LEVEL IN HIERARCHY	NATIONAL OFFICE	OFFICE IN MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	INTER- MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE	FOCAL POINTS IN SECTORAL MINISTRIES	PROVINCIAL AND/OR MUNICIPAL OFFICES	NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION
Nicaragua (1)	ü			ü		ü
Panama (4)	ü			ü		
Paraguay (1)	ü			ü	ü	
Peru (1)	ü	ü		ü		ü
Puerto Rico (5)	ü			ü		
Saint Kitts and Nevis (4)	ü		ü	ü		ü
Saint Lucia (4)	ü		ü	ü		ü
Saint Vincent and the						
Grenadines (4)	ü			ü		ü
Suriname (6)	ü					
Trinidad and Tobago (4)	ü		ü	ü		
Uruguay (5)	ü			ü	ü	
Venezuela (3)	ü			ü	ü	ü
TOTAL						
39 countries	39	4	9	23	11	17
100 %	100%	10.3%	23.1%	59.0%	28.9%	43.6%