Seventh session of the Regional Conference on the Integration
of Women into the Economic and Social Development
of Latin America and the Caribbean

Santiago, Chile, 19-21 November 1997

ACCESS TO POWER AND PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: POLICIES FOR GENDER EQUITY
LOOKING TO THE YEAR 2000

iii

CONTENTS

Summary

Three years after the sixth session of the Regional Conference for the Integration of Women into the Economic and Social Development of Latin America and the Caribbean, which served as a regional preparatory meeting for the Fourth World Conference on Women, the member countries of ECLAC have gathered together to review the progress made towards implementing the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001, which was approved on that occasion.

The countries represented by the Presiding Officers have chosen two topics for discussion at this conference: access to decision-making, and the acceleration of measures for overcoming poverty. These subjects are in keeping with the priorities established by the countries at the international level within the framework of the Commission on the Status of Women and with the regional priorities set forth in the Regional Programme of Action. The documents to be presented on these subjects are the result of concerted initiatives and have been prepared in conjunction with the ECLAC secretariat and the Presiding Officers.

A wide variety of references have been used in preparing this document with a view to compiling information that will enable the countries to focus their efforts on action, rather than on diagnostic analyses, and thus speed up the process of achieving a genuine equality of opportunity for women and men in the area of high-level decision-making.

A review of the literature attests to the emergence of new modes of participation by women in the region and of new types of alliances among social actors, the devotion of greater attention to the status of women at the global level, the existence of a remarkable proliferation of studies on the subject, the use of alternative media for the dissemination of relevant information, and the appearance of new forums for discussions on the subject. Although the figures tell us that women's participation in decision-making has not increased as much as their heightened participation in other spheres of the economy and society might lead us to expect, there is at least less ambivalence in this regard. If the current state of affairs is backed up by appropriate forms of affirmative action, equal opportunity schemes, the adoption of new legislation and related measures, then the existing asymmetry of power may yet change.

If this is to occur, women will need to gain access to the rights and duties of citizenship, with this being understood as the opportunity to participate actively and fully in society and thereby cease to play the role of "unexpected" or "uninvited" social actors. This would entail the consolidation of women's participation in the decision-making process on an equal footing, both as individuals and as citizens with rights of their own, as well as the mainstreaming of the gender perspective in plans and programmes in support of gender equity in policy- and decision-making, and an equitable distribution of resources within society.

1. Background

Three years have passed since the last regional meeting of the States members of ECLAC. At that meeting, the countries analysed the integration of women into the development process of Latin America and the Caribbean[1] and carried forward their preparations for the Fourth World Conference on Women,[2] as well as continuing with their regularly scheduled and ongoing tasks of analysis, evaluation, identification of obstacles and formulation of proposals for improving women's living conditions and their position in society.[3] In line with this twofold objective, the Governments adopted the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001, which complements and updates earlier instruments dealing with the subject. The Regional Programme of Action also served as a Latin American and Caribbean input for the deliberations at the conference in Beijing.[4]

Three years are, of course, too short a time in which to prepare new analyses of the status of women in the region, partly because it takes a long time for social processes to bring about any significant changes, partly because of the persistent lack of reliable information as a basis for assessing women's living conditions, status and aspirations, and partly because existing indicators do not provide us with a picture of the changes that have taken place in society or, consequently, in women's lives.[5]

Nevertheless, the last three years —counting from the start of preparations for the sixth session of the Regional Conference— have been marked by special events that may be of importance in determining the direction of future activities. With the help of the additional human and financial resources made available by the Governments during the run-up to the relevant conferences and by international cooperation agencies as part of their preparations for the world summit, country reports were drafted by all the Governments of the region.[6] These reports were drafted by government agencies that focus on women's issues or other governmental units concerned with the subject, by non-governmental women's organizations or as a joint effort by both public and private institutions. During those three years, numerous meetings were also held to analyse the national and subregional priorities of the Governments, of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or, in many cases, of both. This process gave rise to a creative and highly dynamic process which has helped to generate a great deal of interest in the subject on the part of the media and the general public.

The opinions and reactions that were expressed —both for and against— demonstrated that the topics being debated at governmental conferences and non-governmental forums are of importance to everyone. An unprecedented interlinkage of NGOs and government agencies, intra-governmental coordination among the various State units and departments, and the growing influence of religious views on subjects already considered to be within the policy-making sphere of the State engendered a dynamic that revealed the political nature of the emancipation of women and the fact that, consequently, the technical aspects of the question —which are no longer either limited or neutral— should be complemented by other and different sorts of considerations that concern the entire structure of society.

The present conference is taking place within a different context. And this was foreseeable, since some kind of turning point is usually reached in the aftermath of major events, making it necessary to mount a determined effort to maintain interest in the subject and consolidate the agreements reached. This is why it is important to rank the available options carefully in order of priority and to intensify the programmes that have been established and increase their functionality.

The countries represented by the Presiding Officers have chosen two subjects for this conference —access to decision-making and the acceleration of measures for overcoming poverty— in accordance with

the international priorities identified by the Commission on the Status of Women[7] and the regional priorities established for the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001. The annotated outlines for these documents are the product of a concerted effort and have been prepared jointly by the ECLAC secretariat and the Presiding Officers.

The information used in drafting this document has been drawn from a wide variety of sources. In addition to official information and quantitative data, all the other supplementary sources available in the region have been consulted as well. In line with this approach, the reference materials used have included studies conducted by units and organizations of the United Nations system, some of which have been prepared specifically for this occasion; governmental offices concerned with women's issues and, in particular, national equal opportunity programmes;[8] academic and research centres along with independent researchers; journals and newspapers; non-governmental women's organizations; and others.[9] This pool of new data and findings corroborate many of the assertions made in this study. Since, at the present stage, the emphasis is on action rather than analysis, this stance provides us with a more detailed picture of the types of obstacles to be overcome and the kinds of measures that will increase and perhaps institutionalize women's access to decision-making.

The concept underlying this search for means of participating in decision-making processes is that "power relations are constituent elements of life in society. A society without power relations is an abstraction [...] the analysis and questioning of power relations is a political task that is an inherent part of our existence as members of society [...] The political dimension of women's struggle against subordination is not confined to demands for a broader role in the politico-institutional system. This political struggle is, however, a key element in women's recognition of themselves within the framework of their demands and in giving them a voice within the context of a democratic system."[10] It is important to realize that public affairs are also personal matters, matters of concern to private individuals. And politics and political action are a matter of very real concern to men and women at specific points in time.

2. Objectives

The chief objective of this report is to assist the member countries of ECLAC to carry out the urgent task of more accurately identifying the factors that hinder women from truly asserting the rights and duties of citizenship, particularly as regards their active participation in decision-making and the exercise of power.

An attempt is also made to suggest ways of removing those hurdles and of advancing more rapidly towards the achievement of true equality of opportunity for women and men in decision-making regarding issues of central importance to the State and to civil society and in the countries' exercise of power.

Another objective of a complementary nature which derives from this primary goal and which relates to the practical difficulties of implementing such measures is to furnish useful information drawn from a wide range of sources. This pool of information can then be made available to other groups or organizations seeking to add to our knowledge in this area as a means of facilitating the coordination of their efforts. Special attention has been devoted to identifying the leading social actors, the types of actions they do or could undertake, and possible means of reinforcing the measures adopted in various spheres of society.

A final goal is to identify possible channels for dialogue and participation. It bears repeating that, today, the Latin American and Caribbean region is playing an extremely dynamic role in the generation of knowledge

and the implementation of relevant activities. Nevertheless, the region's institutional dispersion and —as has been documented in many cases— the dubious conditions under which some studies and activities are conducted hamper the formation of a broader and more accurate picture of the actual state of affairs.

The achievement of gender equity in access to public and private decision-making and to power in all spheres demands many different types of actions and initiatives, integrated and complex approaches, and a determined effort on the part of numerous actors of many different sorts. The specification and more accurate differentiation of this diversity as a means of arriving at a more transparent definition of such actors' programmatic agendas and of encouraging contacts among social actors with shared goals may add to the effectiveness of the measures that are proposed. Since, in the medium term, there is little likelihood of the occurrence of any world events of a type that would mobilize either public opinion or lending institutions in favour of women, a unified and determined national and regional effort will have to be mounted in order to translate the existing agendas into concrete events and initiatives.

3. Conceptual framework

Attempting to outline the conceptual framework for equality of opportunity for women and men in gaining access to power and decision-making as an input for an intergovernmental debate is a complex undertaking. The transformation of power relations within the State, in society and in those areas where the two are interlinked —which comes to be a focus of the State itself— demonstrates the gender perspective's capacity for setting up new types of conditions in discussions regarding governance and other issues that have been given a place on the public agenda.

While it is clearly impossible to propose a rigorous conceptual framework for analysing the phenomenon of women's subordination, the progress made in debates on these subjects at the international, regional and national levels permit us to identify at least some elements about which a consensus has already been formed; these elements may then help us to decide which courses of action to pursue. It is not a question of trying to plan out an ideal world or new utopias, nor of establishing a single, unified idea of what "should be". The idea is, rather, to seek out options which, within a basic framework of democracy, mutual respect and observance of existing treaties, offer a way for women to exercise their rights fully.

Equality of opportunity for women and men in society occupies a position near the top of the international agenda, and in recent years the focus of this concern has been shifting towards the necessary policies and practices for speeding up that process.

During the last few decades, questions and answers as to the reasons for women's history of subordination have been evolving out of the examination of subjects relating to the integration of women into the development process from a gender perspective. The expectation that these conditions of subordination would be surmounted through education, employment and social and political participation has been complemented by analyses that hone in on the relationships established within society between women and men as a consequence of the cultural assignment of sex-based roles in which power relations are a particularly important factor.

Another important change has to do with the mainstreaming of women's issues into broader development concerns. At least in terms of the countries' agendas —an important political accomplishment in and of itself— the subject has received a great deal of attention in other forums. At the United Nations Conference on

Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), NGOs fought for recognition of the link between sustainable development and gender.[11] At the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993, women's rights were regarded as an integral component of international human rights. At the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994), a consensus was reached as to the empowerment of women as a necessary condition for fully realizing the countries' economic, political and social development potential. The participants in that conference also felt that the acquisition of power by women was an important objective in and of itself, inasmuch as the utilization of the same opportunities and the assertion of the same rights as men increases the population's level of well-being. At the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), not only was the subject given a place on the agenda, but a number of women's organizations also took part in the preparation of materials on the issue. Women's access to power was not a specific item on that agenda, but it was acknowledged to be a crucial facet of any strategy aimed at resolving social, economic and environmental problems.

The analysis of what is to be understood as "power" and, in particular, of how it ties in with women's issues has been a pivotal element of debate in academia, in the women's movement, in non-governmental women's organizations and within the State for several decades now. Despite the deeply rooted ideological and even ethical differences that exist in relation to these issues —differences that open up divisions between one group and another— it can be argued that a majority of the population now recognizes the need to strengthen women's decision-making capacity and to provide them with greater access to decision-making spheres and levels, on the understanding that access to power does not necessarily lead to domination but can instead be used to overcome subordination.

A consensus has been reached in numerous intergovernmental forums in Latin America and the Caribbean as to the need for women and men to share power and have equitable access to decision-making. Indeed, power-sharing has been recognized as an essential requirement of democracy. Accordingly, strengthening women's role as citizens (understood as their active participation in society via access to all decision-making levels) is seen as the key objective towards which all actions should converge. Hence, the exercise of citizenship comes to be understood as the assertion of individual rights by political beings who are helping to build democracy.

The context for the present analysis is formed by three subjects —sustainable development, democracy and gender equity— and the linkages among them. Special consideration will be given to the cross-sectional nature of the issue, which spans all cultures and affects all socio-economic strata. By the same token it is assumed that, in order for a country to build a democracy marked by gender equity within the framework of a sustainable form of development, it must continue to take steps to close the gap between the options that society makes available to women and to men as well as to broaden the range of options.[12]

It should be borne in mind that active participation in decision-making entails the exercise of power in all spheres, from the household to politics. This is why the study attempts to look at each of those spheres with a view to identifying ideological factors or factors derived from a gender-based form of socialization, from a political culture and from a range of cultural diversity that may stimulate or hamper such participation.

Mention should be made, at the least, of a number of other factors which increase the complexity of the subject. Although the emancipation of women may often appear to be a quest for power at the individual level, historically this aspiration has been expressed as a collective demand. This gives rise to what are at least seemingly contradictory situations, since women are talked about as if they all had much the same demands

or, at the least, as if those demands were unanimously recognized as such. Given the heterogeneity of the female population, however, this is simply not the case.

The application of the concept of gender is certainly a step forward, but it has not yet been clearly defined and is used in differing ways. Thus, it may be quite a while before a theory is constructed in which gender is a genuinely explanatory category. While the structural development of knowledge in the relevant fields progresses, however, our immediate concern within the framework of this intergovernmental meeting is to move ahead with the creation of options and conditions that will allow everyone —women and men— to live together in society on an equitable basis, with the opportunity to gain access to the knowledge, the resources and the fruits of development that this era of history offers to its female and male citizens and to participate on an equal footing in taking decisions that will influence their lives. Not because one or the other is "better" or has any special attributes, but simply because they are all human beings and live within a human society.

Another consideration that merits attention is the confusion that often arises when we attempt to set aside stereotypes at the theoretical level, but yet reinforce those same stereotypes at the practical level. This subject will be discussed further later on in this study. Here, simply by way of example, the reader is invited to consider the fact that, at the theoretical level, people are being called upon to cease regarding women as bearing the main responsibility for the home, but yet, when it comes to making proposals regarding housing, it is claimed that women have the right to participate in the design of those recommendations because they are the ones who spend the most time in the home. By the same token, demands are lodged for the adoption of new forms of participation within local government, but when specific proposals are put forward, the only ones that are soundly structured are of the traditional sort (assistance and a demand for services). This is clearly a complex matter, but, at least in methodological terms, an attempt needs to be made to find new ways of surmounting these stereotypes.

4. Diagnostic analysis

Latin America and the Caribbean have continued to make progress in the consolidation of democratic pluralism and in terms of governance. The reforms carried out in the last few years reflect a greater degree of confidence in market forces, major advances in the area of trade liberalization and the adoption of a position in support of the need for less State intervention and for more accurately targeted public policies.

Regional cooperation has been broadened and regional agreements which were, for the most part, not applied during the 1980s have been revitalized. Originally designed to back up import substitution policies and to strengthen the public sector, their effectiveness began to decline in the 1970s, as they proved to be non-operational in more open economies in which the market plays an important role. The new, "second generation" export-oriented agreements, on the other hand, are geared to the needs of a region whose chief aims are the achievement of macroeconomic stability and the development of international competitiveness.

The region's growth rates during this period have been moderate. With few exceptions, they ranged from 3% to 5% between 1990 and 1996; in 1996 a slight growth trend re-emerged, but it has thus far been too weak to ameliorate the region's unmet social needs.[13] Consequently, the countries are seen to be suffering from a certain degree of macroeconomic vulnerability and, in many cases, fragility in their financial systems. Inflation has averaged less than 20%, however, and both exports and the region's access to external finance have been growing.

Advances in the area of gender equity within the countries of the region have been observed primarily in political and legal spheres. Since the sixth session of the Regional Conference, at least eight equal opportunity schemes for women have been established for the explicitly-stated purpose of fostering the participation of women in decision-making and power. Numerous meetings have been held to promote the incorporation of the gender perspective into the overall economic and political agendas now being pursued. Newly-created networks of women legislators, politicians and ministers have joined the existing ones in promoting the consideration of the issue at decision-making levels. In addition, the countries have continued to work on the optional protocol for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and some of them are amending their legislation in order to bring it into line with the provisions of that Convention, which has been ratified by the entire region.

The situation with regard to socioeconomic well-being has been more complicated. The moderate upturn in the region's growth has not led to any improvement in the labour situation. In 1996, unemployment surpassed the preceding year's level to reach its highest point of the decade (7.7%). Real wages stagnated or continued to shrink. The regional pattern, which is marked by inequalities of various kinds, has not changed and income concentration continues to intensify.

The percentage of women in the economically active population (EAP) has continued to rise; this is especially true in urban areas, where they accounted for 45% of the EAP in 13 countries in 1995. Most of the women in the workforce are between the ages of 25 and 49, and the participation rate for those who have technical or university training is over 70%. Concerns in this area include women's lack of job stability, the segmentation of the labour market, and the fact that women's wages are still between 10% and 40% lower than those of men.[14]

Social expenditure has begun to increase in the 1990s, but it remains low nonetheless, and social services, especially in the fields of education and health, have still not regained their former levels of efficiency or quality.

The number of poor people in the region has climbed to 210 million, and the urbanization process has accelerated, with the urban population accounting for 74% of the total as of 1995.

Striking differences with regard to equity exist among different groups of women as well. In some segments, birth rates have declined, life expectancy has increased, the level of education and training has risen, and women have moved into markets that offer new opportunities (especially in the services sector) and into technologically innovative industries that stand a good chance of becoming less sexist in the future. In contrast, other women have been hurt by the globalization process, which has had an adverse impact on less skilled, lowly-paid persons who are less mobile and less flexible. New labour laws and mechanisms for their enforcement are urgently needed for this group; social security coverage for these women must be expanded, and they must be provided with access to credit and training. Another group that has been negatively affected is made up of unemployed women, women heads of household, young women and women from the countries' hinterlands. Thus, poverty in the region continues to hinder access to decision-making levels for everyone, especially women.

While, in the case of women, the relationship between poverty and exclusion is quite complex, the countries agree, as they stated in the Consensus of Sao Paulo, that "the persistence of poverty and the rigidity of income distribution in the region have hampered the emergence of more integrated, equitable and non-exclusive societies."[15]

To facilitate a more detailed analysis of the most important areas in terms of women's access to power and decision-making, these spheres have been grouped into three different strata: the family or household, community or local, and global or societal levels. Where relevant, distinctions have also been made between government and society and between the participation of women in decision-making as individuals and as members of a group.

5. The family level

The subject of the family has become one of the most difficult topics to analyse in the world of today. Cultural attitudes, values, ideological positions, religious beliefs and ethical considerations are inevitably intermeshed, reflecting expectations and fears about impending changes and how they may affect people's personal lives.

Historically, the position occupied by women within the family has determined their place in society. The economic, political, social and cultural roles assigned to and taken on by families at any given point in time will cause them to act as either a stimulus or an obstacle to women's participation in society and in decision-making.

Conventional studies on the family have been based on the assumption of the couple's complementarity, whereby the man is assigned the role of breadwinner and the women is assigned the jobs of unremunerated domestic work and childcare. Gender-based studies have, however, begun to show that the family is a considerably more complex assemblage of interrelationships whose members hold, and hence wield, unequal degrees of power in the emotional, economic, social, educational and psychological spheres. Differences in power are based on kinship, sex and age, and determine each member's bargaining power as regards decision-making and the access, use and control of material and symbolic resources within the household.[16]

Based on the available information, an effort is made to determine whether the family hinders or fosters women's participation in decision-making and power in Latin America and the Caribbean and under what conditions it might strengthen their role in this regard. Another point to be explored is the question of what measures or mechanisms could be used in the region to support the institution of the family and thus enable it to respond to the demands associated with a democratic system in which gender equity prevails.

The region's ongoing process of democratization is also permeating its traditional family structures. The slogan "democracy in the street and in the home" was and is representative of part of what women are demanding, but it is also a requirement of democratic society, whose genuine consolidation demands the presence of democratic family structures.

The analysis and discussion of Latin American families' traits and functions in these rapidly changing times have delved more deeply into the subject in recent years, especially since the United Nations General Assembly's proclamation of 1994 as the International Year of the Family. The studies conducted at the time by ECLAC, which was designated as a United Nations focal point for regional activities in this connection, looked into the question of how these changes were affecting the family structure and the relationships among family members. One of the most interesting phenomena examined by those studies was the growing autonomy of the individual which has gone along with the urbanization and modernization of the region's societies and has played a part both in weakening the family's social control over its members and in paving the way for greater tolerance for different types of family structures offering more options and greater pluralism.[17]

The changes that have taken place in the region have influenced the family, generating trends that are manifested in "cross-country variations that are associated, in part, with the stage of the demographic transition reached by each country and with cultural differences relating to what is considered to be marriageable age, proto-generational and inter-generational intervals and factors involved in the dissolution of families." The most important change in relation to the size of the family unit is the nearly 50% reduction observed in the proportion of families with children under 12 years of age, as a reflection of the decrease in birth rates that occurred in the 1970s.[18]

The functions of the family have also been altered, although these changes have been of a more complex and ambiguous nature. Moreover, they are closely linked to the socio-economic status of the family group and its location (urban or rural), as, in the final analysis, these two factors determine how much access the family will have to the labour market, education and all the other resources of society in general. Indeed, the family has ceased to perform many of its traditional roles as these functions are absorbed by an increasingly varied array of specialized institutions.

One of the factors that has had major implications for Latin American and Caribbean families has been the speed of these changes. The transformation of rural zones into urban areas and the relocation of large segments of the population have come about in just a few decades. In fact, until the mid-1950s the family continued to be perceived as a unit of consumption, production and reproduction.

Given the speed of these changes, a number of different generations having varying options and expectations coexist within today's family. This phenomenon cuts across the different socio-economic strata; it may vary in intensity from one stratum to the next but, with very few exceptions, has similar implications.

The pace of change also influences what used to be considered the pivotal element of the family's functions: the socialization of new generations. Today, the socialization of male and female children —with this process being understood as the role assigned to girls and boys in society, the content of a child's family upbringing and its impact in terms of the future attitudes and options of the individual, the way in which responsibilities are distributed within the family, and the effects of today's child-care systems— is increasingly oriented towards shared family responsibilities as part of the formative process for female and male citizens.

While the sweeping changes experienced in recent decades have clearly affected the family as a whole, their impact on women has been much more striking. Women's new-found access to gainful employment on a mass scale (which, although under-registered, has nonetheless been very significant) has meant that in virtually a single generation women have had to learn a new role and are now faced with the need to reconcile it with their old one. The fact that securing the household's income is a shared task alters the couple's relationship.[19] The new form of socialization, which entails greater discipline in terms of schedules, depersonalized working relationships, the professionalization of many tasks, competition and intense interaction with others, has added to women's workload, but has also greatly expanded their sphere of action.

Thus, to varying degrees of intensity, different types of relationships are beginning to take shape within the family. The formation and continuity of the family are coming to depend on the compatibility of its members to a much greater extent than before; the idea of a single authority within the family is starting to be questioned, and demands for more evenly shared responsibilities are beginning to be heard.

The authority of the "man of the house" —whether he is the father, husband or brother— is not the only seat of power that is beginning to be challenged. Motherhood is also starting to be held in less esteem. Women's

role as mothers, which used to be regarded as their prime function, has traditionally been a source of power and status. The reduction of family size (both as an objective phenomenon and as the manifestation of an explicit desire on women's part), the possibility of deciding how many children to have and when, as well as the right to act on these decisions, and the increasing degree to which the socialization of children takes place outside the sphere of the family all have the effect of altering power relations within the family and spurring it to adapt to new circumstances.

The position of head of household, which is generally regarded as being one of the most vulnerable situations in which women can find themselves, is beginning to be seen as a new option for highly educated women and women who have ample resources at their command, since the majority of households headed by women (the fastest-growing category in recent decades) are not poor.

Domestic violence continues to pose the greatest obstacle to women's participation in decision-making. The existing statistics are still inadequate, but the available data indicate that, worldwide, one out of every ten women is or has been the victim of violence at the hands of her partner. Based on internationally compiled statistics, it is estimated that 2% of the victims of domestic violence are men and 75% are women, while the remaining 23% are cases of reciprocal violence.[20]

The problems faced by women who are victims of domestic violence continue to stem, in large sectors of the population, from a lack of knowledge about their rights and the existing legal mechanisms for enforcing and protecting those rights, but their actual cause lies in the acceptance of violence as an inherent part of the exercise of authority within the family and of women's supposedly "natural" subordination to that authority.

Women who live in poor households —whether rural, made up of emigrants or belonging to an ethnic or other minority group— have also undergone these kinds of changes, but in their case, there are also other elements that interfere with or encourage their participation, as well as other sources of frustration.

Although family size has decreased throughout the region, it is much more difficult for poor women to assert their right not to have more children than they desire because of the difficulties they have in gaining access to information or to methods of contraception. While their role as gainfully employed workers is not questioned as much owing to their households' practical needs, their employment options are more limited due to the segmentation of the labour market and, in many cases, insufficient or inadequate schooling.

The level of social participation associated with women from poor families has always been extremely high, although this is very inadequately reflected in existing statistics. This is a result of their survival strategies and is manifested, to a great extent, in their struggle to obtain the services required in order for family life to be possible, which on many occasions has led to the appearance of very powerful pressure groups. This intense level of participation lacks continuity, however; it is principally a response to a specific need at a given point in time; it does not lead into longer-term demands and only rarely lays the necessary foundations for a more articulate form of leadership. Their overwhelming workloads and the amount of time that women devote to domestic tasks, especially in poor households, deter them from participating in organizations on a more regular basis.

The subject of participation in decision-making and power by poor women heads of household has hardly been explored at all. In Latin America, between 17% and 26% of all households in urban areas are headed by women; in the Caribbean, the figure is over 40%. Many studies have looked at the degree of vulnerability of the poorest households and of very young women, but studies have yet to be done on the potential for

participation by families in which, to a much greater extent than in other family groupings, women are learning how to act autonomously and are taking decisions on a more independent basis.

Insufficient schooling is another major obstacle to participation by women from poor families. Some studies dealing with urban households have demonstrated that the extent of poverty increases in cases where the parents have had fewer than ten years of schooling, regardless of what stage in the life cycle has been reached.

Cutbacks in social expenditure, especially those made during the 1980s, exacerbated the problems experienced by families, particularly in the area of childcare. Although social spending has risen in the 1990s, the increase has not been large enough to eliminate the backlog of unmet needs.

The demands placed upon women by the traditional kind of family limit their opportunities for participation in today's societies. Hence, roles within the family need to be redefined in such a way as to ensure a greater degree of equity and of compatibility with the actual activities of each of its members.

The changes taking place in inter-personal relationships within the family are probably much more complex than we have been able to determine thus far. What has stood out more clearly is the economic role of women. The internal tensions arising out of women's decision to engage in activities outside the home and of men's loss of their position as sole breadwinner are growing.

The State, institutions, families themselves and women all continue to exhibit ambivalence about the new roles that men and women should play within the family in order to ensure its survival. The family as an institution is faced with requirements and demands that it cannot fulfil, and this heightens the tension existing within it.

An increased life expectancy, the practice of having fewer children, a growing involvement in the labour market, changing attitudes about domestic work and greater economic autonomy are opening up new options for participation by women based on a greater comprehension of public affairs and an improved performance within that sphere, a more appropriate form of socialization among equals and, in the case of young women, the formation of personal life agendas.

The enactment of new laws regarding the family which contribute to a more equitable distribution of duties and rights is one way of providing families with support and promoting participation by women.

Furthermore, the home no longer demands as much of women's time, since many functions are being assumed by the market and other institutions, including the schools.

In the majority and poorest sectors of society, women's isolation in the home has been greatly increased by their performance of outwork and temporary jobs, which hinder any form of participation whatsoever.

In traditional sectors, women themselves may stand in the way of change because they do not wish to lose the power they wield within the family in administering the household's economic resources, determining the way those resources are to be used, and attending to religious matters and to the socialization of other family members. This type of role is significant and is recognized within the family sphere, and it is difficult for women to envision risking that security in exchange for the right to a broader form of participation. In these sectors, women develop a high degree of dependency and often have to undergo an entirely new social learning

process if they lose their partner. Laws that would provide them with protection under these circumstances are therefore needed.

There are some family structures in Latin America and the Caribbean in which women exercise no power whatsoever. These cases, in which a contradiction arises between respect for diversity and cultural identity, on the one hand, and women's human rights, on the other, calls for an analysis and forms of intervention that will inform women about their rights as citizens and enable them to assert those rights. These situations, which are in some cases linked to religious factors as well, isolate women and drive a wedge between the public and private spheres of life. Women's lack of power turns them into objects.

Women emigrants, refugees and dislocated persons, and especially the young women among them, are also in a vulnerable position.

Domestic work constitutes another obstacle to participation. The fact that such work is performed in isolation, its routine nature and the failure, for all intents and purposes, of most societies to acknowledge is economic value make this kind of work one of the most serious barriers to women's participation. According to estimates prepared by the United Nations Development Fund (UNDP), 66% of the work performed by women in developing countries is not registered in the System of National Accounts and, as indicated in the UNDP *Human Development Report* (1995), since it does not appear "on the books", it is neither acknowledged nor valued.

In poor households, access to housing and public services has been one of the spheres in which women have been most active. Although this kind of participation is found primarily at the community level, it is undertaken in response to the needs of the family group and has also been a part of the role played by women in low-income sectors.

The mass media, especially television, also put pressure on the family by creating expectations and promoting consumption patterns that many families simply cannot afford.

6. The community or local level

Government

The decentralization process poses new challenges for the region with regard to local development and the effectiveness of municipal governments as intermediaries between national policy and local policies and programmes. Although municipal governments are still a far cry from being genuinely local governments, they are nevertheless an important level of government from the standpoint of public participation and could come to be a vehicle for democratization. They are more visible to the public, and government officials at this level are more responsive to local needs.

Within the framework of an integrated development process —which should combine social, economic, environmental and decentralization policies— local policy design, management and implementation, especially at the municipal level, is becoming increasingly important.

The most conspicuous aspect of the present complex state of affairs probably has to do with the intense and increasingly rapid urbanization of Latin America and the Caribbean. As a result of this process, 75% of

the region's population will be located in urban areas and a majority will be living in major cities by the year 2000. This situation calls for a reconsideration of the urban phenomenon, especially in terms of its smallest units, where social participation can make a greater contribution to the creation of areas and facilities that will improve the population's quality of life. This sphere of effort involves spatial planning, the provision of services, and more effective methods for designing, managing and implementing local policies. The environmental situation, especially in terms of the deterioration of the urban environment, is another variable that must be taken into account in this process.

The heterogeneity of the population that is to be served is also more evident at this level. The diversity of socio-economic situations, cultural differences, the specific problems of ethnic minorities, the needs of different age groups and the gender dimension, which cuts across all these other demands, call for the adoption of an interdisciplinary approach, but this approach has not yet been developed fully enough in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The distribution of financial resources, appropriate linkages between policies and global planning, and the development and improved utilization of human resources are all fundamental factors as well.

Historically, women have been quite active in community or local organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean, but within the context of this study, we must ask ourselves whether this participation has actually carried over into decision-making —or could do so— even at the local level, and whether it could serve as an apprenticeship for participation in the formulation of decisions having a broader impact on society.

At least five different modes of participation by women at the local level can be identified: i) as users of the services provided by local government; ii) as members of the community expressing a demand for services on behalf of local organizations (either as leaders or as members of those organizations); iii) as volunteers offering services through local government agencies; iv) as administrative or executive staff; and v) as local political leaders.

Each of these modes arises out of different types of interests, and although they are all active forms of participation, this does not necessarily mean that they serve as an apprenticeship or road to (in this case, local) power.

A second issue to be considered is how concerns about the status of women are reflected in the agendas of local governments. In the majority of local governments within the region on which information is available, concern for gender equity is only just beginning to find a place on the agenda. A concern for women and their needs, on the other hand, is clearly evident in local government affairs, although in this case the "women's needs" being considered are actually only those associated with their day-to-day family lives. Activities relating to the gender perspective at the local level have been undertaken as pilot projects, and evaluations of their results have therefore been quite limited thus far.

Mainstreaming the gender perspective in local government agendas calls for an examination of the implications of local policies for women and men, proposals as to how to improve upon the present situation, opportunities for genuinely providing inputs for the management of local affairs from a gender perspective and participation by women; women's involvement in this sphere within the region has been very productive and broad in scope, but it has not been systematized and its potential has not been fully developed on an ongoing basis. This potential has been buttressed, however, by the fact that women have traditionally been the direct users of local government services in the region. They are the ones who apply for certificates, submit forms,

receive social assistance, take their children for check-ups, concern themselves with the problems of the community and their neighbourhood, and worry about health conditions and the safety of their families. They are also concerned about the provision of adequate services (electricity, water, garbage collection, paving of roadways, etc.) and although they do not act as principals in this respect, they often exert a great deal of influence on decision-makers by virtue of their ability to bring pressure to bear upon them.

Women also organize themselves as a basis for demanding services from the local (and, if necessary, central) government in order to remedy problems that affect the area in which they live. In Latin America and the Caribbean, women are the ones who have formed powerful pressure groups to ask for schools, medical clinics, infrastructure works, street lighting, and other related services.

"Women volunteer groups" are also very active, both on behalf of underprivileged groups, in assistance programmes for hospitals and collections for social causes, and in working together with other women in the same sector in responding to emergencies, natural disasters, economic crashes, strikes and other such situations.

Women who work in local agencies perform their duties just as any other civil servant would do, and although examples can certainly be found of women staff members in municipal governments (especially at the professional level) who have become community leaders, this is not necessarily the norm.

Although in most cases the majority of leaders are men, while women are more generally involved in implementation, the number of women occupying positions that confer decision-making power has increased in recent years, both in territorially-based and sectoral political councils at the local level. The majority of these women have been directly elected by secret ballot to seats on legislative councils or to mayorships, and some country studies have found that significant gains have been made in this field.

Other studies have focused on the fact that most of the women who attain positions of power on the basis of their identity as local leaders are professionals (power and social prestige reinforce one another, especially in the case of certain professions) and have taken part in community programmes. Their identity as professionals prepares them —or at least makes them appear to be more capable than low-income women— to manage funds, request appointments, meet with government officials and take part in negotiations as spokespersons for the communities in which they live or with which they identify. Positions of power are also sometimes held by women who are part of a "dynasty" that has always wielded power at the local level; in these cases, membership in a certain family is a more influential factor than gender.

The average age of women who come to hold positions of power at the local level is one at which most people's children are nearly or fully grown. They have often "learned the ropes" through hands-on experience and, as is also true of men, need to have other sources of income, since in many cases these are political, *ad honorem* posts.

The literature on this subject does not suggest that participation at the local, community or neighbourhood level affords a political apprenticeship or paves the way towards power or decision-making levels.

Obstacles to women's participation are most apparent at the level of management or implementation. They are asked to organize —or they do so on their own— to address issues relating to their domestic duties and responsibilities (which makes the dividing line between the private and public spheres appears to be a very broadly-drawn one indeed) and women's concerns are thus confined to immediate, day-to-day matters. This

observation is corroborated by the fact that, within the economic concerns of local governments (land use, housing, industry, commerce, planning decisions) women are not in evidence in either policy debates and design or in the field of resource management. Nor are women's organizations involved in decision-making with regard to national legislation or zoning plans, among other things. These processes are structured on the basis of the citizenry's participation, in which men predominate; in some cases experts or consulting firms may even be hired to undertake the necessary tasks, but women's organizations are rarely invited to participate in such efforts.

The lack of continuity is another obstacle. When women band together in order to make specific demands, they usually end up obtaining the service in question or at least a promise that it will be provided. The organizations set up by women, although extremely powerful at certain times and extraordinarily dynamic (the reader will recall the sometimes highly dramatic illegal land takeovers that occurred in many countries, which in some cases led to the establishment of new population clusters), are short-lived and have not given rise to lasting political institutions. These assemblages are not borne of any need for organization, but are instead formed in response to very down-to-earth needs.

A third factor that prevents participation at the local level from leading the way towards decision-making responsibilities and power is that, in most cases, the relevant actors cling to the stereotypes of women as housewives and service providers and do not foster the development of leadership skills. It is often said that women play an active role in local organizations because these bodies serve their needs and heed their demands; in actual fact, however, these structures serve the practical needs of men, families and communities as well, rather than only those of women. Historically, the distribution of duties within the household has been such that men are assigned the role of breadwinner and women are given responsibility for housework and the activities involved in looking after the family and obtaining services. Women's growing participation in the labour market makes it unlikely, however, that they will continue to perform these functions in the future or to perceive them as needs of their own.

There is yet another issue that calls for a more in-depth analysis. Clearly, participation at the local level has thus far assumed a form of action that, although undertaken on a collective and unified basis, is also predominantly anonymous and voluntary in nature. At least within the framework of existing models of participation, access to power and decision-making requires a greater degree of individualization. In practice, governmental organizations are influenced much more heavily by personal charisma than is explicitly acknowledged, and no consistent, ongoing process has yet been established to assist community leaders to become part of the local power structure.

The successful implementation of local policies requires a more active involvement of the public in policy management. Indeed, such participation is essential both because the existing shortage of resources makes it impossible for local or central governments to be the sole executing agency for development activities and because of the need to lend a deeper meaning to the exercise of democratic rights and duties. It is not simply a matter of mobilizing the population, which has been done time and time again in Latin America in connection with such widely varying issues as the formation of pressure groups to demand drinking water and health services, housing and schools, and respect for human rights and in which women have played an extremely important role; women must also receive the training they need to be able to contribute to the solution of existing problems, voice demands and follow up on those actions, which have traditionally been no more than stop-gaps.

In fact, the complexity of integrated, sustainable local development processes that uphold the principle of gender equity is such that women must be provided with training to help them make the transition from sporadic, spontaneous forms of participation in social movements to a more organizationally-based, coherent, long-lasting and sustained form of political action. The history of the region's social movements show that women's participation at the local level does not necessarily empower them to move on to executive or leadership positions, but this may largely be due to the fact that their participation in social movements is almost never accompanied by training in policy implementation.

Another element that should be taken into account when analysing the effectiveness of women's participation in providing them with access to decision-making relates to cultural and ethnic barriers; these factors can be extremely important in this connection.

Non-governmental women's (and, especially, low-income women's) organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean have been very active at the community or local level; the literature that documents this fact is extensive but is difficult to systematize because of the heterogeneous nature of the information it provides.[21] There have apparently been fewer barriers to women's participation at the local level,[22] where the objectives have invariably been quite clear. First and foremost, women have joined pressure groups to demand the provision of land, housing, health services, schools, parks, nursery schools, drinking water, sewerage, etc. They have also organized themselves in order to implement shared survival strategies during times of crisis (community kitchens, cooperative purchasing arrangements), which has sometimes led to the founding of microenterprises, and have joined human rights movements when their countries were ruled by authoritarian regimes (committees formed by mothers, grandmothers, wives and widows; committees devoted to peace, human rights, self-help projects).

In performing the tasks that fall within their purview, local governments should serve as arbitrators for social actors whose interests may differ. The ability to establish alliances is, in this respect, an essential one for women's organizations and, especially, for their leaders.

A lack of time, and the times of day at which these types of activities tend to be scheduled (which conflict with the jobs women have taken on within the home), also deter women from participating on an ongoing basis.

When asked to identify obstacles to their progress, women holding executive posts in local governments usually cite the way in which the mass media tend to reinforce existing stereotypes regarding women mayors and town counsellors.

7. The societal level: citizen participation

a)   The government apparatus

Political agenda. One major achievement since the Beijing conference has been the incorporation of the issue into government agendas and the State apparatus.

The first obstacles to appear have had to do with the resources needed to implement the political agenda. Although the level of social expenditure in the region is higher now than it was in the 1980s in some cases, the countries' social allocations are still not even sufficient to permit the implementation of the schemes and

programmes that have already been planned in the fields of health, education and social security. It is therefore difficult to see how it will be possible for them to implement special policies and programmes that focus on mainstreaming the gender perspective.

Institutionalization. Offices for women's affairs have been established within the government apparatus —whether as ministries, departments or institutes— in all the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.[23]

Some countries have set up women's advocacy services as part of the Ministry of Justice or as an agency attached to the Ministry for Women's Affairs. These bodies serve as a liaison between the State and civil society in protecting citizens' civil rights. In some countries, advisory committees or services for women have also been established.

Mainstreaming. Another extremely important development in the region is that steps have begun to be taken to mainstream the gender perspective in the relevant ministries and governmental agencies, usually in coordination with their offices for women's affairs. In this context, as well as in the case of the gender perspective's institutionalization, difficulties arise in connection with the need to provide training in order to ensure that the process will be truly effective.

Equal opportunity plans. Equal opportunity schemes are being adopted that include special plans for the advancement of women at senior executive levels. The political will associated with these plans appears to be focused primarily on the initiative's practical aspects.

Quota systems. Quota systems, designed as temporary measures to increase women's participation, have been effective instruments for the achievement of equity.

The sectoral situation

Employment. The entry of women into the labour force on a large and growing scale, despite all the constraints mentioned above, is clearly one of the most important mechanisms for preparing them to exercise their rights and duties as citizens. Having the possibility to attain economic autonomy broadens any woman's range of options and gives her more freedom, regardless of her socio-economic status.

The passage of laws prohibiting wage differentials and other forms of discrimination in employment should contribute to this process. It should also be noted that the percentage of women in executive, professional and technical positions has been rising.

Employment does not block women's access to decision-making levels *per se*. On the contrary, it should play a key role in opening up such access, although at present the following problems exist in this regard:

i) Segmentation of the labour market. As a consequence of the market's segmentation, employment opportunities for women are concentrated in relatively unskilled, low-paying occupations that perpetuate existing stereotypes regarding women's supposedly "natural" abilities. Outwork in the home would seemingly help women by permitting them to conduct remunerated and unremunerated activities at a lower cost, but this practice interferes with their social integration and hinders them from organizing, interacting with their peers and perceiving their work as an economic activity that has a place within society. Nevertheless, the number of independent or self-employed women workers has grown.

ii) Lack of adequate professional training. This is one of the main obstacles standing in the way of women's access to more highly-paid positions that afford a greater degree of decision-making power.

In the business world, women hold 25% of all management positions in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Education. In Latin America, education has historically been a vehicle for social mobility. Although stereotypical images of the appropriate roles for women in society continue to be conveyed, women themselves have gradually been expanding their own range of options, whether due to the dissemination of alternative models of professional activity or as a result of personal agendas formulated with a view to employment opportunities in the relevant country. Wherever it is economically possible for them to do so, women in the region are making inroads into new areas of education and employment.

A majority of the region's teachers are women, but this has not led to changes in the schools' curricula, which could provide an effective means of sensitizing the population.

There are two types of obstacles to be faced in this sector. The first of these is poverty, which restricts poor women's access to education; in most cases, those poor women who do attend school do so on an irregular basis, and drop-out rates are high. The second has to do with the curricula that are in use, since they tend to persist in focusing on behavioural patterns that have ceased to be relevant to women in today's world. Although women see a need to join the labour force, the idea that it is a temporary situation and that they should be at home doing other things prevents them from performing effectively as workers. The deeply-rooted cultural prejudices which are transmitted through the educational system hold women back from performing a role that would be commensurate with the position they actually occupy within society. Moreover, vocational training programmes continue to steer women towards certain careers that are thought of as being "feminine".

Health and social security. As noted earlier, social expenditure has been on the rise in the 1990s, but in the area of health services, new problems have arisen due to the increase in life expectancy (which has greatly added to the number of older women in the population) and the shortage of family assistance services.

Poverty clearly acts as an exclusionary mechanism with regard to women's participation at the decision-making levels of society. Although poor women regularly participate in various sorts of pressure groups, social movements and non-governmental or grass-roots organizations, their activities do not serve as an apprenticeship that would provide them with any direct route to a position of power. Poverty is in itself a barrier to women seeking to gain access to decision-making levels. Events in the region indicate that poor women may organize large pressure groups that may even become quite influential at given points in time, but that these groups generally lack the type of continuity they would need in order to adopt longer-term agendas. Poverty also acts as a formidable barrier to young people in general and young women in particular, who have been given virtually no place on any of the region's political agendas.

b)   Women in power

The information available on women in this category is quite scanty, but there are a limited number of national surveys, cases studies, opinion polls and studies on groups of countries which point to some interesting new trends. The reader must bear in mind that these data are not comparable, that we are dealing with a small

number of very specific cases or examples, and that women's participation in high-level decision-making processes in the countries of the region is thus far the exception rather than the rule.

Senior political posts. Two countries have elected women presidents, four women have been named vice-president, and one has held the post of prime minister in Latin America and the Caribbean during the 1990s.[24] There have also been women ministers, mostly in ministries of social affairs and justice (15% in Central America and 22% in the Caribbean). The Caribbean is the subregion in which women hold the largest percentage of political posts (20.5%). Within the justice system, women are largely absent from the region's supreme courts; they represent an average of 20% of the members of appeals courts and 50% of the judges in the lower courts.[25] In the executive branch, the percentage of women ranges from 4.8% in South America to 7.7% in Central America.[26]

According to the available data, in 1994 the percentage of ministerial posts held by women exceeded 15% in only one country in Central America —Guatemala (19%)— and two in the Caribbean —the Bahamas (23%) and Trinidad and Tobago (19%). Women serving as deputy ministers during that same year accounted for 22% of the total in Honduras and over 15% in six Caribbean countries: Antigua and Barbuda (44%), Bahamas (35%), Barbados (16%), Dominica (38%), Guyana (25%) and Jamaica (17%). Women's participation in constitutional assemblies has also increased, and women have maintained a significant presence in national conventions.[27]

In the legislative branch, women make up around 10% of the Senate and hold a slightly higher percentage of seats in the lower house, but these figures vary from year to year.

All these advances notwithstanding, a much smaller percentage of women than men participate in these spheres of activity in the countries for which official figures are available. Very few positions of executive or economic power, where the most important decisions of government are taken, are held by women either.

Mass media[28]

The number of women studying communications and journalism has risen; in fact, more than 50% of the students in these areas of specialization are women. In terms of employment, 25% of senior management posts in radio and television and 17% of such posts in print media are occupied by women in Latin America and the Caribbean. On the other hand, less than 3% of the highly specialized, well-paid technical jobs in these fields are held by women.

In the written press, women represent 28% of the reporters and journalists, 29% of the correspondents, 36% of the assistant editors, 24% of the editors-in-chief, and 21% of the office managers, directors and executives. During the 1990s they have become increasingly visible as television announcers (46%), reporters and newscasters (21%) and producers (41%). In the case of senior executive producers, the figure drops to 15%-16%.

Although television channels continue to devote very little air time to women's issues, the written press is increasing its coverage of such stories, especially in the case of international events.

The wages earned by female journalists in the countries that were analysed are between 68% and 95% lower than those of male journalists.

There are a growing number of channels of communication in the region devoted to promoting women's participation in society. Well-established, high-circulation magazines and journals that report on activities by and for women, on their rights, relevant legal amendments, substantive issues and other topics[29] are published on a regular basis in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Formation of new alliances

Although it would be impossible to systematize all the information that is beginning to be published on new proposals for promoting women's participation in the exercise of power and in decision-making, a few examples of the steps being taken to coordinate, negotiate and form alliances or coalitions may be of interest. A number of examples of progress in these areas are given below:

● The legislature of one country (Colombia) passed a bill making it mandatory to include at least one woman in any shortlist of candidates for the posts of Attorney-General, Public Prosecutor, and Comptroller-General.

● In another country (Peru), Congress adopted a quota system under which at least 25% of such lists must be made up of women candidates.

● Thanks to lobbying by congresswomen, Brazil's National Congress was able to amend the country's electoral legislation to require that at least 25% of the candidates for the upper and lower houses must be women. This move was accompanied by a national campaign whose slogan was "Women unafraid of power".

● Political parties are increasingly carrying out campaigns to prepare women candidates and holding events for the purpose of analysing gender policies.

● In all the countries, bills for the advancement of women, particularly with regard to employment, violence, health and sexuality, are being submitted to the legislature.

● In one country (Mexico), eight political parties are signing a commitment in Congress in 1997 to work for the advancement of women. This declaration states, *inter alia*, that explicit recognition should be accorded to the right to non-discrimination and recommends the creation of an oversight mechanism; it proposes reforms in the civil code to regulate family rights and responsibilities more clearly, especially those of fathers (room and board, and acknowledgement of paternity); it advocates prohibiting the dismissal of employees on the grounds of pregnancy and banning obligatory exams to establish the absence of pregnancy; and it provides for measures to deal with domestic violence.

● In the lower house of the federal legislature in one country (Brazil), an ad hoc commission has been created to study the legislative measures needed to implement the decisions taken at Beijing. The commission is to indicate what laws need to be enacted or amended and to formulate measures for stepping up the executive branch's enforcement of regulations to ensure the equality of men and women.

● In one country (Bolivia), a political roundtable entitled "Women looking to the twenty-first century" was organized. This event was attended by all the presidential candidates, who took the opportunity to present affirmative action proposals to the 500 people at the meeting. These proposals included the creation of

participatory and educational facilities; the recovery of identity in diversity; special educational, health, anti-violence and anti-poverty programmes; and small business loans.

● In November 1996, an inter-agency agreement was signed by the Andean Parliament and the Andean Women's Political Coalition in which they pledged to ensure the participation of women in decision-making and follow-up activities relating to sustainable development programmes in the subregion, to devise joint mechanisms and to create appropriate opportunities. The Coalition is made up of representatives from five countries, and its statement of objectives indicates that "we want the power to transform power".

● A tripartite commission to follow up on the World Conference on behalf of UNDP, the Department of Women's Affairs and the Women's Coordinator has been set up in one country (Paraguay).

● In 1996 the National Association of Rural Women's Groups of Uruguay, with a membership of 700 women from 100 different groups, was established to market their products under a shared brand name. These groups, which are organized as microenterprises, have been able to secure the financial support they need to operate on a regular basis.

● National organizations and associations, such as political women's networks, coordinating offices for peasant women, coordinators for women's affairs at the national level, "multi-sectoral" women's groups and women's collectives, are continuing their work.

● In recent years women's organizations have broadened their options while continuing to defend their interests both in meetings focusing on their concerns and in other international conferences. They have also kept up their regional coordination efforts and have converted these initiatives into true regional linkages for the implementation of activities in the areas of follow-up, monitoring, analysis, information, political pressure, dissemination and mobilization in fulfilment of the Platform for Action adopted at Beijing and the Regional Programme of Action, as well as a means of urging the Governments to comply with the relevant agreements. The objective for the first year is for the countries to adopt national plans of action for subsequent implementation. This mechanism will function as a broad-based assembly of women, networks, organizations and other bodies.

● In 1991, the International Association of Women Judges was formed. The Association currently has 93 Latin American members.

● The Mercosur Women's Forum has been established for the purpose of analysing the treaty's social implications.

● During the run-up to the fifth Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government, women ministers from 21 Latin American countries met in 1995 to analyse women's participation in political and economic decision-making as a prerequisite for democracy and equitable development. Their joint statement was presented at the fifth Ibero-American Summit, held in Bariloche.

● Networks of congresswomen, other women politicians and political activists, district authorities and lobbyists have also been created.

● In coordinating follow-up activities for the Summit of the Americas, Nicaragua, in collaboration with Argentina and Chile, has accepted responsibility for following up on item 18, "Strengthening the role of women in society", of the Plan of Action adopted by the Heads of State and Government.

Other difficulties faced by women seeking positions of power include their exposure to criticism, the heightened visibility occasioned by the fact that they are few in number, the fact that the stereotyped characteristics of "all" women are attributed to them, and their lack, as yet, of sufficient capacity for forming alliances.

Women lack a background of "wielding power", and it is therefore very difficult for them to become a part of the informal networks that men utilize.

Political parties continue to be exclusive in the sense that they do not take their countries' sociocultural complexities into consideration. The problems being faced today relate to politics as such, i.e., as a mechanism for the articulation of social actors' demands. Their political platforms and the issues they use as a rallying point remain far removed from the demands and interests of women.

8. Participation in the family, community and society: the necessary intersection

The relationship between the State and society has become more complex largely because of the appearance of new social actors whose demands are articulated in differing forms: women, the elderly, young people belonging to different ethnic groups, and environmentalists.

At the same time, the boundary line between what is "public" and what is "private" has become blurred. While the State has always had a strong influence over the family (for that matter, every dimension of the family as an institution is tightly regulated by the laws of each country), some aspects of private affairs have become public, some of the family's functions have been taken over by other social or governmental actors, and "mixed" arrangements are being seen more frequently in various spheres.

New areas of activity are shared by governmental and non-governmental bodies; these spheres are marked by the growing institutionalization of the gender perspective, not necessarily as an established theory but rather as a way of thinking. The important point here is that mechanisms are being incorporated into economic and social practices that are helping to put an end to the asymmetrical relationship between men and women, that are drawing a distinction between power and domination, and that are oriented towards shared decision-making.

Both of these types of bodies are undergoing an increasing professionalization which is taking the place of activism. Non-governmental women's organizations are true specialized agencies that can execute programmes and implement policies, both their own and those designed by others. Obviously, this raises new questions. If, before, NGOs articulated the demands made of the State and checked up on programme implementation, today they are taking a part in actually executing those initiatives. Who will evaluate them and who will take responsibility for their monitoring and follow-up?

The region is beginning to witness the emergence of new, more complex organizational models in which the concept of accountability is an essential component. These new models combine instrumental rationales

with substantive ones, are more democratic and less dichotomistic; they develop horizontal structures and seek to balance rationality with intuition in leadership functions.

The traditional sorts of NGOs began to appear in the 1940s, when they emerged as alternative agencies in contraposition to the organizations forming part of the bureaucracy; these non-profit agencies are committed to social change, are outside the governmental sector, help to coordinate and act as a voice for social movements, are autonomous, and serve as an arena for popular participation. They offer services which, rather than being designed from an instrumental standpoint, are strongly influenced by a given set of values; they exhibit an ethical and normative structure linked to given social causes and derive their validation from the response elicited by the services they offer.

Non-governmental women's organizations criticize the hierarchization and division of labour on the basis of sex, and their political strategy draws no hard-and-fast dividing line between the public and private spheres. In fact, they place a great deal of importance on the private sector and believe that, in practice, the two are intertwined. Their dynamic is one that reflects an ongoing tension between the defense of equality and liberty, and the recognition of diversity. Their internal contradictions are reflected in the tension existing between a democratic agenda and a leaning towards charismatic leaders in day-to-day practice, between their efforts to put a stop to the use of stereotypes about women and their use of stereotypes in defending "women's prerogatives".

Now, however, these organizations, which flourished during the 1970s as part of the broader front of opposition to authoritarianism, need to show they are using their resources efficiently and to substitute an instrumental rationality for their former spontaneity. They are becoming both institutionalized and professionalized —since institutions are nothing more than long-lived organizations that have demonstrated their capabilities— and are facing new dilemmas with regard to funding, representativity, ways of coordinating the transition from volunteer-based to staff-based operations, ongoing planning, and improved management.

Within the context of the relationship between the State and society, today we are seeing the implementation of activities that link together the government apparatus, political parties and non-governmental women's organizations. These alliances can help to put these issues on the agendas of the relevant organizations, or to have women represented in them. A growing number of women's associations are seeking political representation through alliances with congresswomen, professionals and other groups. The examples cited earlier are just that: a sampling of the huge range of modalities taking shape in Latin America and the Caribbean for achieving equity in the spheres of decision-making and power.

9. Proposals

Citizenship bestows **an opportunity** for active, full participation, an opportunity to exercise one's rights and an opportunity to take part in decision-making processes that influence the production and distribution of resources, both tangible and intangible.

In a democracy that is seeking to grow, women must cease to be "unexpected social actors" taking part in temporary, ad hoc social movements. Their participation in decision-making needs to be consolidated at three levels: the participation of women, both as persons involved in decision-making on an equal footing, and as citizens with rights of their own; the mainstreaming of the gender perspective in plans and programmes aimed at ensuring gender equity in policy- and decision-making; and an equitable distribution of resources in society.

The family level

In order for the family to act as a stimulus for participation by women, the following conditions, as a minimum, need to exist:

i) A greater degree of flexibility in individuals' roles within the family. This means that responsibilities need to be shared by its members or, in other words, that the family needs to be democratized. This would mark the end of the dichotomy between the public and private spheres, whereby women are relegated strictly to the private sphere of life. In order to achieve this objective, educational campaigns need to be carried out via the media and the schools with the help of central and local government agencies and members of civil society. Meanwhile, legal and political reforms need to be carried forward in order to ensure that national legislation will provide all necessary support for the rights of women within the context of their families.

ii) Assistance for the family in performing new and complex functions, especially in terms of caring for family members who need such assistance (i.e., children and the elderly). Governmental offices for women's affairs and NGOs should launch campaigns for the establishment of child-care centres in neighbourhoods, business firms and government agencies to assist women and men with young children who are in need of such services. Fund-raising strategies will also need to be devised to ensure that such centres are able to provide 100% coverage.

iii) Assistance for underprivileged families. In addition to the types of initiatives mentioned above, members of low-income families need training that will prepare them to obtain better jobs and business loans. These activities could form part of a joint strategy to be pursued by local government, private firms and NGOs focusing on these areas.

The community or local level

i) Assistance for families in the areas mentioned in the preceding section. The local level is the most effective stratum for initiatives aimed at helping families and promoting their democratization. It is very important for family assistance programmes —especially in areas traditionally regarded as being the responsibility of women, such as health, housing and education— to be a focus of the joint attention of the couple.

ii) Strengthening the decision-making capabilities of women through directly elected municipal councils. These mechanisms provide a means of learning about the views of all the various social actors as well as facilitating their coordination. To this end, efforts should be directed towards securing the incorporation of women into leadership roles, as well as into institutional management.

iii) Overcoming the rigidities and gaps in knowledge that continue to exist in many areas of local government through training programmes and the provision of opportunities for citizens to play a more active part in finding solutions for local problems. Providing groups of people who are directly and indirectly involved in local development with tools that provide for the participation of women will aid them in adopting sustainable development policies and will help improve their quality of life in ways that take into account their various gender-specific demands and needs.

iv) Taking advantage of existing networks of women's organizations to backstop activities at the local level and promote the establishment of alliances and ties with other institutions working in the same fields.

The government level

In the course of the modernization of the government apparatus, which is under way in virtually all the countries of the region, steps must be taken to ensure that resources are allocated for the implementation of those items on government agendas that are oriented towards providing women with greater access to decision-making positions.

i) A continuation of political and legal reforms, especially in the area of affirmative action, that have been initiated pursuant to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and a broad dissemination of information on women's rights and the exercise of those rights. Information campaigns regarding the progress made in these respects should be conducted via all available public and private media, including "alternative" channels of communication for women.

ii) Training programmes for civil servants at both the central and local government levels to familiarize them with the gender perspective, prepare them to analyse the various implications of sectoral policies and programmes for men and women, and ensure the existence of equality of opportunity.

iii) Training programmes for women in the fields of management and leadership.

iv) The adoption of measures to ensure that any human resources development programmes undertaken by government agencies or business firms include the type of instruction that will provide women with the skills they need to compete on an equal footing with men for more highly paid positions requiring a higher level of technical qualifications. Steps must be taken to safeguard equality in the workplace by eliminating barriers and difficulties faced by women in gaining access to the labour market, harmonizing employment with motherhood or fatherhood, observing International Labour Organization (ILO) Conventions 103 and 156, furnishing child-care services, upgrading job quality, and developing women's management skills.

The key issue here is and will continue to be employment. This may not be a sufficient condition in and of itself, but it is certainly a necessary one. This is the principal item on the agenda of the European Community, where an awareness already exists of the fact that rising unemployment has a more severe impact on women and that women continue to occupy the most vulnerable "pockets" in the economy. Perhaps the most important task is to foster an awareness in the region of the fact that unless specific policies are adopted, there will be no equality.

Steps need to be taken to enforce existing standards and norms, especially in the case of ILO provisions on equal pay for work of equal value, and to put a stop to indirect or hidden discrimination. In addition, legal instruments and mechanisms need to be made more effective and law need to be enacted on social security benefits and protection for "self-employed" women.

v) The establishment of agreements, links and alliances with other social actors (political parties, the private sector of the economy, non-governmental women's organizations, the media, universities, academic centres and social or women's movements) with a view to the following objectives:

- To give women in positions of power an awareness of the gender dimension and to strengthen the participation of women in a variety of spheres, particularly political parties;

- To sensitize public institutions, business associations and labour unions to the need for affirmative action as a means of rectifying gender inequalities;

- To disseminate information on affirmative action;

- To promote the establishment of a quota system and to convince political parties to collaborate in the advancement of women within their structures.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the entry of women into senior decision-making posts is a task that still lies before us. Nonetheless, the creative, dynamic modalities that have been developed during the past decade, the types of alliances that have been formed, the networks that have built up and the transparency of the debate surrounding these issues are giving shape to a new type of citizenship for women as they move with increasing ease into new fields and spheres. Yet these fields and spheres need to be broadened; the professionalization process needs to move ahead, and information about what has been achieved thus far needs to be disseminated. Too narrow an understanding of our own rights is the same as not having them at all.

Notes

1/ The sixth session of the Regional Conference for the Integration of Women into the Economic and Social Development of Latin America and the Caribbean was held in September 1994 in Mar del Plata, Argentina, in fulfilment of the mandate set forth in the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001.

2/ In accordance with its mandate, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean has been serving as a regional focal point for women's activities within the United Nations system and as the technical secretariat for its member countries since the 1970s. To date, six sessions of the Regional Conference and 24 meetings of the Presiding Officers have been held.

3/ The Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing in September 1995.

4/ The Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001, was approved by the Governments at the sixth session of the Regional Conference. The Programme updates the Regional Plan of Action for the Integration of Women into Latin American Economic and Social Development, which was approved in Havana in 1977 at the first session of the Regional Conference.

5/ The lack of appropriate indicators continues to be one of the most serious problems affecting efforts to formulate policies and programmes to improve women's quality of life. The existing indicators are not geared to the new living conditions of women, continue to underestimate the economic contributions women make in the form of both gainful employment and unpaid work, and fail to provide an accurate picture of their participation at decision-making levels.

6/ It is interesting to note that for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women (held in 1980), for example, only 20% of the countries of the region responded to the request for country reports.

7/ These priority issues are defined in the report of the fortieth session of the Commission on the Status of Women, held in March 1995.

8/ To date, eight equal opportunity plans are known to exist. The countries in which such plans are in place are: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Ecuador, Panama and Paraguay.

9/ A bibliography of the relevant documents is attached as an annex.

10/ Liliana de Riz, Las mujeres y el poder en América Latina y el Caribe (LC/R.1259), Santiago, Chile, ECLAC, 25 March 1994, p. 6.

11/ In Nieves Rico, Género, medio ambiente y sustentabilidad del desarrollo (DDR/2), Santiago, Chile, ECLAC, 1997; this document, which was prepared for presentation at the seventh session of the Regional Conference, offers a systematized outline of this linkage.

12/ This point has been recognized by the countries in various international instruments, notably the Platform for Action adopted in Beijing in 1995 and the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001.

13/ ECLAC, The equity gap: Latin America, the Caribbean and the social summit (LC/G.1954(CONF.86/3)), Santiago, Chile, 1997.

14/ According to CELADE estimates, the refined economic activity rate for rural women was 34% in 1995.

15/ ECLAC, "Consensus of São Paulo", Report of the First Regional Conference in Follow-up to the World Summit for Social Development (LC/G.1972(CONF.86/4)), Santiago, Chile, 1997.

16/ Irma Arriagada, Políticas sociales y trabajo en América Latina y el Caribe, Políticas Sociales series, No. 21 (LC/G.1058), ECLAC, Santiago, Chile, 1997.

17/ ECLAC, *Family and Future: A Regional Programme in Latin America and the Caribbean* (LC/G.1835-P), Santiago, Chile, 1994. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.94.II.G.6.

18/ The situation with respect to family life cycles varies a great deal from one country to the next. In 1994, from 30% to 44% of families were at the stage where the oldest child was 19 years of age or older, while young couples without children made up the smallest percentage of households (Arriagada, *op. cit.*).

19/ As regards family members' participation in the labour force, the percentage of households in which only the head of household works ranges between 20% and 40%, approximately (Arriagada, *op. cit.*).

20/ Nieves Rico, Domestic violence against women in Latin America and the Caribbean. Proposals for discussion, Mujer y Desarrollo series, No. 10 (LC/L.690), Santiago, Chile, 1992, and Gender-based violence: a human rights issue, Mujer y Desarrollo series, No. 16 (LC/L.957), Santiago, Chile, 1997.

21/ A promising attempt at systematization is found in the Instituto de la Mujer/FLACSO publication, *Mujeres latinoamericanas en cifras: tomo comparativo*, Santiago, Chile, 1995.

22/ ECLAC, La mujer en el sector popular urbano. América Latina y el Caribe (LC/G.1326), Santiago, Chile, October 1984.

23/ In ECLAC, Director of national organizations dealing with programmes and policies on women in Latin America and the Caribbean (LC/L.1065), Santiago, Chile, 1997.

24/ Mala N. Htun, *Moving into Power, Expanding Women's Opportunities for Leadership in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Washington, D.C., Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), July 1997. Women were elected to the Presidency in Nicaragua in 1990 and in Haiti in 1991. In 1996, a woman became the Prime Minister of Dominica, and there have been women vice-presidents in Costa Rica, Ecuador and Honduras.

25/ Instituto de la Mujer/FLACSO, *Mujeres latinoamericanas en cifras: tomo comparativo*, Santiago, Chile, 1995.

26/ United Nations, *The World's Women 1995: Trends and Statistics* (ST/ESA/STAT/SER.K/12), New York, 1995. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.XVII.2.

[27] Information on this subject is available for Argentina and Paraguay. See *Informe nacional de desarrollo humano desde la perspectiva de género, 1995*, published in 1995 by the Office of the Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Paraguay.

28/ This section is based on a section of the United Nations study entitled *Situación de la mujer en el mundo, 1995. Tendencias y estadísticas*, which refers to a study on six Latin American countries.

29/ See, among others, *Quehaceres, Mujer/Fempress, Debate feminista, ISIS Internacional, Informe Mujer, Tribuna*.

ANNEX

**Bibliography of selected literature on women and development
in Latin America and the Caribbean**

**I.   Series, working documents and other publications of the United Nations and other international
or intergovernmental organizations**

United Nations Secretariat

Equal Time, International Women's Day Issue, New York, 8 March 1997.

Outcome of the World Summit for Social Development: Draft declaration and draft programme of action (A/CONF.166/PC/L.13), New York, June 1994.

The world's women 1995: trends and statistics (ST/ESA/STAT/SER.K/12), New York, 1995. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.XVII.2.

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

Annotated provisional agenda of the Regional Conference in Follow-up to the World Summit on Social Development (LC/G.1953(CONF.86/2)), Santiago, Chile, January 1997.

Arriagada, Irma, "Políticas sociales, familia y trabajo en la América Latina de fin de siglo", Políticas sociales series, No. 21 (LC/L.1058), Santiago, Chile, 1997.

Crónicas de la CEPAL (97-CC-160), Santiago, Chile, 18 April 1997.

Dirven, Martine, El empleo agrícola en América Latina y el Caribe: pasado reciente y perspectivas, Santiago, Chile, 1997, unpublished.

ECLAC office in Montevideo, Programas de formación para el trabajo. Sugerencias para el caso uruguayo (LC/MVD/R.137/Rev.1), Montevideo, August 1996.

ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, Report of the Caribbean Ministerial Meeting on Poverty Erradication (LC/G.489/Rev.1), Port of Spain, January 1997.

ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, <u>Caribbean Action on Population and Development</u>, vol. 2, No. 1, Port of Spain, April 1997.

ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean/Caribbean Development and Cooperation Committee (CDCC)/United Nations Information Centre (UNIC), <u>Focus: The UN in the Caribbean</u>, Port of Spain, November 1996.

ECLAC Subregional Headquarters in Mexico, Honduras: la industria maquiladora (LC/MEX/L.325), Mexico City, 21 April 1997.

ECLAC Subregional Headquarters in Mexico, Género, pobreza y seguridad social en Centroamérica (LC/MEX/R.617), Mexico City, 7 July 1997.

ECLAC Subregional Headquarters in Mexico, Honduras: evolución económica durante 1996 (LC/MEX/L.329), Mexico City, July 1997.

ECLAC Subregional Headquarters in Mexico, El Salvador: evolución económica durante 1996 (LC/MEX/L.330), Mexico City, July 1997.

Gómez G., Elsa, "Health and women in Latin America and the Caribbean: Old issues and new approaches", Mujer y desarrollo series, No. 17 (LC/L.990), contribution to the Regional Program on Women, Health and Development of the Division of Health and Human Development of the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), Santiago, Chile, ECLAC, April 1997.

Kaztman, Rubén, La medición de las necesidades básicas insatisfechas en los censos de población (LC/MVD/R.131), Montevideo, ECLAC office in Montevideo, August 1995.

Muñoz D'Albora, Adriana, Mujer y política: complejidades y ambivalencias de una relación (LC/R.1643), Santiago, Chile, 20 May 1996.

<u>Notas sobre la economía y el desarrollo</u>, No. 601, Santiago, Chile, March 1997.

<u>Preliminary Overview of the Economy of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1996</u> (LC/G.1947-P), Santiago, Chile, December 1996. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.96.II.G.13.

Report of the First Regional Conference in Follow-up to the World Summit for Social Development (LC/G.1972(CONF.86/4)), Santiago, Chile, 1997.

Riz, Liliana de, Las mujeres y el poder en América Latina y el Caribe (LC/R.1259), Santiago, Chile, March 1994.

Rosenthal, Gert, "Recent Economic Reforms in Latin America. Global Aid", Santiago, Chile.

<u>Social Panorama of Latin America. Edition 1996</u> (LC/G.1946-P), Santiago, Chile, February 1997. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.97.II.G.4.

Strengthening Development. The Interplay of Macro- and Microeconomics (LC/G.1898/Rev.1-P), Santiago, Chile, 1996. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.96.II.G.2.

Latin American and Caribbean Institute for Economic and Social Planning

Abramo, Laís, La inserción de la mujer en los nuevos paradigmas productivos (LC/IP/R.162), Santiago, Chile, 16 November 1995.

Abramo, Laís, Imágenes de género y políticas de recursos humanos en un contexto de modernización productiva (LC/IP/R.177), Santiago, Chile, 26 December 1996.

Abramo, Laís, Mercados laborales, encadenamientos productivos y políticas de empleo en América Latina (LC/IP/R.185), Santiago, Chile, 27 May 1997.

Alburquerque, Francisco, Dos facetas del desarrollo económico y local: fomento productivo y políticas frente a la pobreza (LC/IP/R.166), Santiago, Chile, 29 August 1996.

Latin American Demographic Centre

Patrones reproductivos, estructura familiar y trabajo femenino en América Latina y el Caribe: resultados de investigaciones (LC/DEM/R.265), Serie A, No. 306, Santiago, Chile.

Población, descentralización y desarrollo docal: una perspectiva sociodemográfica (LC/DEM/R.270), Serie B, No. 116, Santiago, Chile, March 1997.

United Nations Development Programme

Informe nacional de desarrollo humano desde la perspectiva de género, 1995, Asunción, Office of the Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme in Paraguay, 1995.

Human Development Report, 1997, New York, Oxford University Press, 1997.

International Labour Organization

Buvinic, Mayra, "Promoting Employment Among the Urban Poor in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Gender Analysis", Issues in Development, Discussion paper, No. 12, Geneva, 1996.

Critical Issues for Women in the World of Work: Actions to Overcome Obstacles to Equality. Selected Excerpts from International Conferences (1993-95), Geneva, 1996.

Gender, Poverty and Employment: Turning Capabilities into Entitlements, Geneva, 1995.

Graham, C., "Gender Issues in Poverty Alleviation: Recent Experiences with Demand-based Programs in Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe", Issues in Development, Discussion paper, No. 11, Geneva, 1996.

Tilakaratna, S., "Credit Schemes for the Rural Poor: Some Conclusions and Lessons from Practice", Issues in Development, Discussion paper, No. 9, Geneva, 1996.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

"Investigación y extensión: el género y su perspectiva", Nota informativa, Rome.

"La mujer, usuaria y protectora de la agrobiodiversidad", Nota informativa, Rome.

"La mujer y la revolución verde", Nota informativa, Rome.

"La mujer y la seguridad alimentaria sostenible", Nota informativa, Rome.

"La mujer y los recursos del agua", Nota informativa, Rome.

"Mujer, tenencia de tierra y seguridad alimentaria", Nota informativa, Rome.

United Nations Industrial Development Organization

"Participación de la mujer en el sector manufacturero: patrones, determinantes y tendencias futuras. Análisis regional, región de la CEPAL" (CPD.12(SPEC)), Vienna, December 1994.

Andean Parliament

"Convenio interinstitucional", Quito, 27 November 1996.

Coalición Política de Mujeres andinas

"Declaración constitutiva", Quito, 12 June 1996.

Commission of the European Communities

"Igualdad de oportunidades entre las mujeres y los hombres. Tercer Programa de Acción Comunitaria a medio plazo, 1991-1995", Cuadernos de mujeres de Europa, No. 34, Brussels.

Inter-American Development Bank

Mala N. Htun, "Moving into Power: Expanding Women's Opportunities for Leadership in Latin America and the Caribbean" (No. WID97-103), Washington, D.C., Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), July 1997.

Joint publications

Almeyda, Gloria, Dinero que cuenta. Servicios financieros al alcance de la mujer microempresaria, Washington, D.C., United Nations Development Fund for Women/Inter-American Development Bank (UNIFEM/IDB).

De refugiadas a retornadas, Chiapas, Mexico, International Conference on Central American Refugees/Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)/ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 1994.

Guzmán Stein, Laura and Gilda Pacheco Oreamuno (eds.), Estudios básicos de derechos humanos, IV, San José, Inter-American Institute of Human Rights/Commission of the European Union, 1996.

Hacia una estrategia para las mujeres rurales de América Latina y el Caribe. Comunicación con Perspectiva de género, San José, International Fund for Agricultural Development/Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture/United Nations Development Fund for Women (IFAD/IICA/UNIFEM), July 1993.

Información sobre población y pobreza para programas sociales (LC/DEM/R.262), Serie OI, No. 115, Lima, National Institute of Statistics and Informatics/Ministry for the Presidency/National Social Compensation and Development Fund (FONCODES)/ Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE), 1996.

Kleysen, Brenda and Fabiola Campillo, Productoras de alimentos en 18 países de América Latina y el Caribe, San José, Inter-American Development Bank/Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IDB/IICA), October 1996.

Lara Flores, Sara María (coord.), El rostro femenino del mercado de trabajo rural en América Latina, Caracas, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)/Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1995.

Oliveira, Anna Cynthia (ed.), Marco regulador de las organizaciones de la sociedad civil en Sudamérica, Washington, D.C., Inter-American Development Bank/United Nations Development Programme (IDB/UNDP), March 1997.

II.   Recent government publications on equal opportunity plans and proposed indicators

1997

Alianza para la igualdad: Programa Nacional de la Mujer. Informe de Avances de Ejecución, 1997, Mexico City, Programa Nacional de la Mujer, March 1997.

"Diagnóstico de situación de políticas, planes, programas y proyectos dirigidos a promover el desarrollo y promoción de las mujeres guatemaltecas", Guatemala City, Secretaría de Obras Sociales de la Esposa del Presidente (SOSEP), February 1997.

Las mujeres en el proceso electoral. 6 de julio de 1997, Mexico City, Consejo Consultivo del Programa Nacional de la Mujer, Contraloría Social, Coordinación General del Programa Nacional de la Mujer, June 1997.

Mujer campesina y crédito en Chile, Santiago, Chile, Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM)/ Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario (INDAP), June 1997.

"Mujeres en campaña", Havana, March 1997.

Mujeres y hombres en México, Mexico City, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI), 1997.

Plan Nacional de Igualdad de Oportunidades para las Mujeres, 1997-2001, Asunción, Secretaría de la Mujer, Presidencia de la República, May 1997.

"Propuesta de un sistema de indicadores para el seguimiento del tema 18 del Plan de Acción de la Cumbre de las Américas", Nicaragua, País coordinador del seguimiento del tema 18: "El fortalecimiento del papel de la mujer en la sociedad", Montelimar, Nicaragua, 1997.

Propuestas para un sistema de estadísticas de género, Santiago, Chile, Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE)/Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia (UNICEF), 1997.

1996

Agenda política, Quito, Coordinadora Política Nacional de Mujeres, May 1996.

Alianza para la igualdad. Programa Nacional de la Mujer, 1995-2000, Mexico City, Poder Ejecutivo Federal, March 1996.

"Definición de prioridades de la Conferencia Mundial sobre la Mujer", Asunción, 1996.

"Familias y hogares en situaciones críticas en Chile según censo 1992", Inés Reca, Ernestina Pérez and Ernesto Espíndola, Documento de trabajo, No. 46, Santiago, Chile, Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM), August 1996.

Gestión de políticas públicas para la igualdad de oportunidades. Informe de actividades, 1994-1996, Quito, Dirección Nacional de la Mujer (DINAMU), Ministerio de Bienestar Social, 1996.

Las cubanas: de Beijing al 2000, Havana, Editorial de la Mujer, July 1996.

"Las familias de Chile según el último censo de población de 1992", Documentos de trabajo, No. 44, Santiago, Chile, Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM), June 1996.

Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Social. Políticas para la Mujer 1996-2005, Quito, Dirección Nacional de la Mujer, Ministerio de Bienestar Social, Secretaría Técnica del Frente Social, 1996.

"Plan Nacional Mujer y Desarrollo: operativización, 1996-2001", Programa Mujer, Salud y Desarrollo del Ministerio de Salud, Panama City.

"Plan para la Igualdad de Oportunidades entre Mujeres y Hombres, 1996-1998", Colección documentos, No. 11, San José, Centro Nacional para el Desarrollo de la Mujer y la Familia (CMF), 1996.

"Resumen del documento sobre políticas para la mujer. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Social", Quito, Secretaría Técnica del Frente Social, Dirección Nacional de la Mujer (DINAMU), Quito, Ministerio de Bienestar Social, 1996.

"Revisión después de la Conferencia de Beijing. Implementando el contrato con las mujeres del mundo: de las palabras a la acción", Dirección Nacional de Equidad para las Mujeres, Bogotá, 1996.

1995

Imágenes de género. Estadísticas sociodemográficas y económicas desagregadas por sexo. Costa Rica 1980-1994, San José, Ministerio de Planificación Nacional y Política Económica (MIDEPLAN), 1995.

Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades para las Mujeres, 1994-1999, Santiago, Chile, Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM), June 1995.

"Propuesta para un sistema de indicadores de género para el SERNAM", Virginia Guzmán and Marcela Ríos (cons.), Santiago, Chile, June 1995.

1994

"Ley de promoción de la igualdad social de la mujer, 7142", Colección documentos, No. 2, San José, Centro Nacional para el desarrollo de la Mujer y la Familia (CMF), 1994.

"Plan de Acción Nacional de las Mujeres Ecuatorianas", Quito, Dirección Nacional de la Mujer, Ministerio de Bienestar Social, August 1994.

"Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades 1995-1999", Buenos Aires, Consejo Nacional de la Mujer, Presidencia de la Nación, 1994.

"Política de participación y equidad para la mujer", Documento Conpes 2726-DNP, Bogotá, Unidad de Desarrollo Social, Consejería Política Social, Departamento Nacional de Planeación, August 1994.

Propuesta de un sistema de indicadores sociales de igualdad entre géneros, Mariano Alvaro Page (coord.), Madrid, Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, 1994.

III.   Journals, series and other publications of academic centres and non-governmental organizations

Journals and series

Argumentos para el cambio, No. 5, Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, Santiago, Chile, July 1996.

Argumentos para el cambio, No. 9, Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, Santiago, Chile, November 1996.

Argumentos para el cambio, No. 10, Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, Santiago, Chile, December 1996.

Boletín de la Red Feminista Latinoamericana y del Caribe contra la Violencia Doméstica y Sexual, No. 12, Isis Internacional, July 1996.

Boletín de la Red Feminista Latinoamericana y del Caribe contra la Violencia Doméstica y Sexual, No. 13, Isis Internacional, October 1996.

Boletín de la Red Feminista Latinoamericana y del Caribe contra la Violencia Doméstica y Sexual, No. 14, Isis Internacional, December 1996.

Boletín de las mujeres, año 1, No. 3, "8 de marzo. Día Internacional de la Mujer", Consejo Provincial de la Mujer, Subsecretaría de Desarrollo Social, Gobierno de Mendoza, March 1997.

Boletín de noticias, año 1, No. 3, "La situación de la mujer en el mundo", Coordinación de Derechos de la Mujer, Mexico City, June 1994.

Boletín informativo de la Fundación Mujeres, No. 57, Madrid, December 1996.

Boletín informativo de la Fundación Mujeres, No. 63, Madrid, June 1997.

Casa de la mujer, No. 8, Instituto de Estudios de la Mujer, Universidad Nacional, San José, August 1996.

Chacarera, Revista de la Red Mujer Rural, No. 22, "Especial: desarrrollo con equidad", Ediciones Flora Tristán, March 1997.

Cuaderno de ciencias sociales, No. 79, "Mujeres en el proceso de toma de decisiones en América Latina", Programa Costa Rica, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), San José, April 1995. (This document is a reissued version of a paper prepared by Pauline van der Aa, an associate expert with the Women and Development Unit of ECLAC, presented at the sixth session of the Regional Conference on the Integration of Women into the Economic and Social Development of Latin America and the Caribbean.)

Cuadernos de trabajo, No. 17, "Igualdad, desarrollo y paz. Luces y sombras de la acción internacional por los derechos de las mujeres", Itziar Hernández and Arantxa Rodríguez, Hegoa, Instituto de Estudios sobre el Desarrollo y la Economía Internacional, Universidad del País Vasco, Comisión de las Comunidades Europeas (DG VIII-B-2), July 1996.

Ediciones de las mujeres, No. 17, "Fin de siglo. Género y cambio civilizatorio", Isis Internacional, Santiago, Chile, December 1992.

Ediciones de las mujeres, No. 19, "El espacio posible. Mujeres en el poder local", Isis Internacional, Santiago, Chile, December 1993.

Fem. Análisis de coyuntura con perspectiva de género, No. 2, Asunción, SEFEM, January, March and April 1994.

Fem. Análisis de coyuntura con perspectiva de género, No. 3, Asunción, SEFEM, May 1994.

Fempress, No. 181, Red de Comunicación Alternativa de la Mujer, Santiago, Chile, November 1996.

Fempress, No. 180, Red de Comunicación Alternativa de la Mujer, Santiago, Chile, October 1996.

Fempress, No. 190, Red de Comunicación Alternativa de la Mujer, Santiago, Chile, August 1997.

Género y educación en quehaceres, año XV, No. 9, CIPAF, Santo Domingo, September 1996.

Informativo Mujer, año 8, No. 88, Area Mujer, Centro de Documentación y Estudios (CDE), Asunción, June 1996.

Informativo Mujer, año 9, No. 99, Area Mujer, Centro de Documentación y Estudios (CDE), Asunción, May 1997.

Mujer/Fempress, No. 178, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), August 1996.

Mujer/Fempress, No. 179, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), September 1996.

Mujer/Fempress, No. 180, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), October 1996.

Mujer/Fempress, No. 181, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), November 1996.

Mujer/Fempress, No. 182, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), December 1996.

Mujer/Fempress, No. 183, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), January 1997.

Mujer/Fempress, No. 184-185, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), February-March 1997.

Mujer/Fempress, No. 188, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET), June 1997.

Mujeres, No. 21, Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Madrid, first semester 1996.

Mujeres, No. 22, Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Madrid, second quarter 1996.

Mujeres, No. 23, Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Madrid, third quarter 1996.

Perspectivas, No. 4, ISIS Internacional, Santiago, Chile, 1996.

Perspectivas, No. 5, "Las trampas del lenguaje", Isis Internacional, Santiago, Chile, January-March 1997.

Quehacer, No. 79, Revista Bimestral del Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo, Lima, September-October 1992.

Quehaceres, año XVI, No. 3, Centro de Investigación para la Acción Femenina (CIPAF), Santo Domingo, March 1997.

Quehaceres, año XVI, No. 4, Centro de Investigación para la Acción Femenina (CIPAF), Santo Domingo, April 1997.

Quehaceres, año XV, No. 10, Centro de Investigación para la Acción Femenina (CIPAF), Santo Domingo, October 1996.

Relaciones del trabajo, año 7, No. 19, Organo Oficial de la Asociación Chilena de Relaciones Industriales, Santiago, Chile, Spring 1995.

Revista mujer salud, No. 4, "Mujeres después de los 40. Una perspectiva de género", Santiago, Chile, October-November-December 1996.

Servicio de Información a Congresistas, No. 12, Movimiento Manuela Ramos, Lima, October 1996.

Servicio de Información a Congresistas, No. 19, Movimiento Manuela Ramos, August 1997.

Sociología del trabajo, Nueva época, No. 23, "La promoción de la mujer a puestos de responsabilidad laboral: resistencias discursivas", Javier Callejo Gallego and Luis Martín Rojo, Winter 1994/1995.

Teoría & debate, No. 14, "Mulher na direção", Tatau Godinho, May 1991.

Other publications of academic centres and non-governmental organizations

Arango, Luz Gabriela, Mujer, religión e industria. Fabricato, 1923-1982, Medellín, Universidad de Antioquia, 1991.

Arango, Luz Gabriela, Magdalena León and María Viveros (comps.), Género e identidad. Ensayos sobre lo femenino y lo masculino, Bogotá, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Nacional, TM Editores, October 1995.

Ardaya, Gloria and Luis Verdesoto, Racionalidades democráticas en construcción, La Paz, Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales (ILDIS), 1994.

Cappelin, Paola, "A mulher no mundo do trabalho: as experiências internacionais das ações afirmativas", Rio de Janeiro, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais, Universidad Federal de Rio de Janeiro, 16 April 1997.

Centro de Información y Desarrollo de la Mujer (CIDEM), Memoria. Foro género y ciudadanía (La Paz, 18 to 21 July 1996), La Paz, October 1996.

Grupo de Iniciativa, "Mujeres: ciudadanía, cultura y desarrollo en el Chile de los noventa", Santiago, Chile, 1994, preliminary version.

Guzmán, Virginia and Eugenia Hola (comps.), "El conocimiento como un hecho político", Santiago, Chile, Centro de Estudios de la Mujer (CEM), December 1996.

Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal (IBAM), Género e ONG's: propostas para o fortalecimiento institucional, Núcleo de Estudos Mulher e Políticas Públicas/IBAM/The British Council, Rio de Janeiro, 1997.

Lagarde, Marcela and Sandra Aliaga Bruch, <u>Entre decir y vivir</u>, La Paz, Centro de Información y Desarrollo de la Mujer (CIDEM), 1997.

Lazarte Rojas, Jorge, <u>Mujeres y problemas de participación política en Bolivia</u>, La Paz, Centro de Información y Desarrollo de la Mujer (CIDEM), 1991.

Moghadam, Valentine, "La mujer en la sociedad", RICS No. 139, March 1994.

Todaro, Rosalba and Sonia Yáñez, "Globalización, reestructuración competitiva y empleo femenino en Chile. Elementos para el debate", documento de trabajo, Santiago, Chile, Centro de Estudios de la Mujer (CEM), 1996.

Vásquez, Norma, <u>Reconstruyendo nuestra historia. Una sistematización de la experiencia educativa en el conocimiento y defensa de nuestros derechos</u>, Tegucigalpa, Centro de Derechos de Mujeres (CDM), 1997.

IV.   Documents presented at meetings and seminars.

Abramo, Laís, A situação da mulher no mercado de trabalho latinoamericano no contexto da reestructuração", document presented at the Seminario internacional "As mulheres no mundo do trabalho: experiencias internacionais de ações afirmativas", São Paulo, Brasilia and Rio de Janeiro, FES-ILDES, ELAS, CEFEMEA, UFRJ, CUT, PNBE, April 1997.

Abramo, Laís, "Nuevas tecnologías y relaciones laborales en América Latina", document presented at the Seminario "Nuevas tecnologías: su impacto en las relaciones laborales" (Cochabamba, 4 and 5 June 1996), Cochabamba, Centro de Estudios Superiores Universitarios (CESU)/Universidad Mayor de San Simón (UMSS), June 1996.

"Central American Proposal: From Esquipulas Towards Sustainable Social Development", document prepared for the World Summit on Social Development. Special Event (Copenhague, March 1995), San José, Central American Integration System, Comisión Regional de Asuntos Sociales (CRAS).

Chile, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, "Participación de la mujer en las decisiones políticas y económicas", document presented at the Primer Encuentro de Ministras de Países Iberoamericanos (Santiago, Chile, 27 and 28 June 1995), Santiago, Chile, October 1995.

Coordinadora de la Subregión Andina, <u>Construyendo la equidad</u>, document presented at the Primer Taller Subregional Andino "Camino a Beijing" (La Paz, 27 to 30 July 1994), La Paz, 1994.

Deere, Carmen Diana and Magdalena León, "Women, land rights and the Latin American counter-reforms", document presented at the XX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) (Guadalajara, 17 to 19 April 1997), 1997.

"Documento Subregional Argentina, Chile, Paraguay y Uruguay. Las Mujeres del Sur", document presented at the Foro de ONG's América Latina y el Caribe, Mar del Plata, September 1994.

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), "Algunas dimensiones de la educación para la democracia en el pensamiento de la CEPAL", document presented at the XI Reunión de Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno del Grupo de Río, Micronoticias de la CEPAL (MS-9), Santiago, Chile, ECLAC, 26 August 1997.

Escalante Herrera, Ana Cecilia, "Las relaciones entre las mujeres y el poder en el Gran Caribe", document presented at the Seminar "Mujer, participación política y ciudadanía" (San José, 11 to 14 November 1996), San José, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1996.

Mesa redonda. Situación y perspectivas del liderazgo de las mujeres en el Movimiento Sindical y Gremial de Venezuela, Caracas, Consejo Nacional de la Mujer, 1993.

Noé, Marcela and Patricia Provoste, "Modernización de la gestión de servicios públicos e igualdad de oportunidades", document presented at the II Seminario-Taller, 1996, Santiago, Chile, Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM), 1996.

Pate, Kimberly, "Affirmative Action Presentation", document presented at the Seminar "Keeping the door open. Why women should support affirmative action", Equal Rights Advocates, San Francisco.

Pérez de Matus, María Auxiliadora, "El papel de la mujer en el desarrollo", document presented at the V Reunión del Grupo de seguimiento y puesta en marcha de los acuerdos de la Cumbre de las Américas, Santiago, Chile, 22 January 1996.

Red de Educación Popular entre Mujeres (REPEM), Jaque al rey. Memorias del taller "Participación política de la mujer" (Chorlaví-Ibarra, Ecuador, October 1993), Quito, October 1993.

Reunión Regional de Estrategias, "Informe de la subregión andina" (Lima, 24 to 26 January 1997), Lima, 1997.

Reunión Regional de Estrategias, "Acuerdos" (Lima, 24 to 26 January 1997), Lima, 1997.

Seminario internacional "As mulheres no mundo do trabalho: experiencias internacionais de ações afirmativas" (14-20 April 1997), São Paulo, Brasilia and Rio de Janeiro, 1997.

Seminario Internacional Mujer y Mercosur, "Conclusiones generales", (São Paulo, 31 July-2 August 1995), São Paulo, 1995.

United Nations, Division for the Advancement of Women, Instituto Internacional de Investigaciones para la Paz, "The impact of gender difference" (EGM/PDCR/1996/REP.1), Expert Group Meeting on Political Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution (Santo Domingo, 7 to 11 October 1996), New York, 7 November 1996.

United Nations, Division for the Advancement of Women, "Report" (EGM/EDM/IFI-TNC/1996/REP.1), Expert Group Meeting on Women and Economic Decision-Making in International Financial Institutions and Transnational Corporations (Boston, Massachusetts, 11 to 15 November 1996), New York, 10 December 1996.

Vega, Silvia, "Las mujeres y la caída de Bucaram", document presented at the Mesa redonda de FLACSO sobre la participación de los actores sociales el 5 de febrero, Santiago, Chile, 27 February 1997.

Voets, Martine, "The European positive action strategy", document presented at the Seminar "A mulher no mundo do trabalho. Experiencias internacionais e ações afirmativas" (Brasilia, 14 to 19 April 1997), 1997.