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**COLLECTIVITY AND CHANGE:  
INDIGENOUS WOMEN, COMMUNITY  
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
IN THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS OF GUATEMALA**

**Contextualizing the  
*Women in Development and Gender and Development Paradigms***

Tara M. Feigum Stone

## Index of Sections

Introduction.....	3
Empowerment.....	3
Oxfam Women’s Empowerment Framework.....	4
The Development of “Development” ...	6
<i>Development Theory – Diffusionist and Anti-Diffusionist Views of Development.....</i>	7
<i>The Capitalist Model of Development and the Emergence of Sustainable Development, Human     Development and Women in Development.....</i>	8
Theoretical Perspectives about Women/Gender and Development .....	12
<i>Women in Development (WID).....</i>	12
<i>Gender and Development (GAD).....</i>	15
Conclusion.....	16
Works Cited.....	19
Endnotes.....	21
Appendix:	
Table 1: WID Approaches.....	24
Table 2: Women, Gender and Development Frameworks.....	26

## Introduction

Which are the theoretical frameworks best that foster women's participation and empowerment in the development process? Which of these frameworks are most effective as applied to real life contexts? These are controversial questions about which there is little agreement among third world and western development practitioners, feminists, researchers, activists, and grassroots organizations. This paper critically examines the notion of empowerment within the most dominant of the women, gender and development paradigms and utilizes the Oxfam hierarchal model as a tool for this analysis.<sup>i</sup> I will argue that both the Women in Development and the Gender and Development frameworks have their appropriate contexts and that the two are not mutually exclusive. The Gender and Development framework, with its focus on women's participation and empowerment should be the ultimate goal of development programs, but the Women in Development framework, despite its shortcomings in the *strategic* dimension, has its usefulness in contexts where basic needs have not been met. I will further argue that the differences between these paradigms, in some areas, are negligible. This paper is intended as the first of several chapters regarding women, gender, and development theories and their applications. A case study, which will take place in the context of a community-based economic development organization centered on indigenous and women's rights in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala, will follow this chapter.<sup>ii</sup>

## Empowerment

By all accounts, the participation of empowered women agents is essential to any sustainable development program. Kate Young asserts

Involving women at all levels of development thinking, planning and implementation will make a world of difference not merely to women but to the capacity of society to envisage and carry out planned social change which will permit humankind to live in harmony with nature and itself.<sup>iii</sup>

The importance of women's empowerment and gender equity is reflected in the UN's human development paradigm, and is echoed in language about policy formation and program implementation. In the 1993 Human Development Report, the United Nations defines empowerment in the development context:

*Empowerment.* Development must be *by* people, not only *for* them. People must participate fully in the decisions and processes that shape their lives.<sup>iv</sup>

The 1995 UN Human Development Report asserts

Women are essential agents of political and economic change...investing in women's capabilities and empowering them to exercise their choices is not only valuable in itself but is also the surest way to contribute to economic growth and overall development... As long as women are excluded from the development process, development will remain weak and lopsided. Sustainable human development implies engendering the development paradigm.<sup>v</sup>

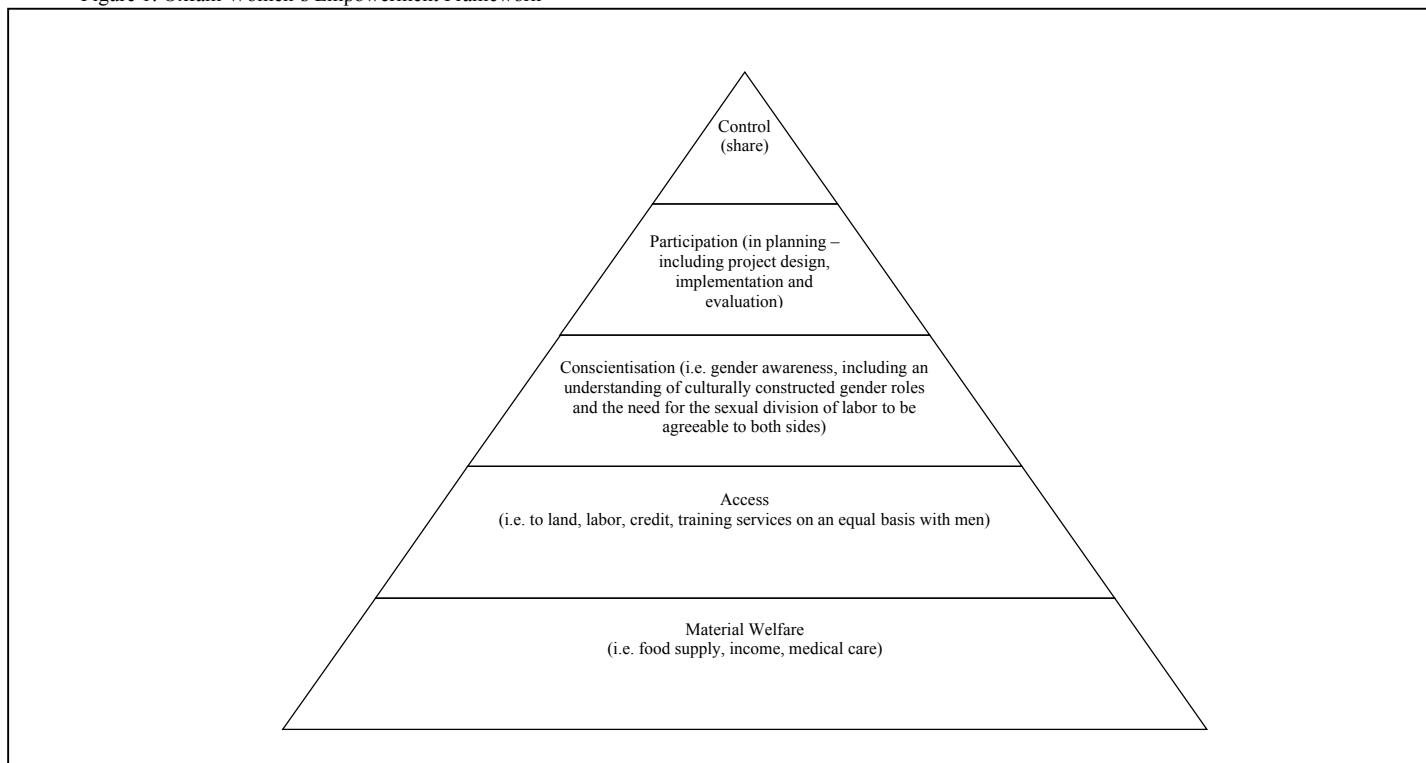
Despite the apparent importance of these terms in defining development (as demonstrated in their inclusion across organizations), there is little agreement as to what the terms *empowerment* and *sustainability* mean. Across classes and cultures, the terms are often understood differently.

The concept of *empowerment* was first popularized by Gita Sen and Caren Grown in their analysis of the impacts of development policies from the perspectives of poor third-world women in which emphasis is placed on women’s political consciousness-raising, popular education and income-generating opportunities.<sup>vi</sup> According to Nalini Visvanathan however, the term’s original meaning regarded upsetting existing power relations and is now misinterpreted in the west. Ms. Visvanathan asserts that education and employment are uncritically seen as empowering. To her, empowerment is instead a “greater equality for women in the performance of their ‘productive activities.’”<sup>vii</sup> Oxfam’s Gender and Development Unit integrates these two approaches to empowerment into a practical empowerment-in-development model they call the “Women’s Empowerment Framework.” Developed in 1985, the Gender and Development Unit works to ensure that the advantages of development are felt by women. The unit was developed as a response to a

growing concern that many development initiatives, far from benefiting women, were actually marginalising them and rendering them powerless. Since the early days of GADU’s existence, gender training has been a key strategy, used to sensitize Oxfam staff and partners to gender issues. . . Together with planning, monitoring and evaluation, and recruitment, gender training is a tool in the process of implementing gender-fair development, rather than an end in itself. Rather than promoting a mechanical implementation of gender equitable development, gender training aims to develop thought and action in a transformational manner, enabling participants to explore the issues, understand the dynamics of their societies and apply the concept of gender analysis to everyday development practice.<sup>viii</sup>

The structure of the “Women’s Empowerment Framework” is similar to the structure of Maslov’s hierarchy of needs, such that once a lower-level need is fulfilled, progress up the hierarchy becomes possible, allowing fulfillment of consecutively greater needs (eventually one’s empowerment). “The higher levels are concerned with providing women with the means towards increased control over their own lives.”<sup>ix</sup> In other words, as women climb this hierarchy, they gain in terms of equality and empowerment.<sup>x</sup>

Figure 1: Oxfam Women’s Empowerment Framework<sup>xi</sup>



Derived from: Williams, Suzanne, Janet Seed and Adelina Mwan. (1994). The Oxfam Gender Training Manual. United Kingdom: Oxfam.

Oxfam utilized the hierarchy to evaluate women's involvement in social and/or economic development programs. Moreover, the model aides in the evaluation of women's involvement in defining project objectives, designing development programs, and assessing program effectiveness. Integral to these assessments are needs assessments wherein people (particularly women) are *asked* about their situations, their needs, and their priorities. Outside such an approach, program officers identify project priorities and plans without intimate knowledge about the particular needs of the affected community. Women are targeted in Oxfam's needs assessments since they are the most likely unheard and/or overlooked in this process. Neglecting women and women's issues in the development process may result in an increased burden on women and/or a lack of shared project control by women, ultimately resulting in a disempowering program that would fit into the Oxfam hierarchy on a low-level.<sup>xii</sup> The Oxfam model provides for a practical look at the levels of women's empowerment in particular development programs and the levels at which of their needs are being met by such programs.

Oxfam, in creating this hierarchy of needs and levels of empowerment incorporates the notion of strategic gender interests versus practical gender needs. The fundamental belief of the model is that higher levels of empowerment are attained when strategic interests are addressed, but before these interests can be addressed, practical needs must be fulfilled. In other words, this hierarchy is a bottom-up model. Strategic gender needs and practical gender interests are not treated as opposites, but rather as a continuum of needs – with practical needs on one end (i.e. material welfare) and strategic interests on the other (i.e. shared control with male counterparts). No need is greater than another, but lower-level needs must be fulfilled before fulfillment of higher-level interests. Structural causes for inequities are not considered in the lower levels of the hierarchy – these lower levels are concerned only with the attainment of basic needs.

This model is utilized throughout this study as a tool for evaluation of the integration of empowerment because it recognizes that empowerment is not a concept that is either present or absent from an approach to development. It accounts for the varying degrees to which empowerment may be present in any given approach, and it leaves room for the appropriateness of this level of integration (i.e. in a context dominated with lower-level concerns, development cannot seek higher levels of empowerment without first fulfilling basic needs).

Additionally, Oxfam recognizes that empowerment holds a significant place within development discourse and practice. Several studies have revealed that empowerment is necessary to ensure participation, and participation is essential to any sustainable development model.<sup>xiii</sup> In other words, the notions of participation and empowerment are all wrapped up in the discourse about development, but the *meanings* of these terms is little agreed upon.

It should be noted, however, the model is not without quandaries. The main challenge posed by this model is in the operationalizing of the measurement terms, or the hierarchal levels. While it might be agreed that as women empower themselves, their participation and share of control increase. However, if women's

participation and/or control indicates their level of empowerment, as the Oxfam model suggests, how is this participation and control measured?

## The Development of “Development”

‘Development,’ as defined by Webster’s New Universal Unabridged Dictionary is “the act or process of developing; growth; progress.”<sup>xxiv</sup> It is synonymous with such nouns as evolution, elaboration, unfolding, and maturation. According to Ray Bromley, the term ‘development’ and its paired opposite ‘underdevelopment’ only came into regular usage in the discourse about national poverty and wealth in the 1920’s, when these terms replaced

such earlier pairs of terms applied to nations and regions as ‘civilization’ and ‘barbarism,’ ‘enlightened’ and ‘primitive,’ ‘advanced’ and backward,’ and ‘imperial’ and ‘native.’<sup>xv</sup>

In his analysis of these paired opposites, Bromley asserts that the various meanings generally converge upon development as a “sustained, positive change that can be characterized as ‘progress’ or ‘improvement.’”<sup>xxvi</sup> He is careful to clarify that national, or even regional, change is not universally desired, and its benefits are not evenly distributed among those it affects. The goals of development, he argues, are alternately determined by ruling elites, international organizations, and the dominant majority, at times at the expense of the minority.<sup>xvii</sup> The subfield of women, gender and development further complicates the issue. Bromley asserts

Like other social science terms such as class and gender, ‘development’ and ‘underdevelopment’ gradually adjust in meaning and application, reflecting conceptual advances and changes in priorities and world realities.<sup>xviii</sup>

The case of Guatemala draws attention to Bromley’s assertion that development is defined by ruling elites, international non-governmental organizations and/or the dominant majority – most likely at the expense of women’s and/or gender concerns due to gender disparities in living standards. Guatemala is one of only two countries in the Western Hemisphere ranked “low” by the United Nations Development Programme in its Gender Development Index, which ranks countries in terms of gender disparities in standard of living measures, including life expectancy, income, and educational attainment.<sup>xix</sup> Some estimate that between fifty-one and seventy-five percent of Guatemalans live in poverty;<sup>xx</sup> others estimate that eighty percent of Guatemalans live in poverty (living on less than two-dollars per day) and sixty percent of Guatemalans live in extreme poverty (living on less than one-dollar per day).<sup>xxi</sup> Among the poorest of the poor, woman-headed households are disproportionately represented.<sup>xxii</sup> These social inequities are exacerbated by formal structures of credit, to which women do not have the same access as their male counterparts because of lower incomes, lack of collateral, less education, and lower literacy.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Oxfam adopted a more people-centered theory of development:

Development is...about meeting the needs of those who are most in need, and about increased participation, and equality. Development is...enabling people to take charge of their own lives, and escape from the poverty which arises not from lack of productivity but rather from oppression and exploitation.<sup>xxiv</sup>

In this definition, the ‘progress or improvement’ alluded to by Bromley involves addressing the needs of the most dispossessed, the poorest women, by ensuring their full participation in exterminating oppression and exploitation.<sup>xxv</sup> How is the notion of development demonstrated in practice? The following two sections will explore the history and applications of *development*.

### ***Development Theory – Diffusionist and Anti-Diffusionist Views of Development***

The two dominant views contributing to development theory are the ‘diffusionist’ view and the ‘anti-diffusionist’ view of development. Within the development literature, the development of nations and regions is typically defined in terms of four very different concepts: economic growth, modernization (“whereby the people of the territory adopt technologies, designs and customs characteristic of countries considered to be more developed”<sup>xxvi</sup>), quality of life (a nation’s ability to satisfy the most basic needs of its citizens), or self-sufficiency.<sup>xxvii</sup> The ‘diffusionist’ camp sees the solution to underdevelopment as found in increased interaction with developed nations (i.e. increased trade, industrial growth poles, export processing zones, and enterprise zones). Mainstream and western conceptions of development are ‘diffusionist’ in nature, as they consider development as a nudging of developing countries in a positive direction, that is, toward modernization or growth.<sup>xxviii</sup> Within this framework,

The relationship between rich and poor countries and regions is viewed positively, with increasing trade benefiting both rich and poor. Development is seen to diffuse from rich to poor countries and from more urbanized to less urbanized regions within those countries...<sup>xxix</sup>

By placing this ‘diffusionist’ framework within the national context of a developing country, it is clear that this camp believes the benefits of increased trade automatically ‘trickle down’ from the nation’s rich to the nations’ poorest. Bromley is careful to cite the “enormous differences of opinion about the role of the state in the economy,”<sup>xxx</sup> but argues that these ‘diffusionist’ ideas have been integrated into many governments and international agencies. Clearly, the diffusionist model does not consider direct empowerment as an ingredient to sustainable development. Rather, the diffusionist model advocates a certain empowerment through modernization, growth, and increased interaction with developed regions and countries. It is concerned with the macro-level and does not typically analyze its effects on a micro-level (i.e. how do diffusionist policies affect a particular village, family, or woman?).

The ‘anti-diffusionist’ camp, on the other hand, believes the answer to underdevelopment lies in “breaking the bonds of exploitation and creating a new order.”<sup>xxxi</sup> One agenda pertaining to this camp favors  
a

negotiated new international order based on Third World solidarity whereby rich nations make concessions to poor nations and break the bonds of exploitation, either because they come to realize their past inequities or because they are forced through some form of boycott, cartel or trade bloc aligning poor nations against the rich.<sup>xxxii</sup>

Another agenda within anti-diffusionist framework advocates development through international trade and solidarity within a non-capitalist framework.<sup>xxxiii</sup> The final agenda within the ‘anti-diffusionist’ framework advocates poorer nations forming their own grassroots democracies to “seek high levels of self sufficiency

using local resources and intermediate technologies to satisfy all their basic needs.<sup>»xxxiv</sup> This agenda seems particularly people-centered and concerned with the micro-level effects of development as opposed to macro-level objectives and/or outcomes.

Since the Cold War period, two polarized theoretical paradigms have dominated discourse in the field of development: capitalism and socialism. (i.e. radical political economy). The diffusionist and anti-diffusionist views of development no doubt contributed to these, the dominant models of development. Essentially, the capitalist approach adopted ideas conceived of within the diffusionist view of development while the radical political economy model borrowed ideas introduced by the anti-diffusionists. Both have had great influence on the debate about women, gender and development and are evident in the field's various schools of thought.

### ***The Capitalist Model of Development and the Emergence of Sustainable Development, Human Development and Women in Development***

The capitalist model of development, derived from the 'diffusionist' view of development, has been referred to as the "dominant equilibrium model"<sup>»xxxv</sup> and pertains to "neoclassical economic theory."<sup>»xxxvi</sup> It is also closely related to modernization theory, a body of theory also grounded in 'diffusionist' thought, based on the notion that all societies move in similar linear fashions toward development, "from agrarian systems and subsistence farming to industrialized economies and market production."<sup>»xxxvii</sup> This ethnocentric paradigm uses Western industrial nations as the norm to blame 'Third World' poverty on an inability to escape cultural traditions that prevent modernization. Modernization theory advocates "motivating individuals to take entrepreneurial risks, to alter their values and attitudes, to adopt new technologies and to participate in political and civil life."<sup>»xxxviii</sup>

Economic theories falling within the capitalist paradigm see the individual as the unit of analysis and assume this individual to be rational in his or her decision making. The capitalist paradigm emphasizes supply and demand as a natural source of balance within economic systems and holds efficiency up as the "ultimate standard for all interventions and reforms."<sup>»xxxix</sup> Clearly in line with 'diffusionist' thought, the model generally assumes that economic growth signals development, and therefore measures economic growth utilizing a country's gross domestic product. The various economic theories falling into the capitalist paradigm can be distinguished as follows:

The free-market model...advocates a reduced role for government in favour of private capital and market forces; the Malthusian approach...addresses resource scarcity by controlling population growth; and [the] interventionist model...advocates government intervention through regulatory and technocratic mechanisms to redistribute income and provide public goods.<sup>xl</sup>

The interventionist approach is particularly prevalent as demonstrated in policies set by the three agencies that control the global economy: the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization.

The outcomes of these organizations have been far different than the original intentions behind their policies. The IMF and the World Bank, established in 1944 for the purposes of post World War II reconstruction of Western Europe, identified their main objectives as: expansion of economies, increasing trade, providing economic stability, redistributing income and providing public goods to all. In recent years, however, these agencies have been known to pursue neoliberal policies, resulting in a concentration of wealth and a reduction of public goods.<sup>xli</sup> Since the 1980s the IMF and World Bank have engaged in agendas of structural adjustment in their lending policies to Third World governments; as a pre-condition for loans, they have required that these governments engage in “a series of reforms, often drastic and radical, to increase economic growth and ameliorate balance-of-payment difficulties.”<sup>xliii</sup> Such reforms have included the devaluing of currency, cutting of government subsidies and other reductions in public spending, reducing taxes on private business while increasing consumption taxes, deregulating the economy, promoting exports and welcoming foreign investments.<sup>xliii</sup> These programs have been severely criticized in the Third World because while not “preventing the escalation of the Third World debt crisis[, they] were having unacceptable consequences on the poorest and most vulnerable”<sup>xliiv</sup> – particularly women. As a result of structural adjustment programs, responsibility for improvements of standards of living are shifted to women, who are often over-burdened by unpaid work.<sup>xliv</sup> Consequently, women were confined to the lowest-level of the Women’s Empowerment Framework, the Material Welfare level. They were impeded from gaining or exercising higher levels of empowerment due to the basic needs of the family no longer being met by the state and now being taken on by women. Structural adjustment programs led to an increase of other “social ills, such as violent crime, drug abuse, and violence against women...and increased levels of migration (legal and illegal) from the South to the North.”<sup>xlvi</sup> As a result, the effectiveness and/or necessity of development as it was being practiced came under scrutiny and development initiative returned to the people it was aimed at helping in the first place:

Increasingly, the whole concept of development itself is being questioned: ‘developmentalism’ is seen as a Western imposition which forces non-Western countries into a particular set of economic priorities which may be inappropriate to their needs. So in the 1980s and 1990s there has been a switch in emphasis towards empirical and local-level analysis, and greater focus on practical issues.<sup>xlvii</sup>

This ‘western imposition’ was seen as the opposite of an empowering approach to development, and as a result, bottom-up approaches to development became of greater interest to the development community, replacing the more disempowering top-down approaches advocated under modernization theory. It was in this era that participation and empowerment became ideas integral to development: in responding to the top-down development projects being imposed on them, women and women’s organizations began “developing sustainable and economically feasible alternatives to these neoliberal policies of structural adjustment.”<sup>xlviii</sup> ‘Sustainable development,’ later designated the term to describe it, came to encompass much more than economic growth. The term became mainstreamed after the 1987 Brundtland Report where it was defined as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”<sup>xlix</sup>

The paradigm, or worldview, emerging around this concept recognized the need to ensure and facilitate the following: integration of conservation and development; maintenance of ecological integrity; satisfaction of basic human needs; achievement of equity and social justice; and provision of social self-determination and cultural diversity.<sup>1</sup>

Feminist-activists have further defined the term as “part of a larger alternative model of development or societal transformation,” including the following components

it must be in harmony with nature (if nature is to sustain us, we must sustain nature); it must be people centered and oriented (people have to be seen as the subjects, not the objects of development; it must be women centered (recognizing the responsibility that women have always assumed for catering to the basic needs of society); it must cater to the needs of the majority (consumption levels of the rich and industrialized world must be reduced); there must be decentralization of decision-making and control over resources within countries and internationally; democracy must become more participatory and direct, unleashing the latent energies of the people; and at every level, sustainable development must promote the policies of peace, nonviolence, and respect for life.<sup>li</sup>

Global organizations too began to consider non-economic factors like participation and empowerment in the development process, moving beyond modernization theory in defining development objectives. The United Nations in its First Development Decade (1960-1970), “emphasized economic growth and the ‘trickle-down’ approach as key to reducing poverty.”<sup>lii</sup> Soon, though, the UN began to consider empowerment and gender equity, among other considerations, as integrally important to development. Its Second Development Decade (1970-1980) was designed to address the failure of the industrialization strategies of the First Development Decade and to “‘bring about sustainable’ improvement in the well-being of individuals and bestow benefits on all.”<sup>liiii</sup>

Ideas of ‘development with a human face’ began to emerge, along with attempts to incorporate non-economic issues into the development agenda, for example, in the UNDP’s Human Development Index, published in 1993.<sup>liv</sup>

Then, in 2002, the United Nations Human Development Report stated

Human development is about people, about expanding their choices to lead lives they value. Economic growth, increased international trade and investment, technological advance – all are very important. But they are means, not ends. Whether they contribute to human development in the 21<sup>st</sup> century will depend on whether they expand people’s choices, whether they help create an environment for people to develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives.<sup>lv</sup>

The UNDP, then, does not *discount* economic growth, it merely distinguishes such growth as *means*, instead of *ends* to development, whereas modernization theory and the traditional capitalist model of development had considered economic growth as the *end* to development. The UNDP report discusses, in this case, the goals set forth by the UN General Assembly of 2000. The assembly recognized the

gross inequalities in human development worldwide and recognized ‘their collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level.’ In addition to declaring their support for freedom, democracy and human rights, they set eight goals for development and poverty eradication, to be achieved by 2015.<sup>lvi</sup>

These goals included the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, achievement of universal primary education, promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women, reduction of child mortality, the improvement of maternal health, the eradication of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, the assurance of environmental sustainability, and the development of a global partnership for development.<sup>lvii</sup>

The United Nations, therefore, had a large part in bringing women and those issues considered to be “women’s issues” into the official discourse about development, particularly in the discourse about sustainable development (recall the UN quote ‘*Sustainable human development implies engendering the*

*development paradigm*' from the first section of this paper). By declaring 1975 International Women's Year and celebrating it at the First International Women's Conference in Mexico City, then by declaring 1976-1985 the United Nations Decade for Women, the United Nations was responsible for internationalizing the movements about women and development, which will be discussed in detail in the next section. This series of actions by the UN "sparked the creation of institutions and networks worldwide as 'women-and-development' became an area of specialization in the development field."<sup>lviii</sup> Later, the United Nations Development Fund for Women and the International Training and Research Centre for Women were established under the umbrella of the United Nations system.<sup>lix</sup> All of these considerations helped in the institutionalization of the paradigms about women, gender and development; these paradigms were seen "as...internationally recognized set[s] of concepts [that] did much to generalize knowledge and consciousness about women's issues internationally."<sup>lx</sup> At the country level, commissions on women and women's bureaus were established and national women's organizations were formed. In Guatemala, for example, the Oficina Nacional de la Mujer (National Women's Office) was formed in 1981, but continues to have a limited capacity because it is not at the ministry level, but rather is part of the Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión Social (Ministry of Labor and Social Prevision). This limits the office's opportunities for action, and it mostly serves as a center of documentation, though it is responsible for promoting and coordinating women's involvement in the country's economic, social and cultural development.<sup>lxi</sup>

Local and global women's movements also began to work against the powerful western-capitalist tide by engaging in sustainable development practices and

challenging the increasingly market-based global capitalist model...[by] calling for alternative forms of development [including] monitoring institutions to govern and regulate the actions of transnational firms and banks, and...protect[ing] poor communities around the world from the harmful pursuit of profit by wealthy international actors.<sup>lxii</sup>

Though radical political economy is outside the scope of this paper, it must be said that where the traditional capitalist paradigm assumes individuality and the isolation of human actions from other human actions or beings, the radical political economy paradigm views human actions as collective and relative to other human actions and beings. The radical political economy model assumes that human beings act in relation to, rather than in isolation from, one another. Inherent to this paradigm is the belief in the fundamental equality of all human beings and their elemental right to a fair share of material resources.<sup>lxiii</sup> This suggests that sustainable development aimed to bridge the two dominant models of capitalism and radical political economy (or at the least, sustainable development did not alienate either of these models). Sustainable development, particularly as the UN's and the feminists quoted above understood the term, was at least somewhat related to the radical political economy framework in that not only was it defined to recognize the interrelatedness of people across borders, it was also defined to recognized the interrelatedness of people across generations. To illustrate this relationship, a radical political economist subscribing to dependency analysis could argue that economic growth of the current world is coming at the expense of the exploited future world (in terms of resource management).

Clearly, concepts from both the capitalist and radical political economy frameworks have influenced development practitioners and researchers, leading to important additions to the field such as empowerment and participation, sustainable development, human development and women and development. The combination of these concepts has helped to evolve approaches to, practices of, and research on, women and gender in development, particularly with regard to empowerment.

Women, gender and development, has also evolved into a subfield of the development discourse, and it contains several dominant theoretical paradigms. This section offers a glimpse of how the notion of empowerment is treated within two of these paradigms: Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD).

## **Theoretical Perspectives about Women/Gender and Development**

### ***Women in Development (WID)***

The Women in Development (WID) framework was derived from Ester Boserup's 1970 landmark work *Women's role in Economic Development* and is considered the "oldest and most dominant" of the theoretical perspectives about women or gender and development.<sup>lxiv</sup> Its theoretical basis lies in modernization theory and it therefore views the individual as the unit for change and stresses Western Values, often pitting modern democratic societies against their more traditional counterparts, viewing them as repressive and male-dominated. The paradigm views women as one monolithic whole and minimizes the racial, cultural or class differences between them. It assumes that women are not fully integrated into the process of development and therefore concentrates on making the legal and administrative changes necessary for fuller inclusion of women in economic systems. Structural bases for these inequities are ignored, so women's subordination and oppression are not challenged under this paradigm, in fact, such negative social aspects are passively accepted as unchangeable realities.<sup>lxv</sup>

This paradigm originally ascribed to the 'trickle down' economics approach to reducing poverty, but has evolved since Boserup first introduced it. When scholars and practitioners realized that modernization's benefits had not reached women in the 'trickle down' process, and that it had disproportionately negative effects on women's status, the Women in Development framework fragmented into at least five distinct policy approaches. These variants included the 'welfare approach,' the 'equity approach,' the 'anti-poverty approach,' the 'efficiency approach,' and the 'empowerment approach' – each of which have different ideas as to the meaning of empowerment and how to most effectively foster it in the development process. Caroline Moser outlines these various approaches and evaluates them in terms of their abilities to fulfill their practical gender needs and their strategic gender interests.<sup>lxvi</sup> In doing so, she references Maxine Molyneux's landmark study that differentiates the two types of gender interests.<sup>lxvii</sup> The distinction between the two drives the empowerment issue within the workings of the various WID policy approaches. According to Molyneux, Strategic gender interests are a result of women's assessment of their current subordination

against the backdrop of their ideal and empowered situation. Strategic gender interests result in a set of strategic objectives necessary to overcome women's subordination. Molyneux cites examples such as

the abolition of the sexual division of labor, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and child care, and the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination, the establishment of political equality, freedom of choice over childbearing and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women....<sup>lxviii</sup>

Clearly, most of these strategic interests fall into the top two tiers of the Women's Empowerment Framework: control and participation.<sup>lxix</sup> Conversely,

Practical gender interests are given inductively and arise from the concrete conditions of women's positioning by virtue of their gender within the division of labor.... Practical interests are usually a response to an immediate perceived need and they do not entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality.... [they] cannot be of class effects... [and they] do not in themselves challenge prevailing forms of gender subordination, even though they arise directly out of them.<sup>lxx</sup>

The various WID policy approaches, detailed in Table 1 of the Appendix, are not mutually exclusive.<sup>lxxi</sup> In fact, they have informed each other, and as the reader can see, many have evolved out of each other. The 'welfare approach' and the 'efficiency approach' remain the most widely used of the WID approaches. The 'welfare approach' is favored because of its dominant non-threatening, non-challenging aspects. Moser states

Although the top-down handout nature of so many welfare programmes tends to create dependency rather than assisting women to become more independent, they remain popular precisely because they are politically safe, not questioning or changing the traditionally accepted role of women within the gender division of labour. Such assumptions tend to result in the exclusion of women from development programmes operated by the mainstream development agencies which provide a significant proportion of development funds.<sup>lxxii</sup>

The 'welfare approach' remains popular precisely because it fits into the Women's Empowerment Framework at the lowest of levels and does not move upward in terms of Oxfam's hierarchy. If it were to move upward, and question, for example, structures that impede women's access to credit, education, land or employment, it would become slightly more threatening to the existing order that maintains structural inequities – it would no longer be considered 'welfare.' Welfare in the Oxfam model, though, is not deemed universally ineffective. In situations where basic needs are not being met, welfare may be the most appropriate approach. For example, consider the situation of indigenous refugees during the early 1980s in Guatemala. Without access to the most basic of resources, these refugees were not interested in questioning structures of oppression, they were interested in the daily subsistence of their families. Programs were developed to help meet these needs. Many of these programs evolved with the needs and interests of this population.<sup>lxxiii</sup>

The 'efficiency approach' remains popular because Structural Adjustment Policies have pushed productivity as economic models through international aid agencies and national governments. These Structural Adjustment Policies

implicitly assume that processes carried out by women in such unpaid activities as caring for children, gathering fuel, processing food, preparing meals and nursing the sick will continue regardless of the way in which resources are reallocated.<sup>lxxiv</sup>

What happens in this 'efficiency machine' is that costs are shifted from the paid to the unpaid economy, and the elasticity of women's unpaid labor is exploited in order to implement projects and programs. The result

of women increasing their labor inside and outside the household is not an increase in time spent laboring, given these women “have always worked between twelve and eighteen hours per day, depending on such factors as the composition of the household, the time of year and their skills.”<sup>lxxxv</sup> Rather, the result is a competition between paid and unpaid work, where low-income women reallocate their time, resulting in “important impacts on children, on women themselves and on the disintegration of the household.”<sup>lxxxvi</sup> With regard to the Women’s Empowerment Framework, the ‘efficiency approach’ does not allow women’s empowerment beyond the third level of the hierarchy – the “conscientisation” level. It obstructs (at the very least it does not *foster*) gender awareness about the need for an agreeable sexual division of labor since the basis for the approach lies in the exploitation of women’s unpaid labor. Likewise, the equity and anti-poverty approaches advocate women’s increased access to employment and other resources, but do not address strategic needs. Neither foster a greater awareness or increased scrutiny of structural inequities or the sexual division of labor.

The ‘empowerment approach’ and the ‘equity approach’ both seek to satisfy practical gender needs, but the ‘equity approach’ seeks to reach strategic gender interests indirectly through practical gender needs. The ‘empowerment approach’ departs from the top-down ‘welfare approach’ in that it “seeks through bottom-up women’s organizations to raise women’s consciousness to challenge their subordination.”<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Interestingly, the ‘empowerment approach’ remains unpopular except among Third World women’s NGOs and their supporters.<sup>lxxxviii</sup> A possible explanation for this widely unpopular approach’s popularity among third world women is the mere fact that this is the only WID approach that climbs the hierarchy set forth by Oxfam. Due to this approach’s potentiality in terms of challenging the existing order, it remains unsupported by third world governments and lending agencies and therefore remains marginal in terms of development practice.

In general terms, the WID paradigm advocated making development *more efficient* by including women. Women’s practical needs were considered, but the causes of their subordination were not questioned. “It was (and continues to be) an approach with ‘instrumentalises’ women, using them as a resource for meeting other development goals such as population control, sustainable development, and so on.”<sup>lxxxix</sup> While the ‘empowerment approach’ contains traces of increased empowerment and equity for women, it does not address the highest level of the Women’s Empowerment Framework, balance of control across genders. The ‘empowerment approach’ approximates this level of the hierarchy, but does not adequately address the issue of control (including women’s control over their lives and reproductive choices, the lives of their children, and the development process). Besides the empowerment approach, the other WID approaches fall much shorter with regard to the Women’s Empowerment Framework. However, the Oxfam framework leaves space for the suitability of WID approaches, particularly the welfare approach. Generally, the WID framework does not challenge the structural causes of the practical problems it attempts to ameliorate, but it is not discarded as disempowering; it is instead retained for situations in which such an approach would be most appropriate.

### ***Gender and Development (GAD)***

The Gender and Development (GAD) paradigm emerged in the 1980s as an alternative to the WID paradigm. Its theoretical basis lies in socialist feminist thought, though it does not challenge the “prevailing development paradigm;”<sup>lxxx</sup> it challenges the assumption that particular gender roles belong to one or the other of the sexes and uses the term *gender* (instead of the biologically-assigned terms *women* and *men*) to demonstrate the social nature of gender roles: “Unlike sex, which is biologically determined, gender roles change from one place and culture to another and across time.”<sup>lxxxi</sup> Accordingly, this is the first paradigm to consider the dynamicity and interrelatedness of women’s and men’s needs. Within this paradigm, development is considered to be a complex process influenced by political and socioeconomic factors where “value systems [have] led to a sexual division of labor.”<sup>lxxxii</sup> Since gender inequities affect all areas of women’s lives, this paradigm considers all these areas (i.e. within the household, in the workplace, in sexuality, health, education). It rejects the public/private dichotomy in recognizing the contributions of women both inside and outside the household, and rejects other dichotomies including urban/rural, production/reproduction, formal/informal dichotomies.<sup>lxxxiii</sup> It considers the oppression women may experience within their homes and families and recognizes that oppression and patriarchy exist across racial, cultural and class divides. It holds the state responsible for providing emancipatory social services for women and concentrates on strengthening women’s legal rights, particularly in terms of laws pertaining inheritance and land. This paradigm created new space for women to strategically choose to work within development agencies in order to promote their own agendas. In this model, women are considered to be active participants of change rather than passive recipients of development aid. As such, it stresses the need for women to organize themselves into a stronger collective voice.

Jo Rowlands, in her case study about how empowerment is incorporated into two Honduran development programs, argues that WID’s ‘empowerment approach’ may be regrounded inside the GAD framework, particularly if combined with bottom up or ‘actor-oriented strategies’ for development.<sup>lxxxiv</sup> This is only true if the approach and the framework allow for (and promote) critical analysis of the reasons for gender inequalities. Rowlands argues

Women’s practical needs result from their position in society; that position means that women also have strategic needs, that challenge the gender hierarchies and other mechanisms of subordination. [The distinction between practical and strategic] has made it possible to think about how to address gender and development issues in a pragmatic way without losing sight of the fundamental changes required to tackle gender inequalities. Eliminating male bias and moving women out of the condition of near-universal subordination they still currently occupy will not be achieved by tinkering with conditions of employment or national accounting procedures; it will require cultural, economic and political changes. The power dynamics between men and women will have to be addressed.<sup>lxxxv</sup>

While those who subscribe to the GAD framework may disagree with Ms. Rowlands’ seeming interest in beginning from the top of the Oxfam hierarchy and working downward, it raises an interesting question about the way in which the Women’s Empowerment Framework might best be approached – bottom-up or top-down (and under which circumstances are each of these approaches most appropriate?). She also raises

an interesting idea in pointing out the similarities between the WID ‘empowerment approach’ and the larger GAD paradigm. This notion leads to a larger question about the separation and relatedness between the WID and GAD frameworks.

The GAD framework is interested in the complexities of women’s subordination and attempts to challenge the fundamental principles of this subordination. Rowlands cites the example of a program lacking women’s participation. Rather than increasing women’s participation through targeting women heads-of-household for project involvement, the GAD approach might explore societal gender relations that have led to this lack of women’s involvement. The GAD approach uncovers other

pressures on women, such as domestic violence and abandonment, that affect not only their economic or project participation, but also their other activities and responsibilities and their general well-being. These gender issues affect women’s lives at least as profoundly as their lack of access to credit or training opportunities.

The GAD framework is clearly concerned with the higher levels of the empowerment hierarchy – participation and control; it is interested in posing a challenge to the societal factors that lead to women’s subordination. It raises the interesting question of how the empowerment framework might best be approached and utilized. Rowlands suggests approaching issues affecting women’s subordination and disempowerment from the top of the hierarchal pyramid to the bottom, that is, approaching women’s material welfare through their control of resources. The GAD framework is concerned with all phases of women’s empowerment as related to the Oxfam hierarchy.

These paradigms and others not discussed in this analysis (Women, Environment and Development (WED), Women and Development (WAD)), share as many similarities as they do differences.

No one of these paradigms is clear cut, and there is clearly overlap between them (as demonstrated by Rowlands’ notion of transferring WID’s ‘empowerment approach’ to the GAD paradigm). Furthermore, *gender* – the term – has been adopted by WID programs to demonstrate that male development interests are not being undermined or ignored.<sup>lxxxvi</sup> However, as a result of pressure by feminists, WID program policies have more closely aligned with the policies of the GAD framework (in addressing more levels of the Women’s Empowerment Framework hierarchy). To demonstrate this shift, WID began to question and critique “the structure of gender relations and [are beginning to promote] policies and programs that challenge fundamental inequalities.”<sup>lxxxvii</sup>

## Conclusion

This analysis has traced the evolution of the women, gender and development paradigms from diffusionist thought to capitalism, from capitalism to local and global responses to it, including the incorporation women and the notion of empowerment into the development discourse. It has attempted to show the interrelatedness of the various phases of discourse about development, particularly the discourse with regard to women and gender in the development process. It traced the Women’s Empowerment Framework through the *Women in Development* and the *Gender and Development* paradigms and concludes that despite their

similarities, the WID and GAD aspire to very different levels of empowerment. With regard to the Women's Empowerment Framework, GAD "scores" much higher than WID in that the GAD framework is built around challenging the very source impeding women's participation and empowerment: structural inequities. Conversely, the approaches pertaining to the WID framework (with the exception of the 'empowerment approach') are interested more in providing practical goods and services for women without addressing their structural gender interests.

This analysis is built on the assumption that the Oxfam model is best approached from the bottom-up. It therefore assumes that women may not seek their strategic gender interests (i.e. participation, control) until they have satisfied their practical gender needs (i.e. material welfare, access to credit). It may be the case, however, that practical gender needs are best fulfilled through first satisfying strategic gender interests, as suggested by Jo Rowlands. In other words, basic needs might be best satisfied through women first participating in the development process (and sharing the control of defining development's objectives and processes). If this were to be the case, and the bottom-up nature of the Oxfam hierarchical structure were to be upset, a reexamination of these frameworks would be necessary wherein a top-down approach to the hierarchical structure is assumed. Such an analysis would be useful, in any event, due to the complexities of these frameworks and the contextual distinctions that deem one or the other more appropriate in any given situation.

Which leads to the general conclusion of this analysis: each of the paradigms examined in this study have their appropriate contexts. The Gender and Development framework, with its focus on resolving societal causes of women's inequity, is more suited to climb the hierarchical Women's Empowerment Framework and therefore is more easily labeled 'empowering for women.' The Women in Development framework, however, should not be discarded as 'disempowering,' as it is a useful paradigm when the most basic of needs are not met. Welfare aid, though not empowering in terms of a bottom-up approach to the Oxfam framework, is necessary in the most urgent of situations where the goals of programs are to feed, clothe, or make safe a particular population.

It is agreed across the WID and GAD paradigms that gender equity in development depends on the integration of empowerment, and appropriate policy intervention to foster increased empowerment. The paradigms disagree, however, on what constitutes *appropriate* policy intervention and how empowerment is best achieved and/or maintained. Empowerment should lead not only to an increase in women's accessibility to resources and programs (the direct goals of the various women, gender and development paradigms), but policy intervention should lead to increased education and research on the subfield of women, gender and development. This gender-sensitive research should improve our understanding of development problems and should lead to appropriate solutions. It should also lead to increased accessibility of information on the debate. Anelli Alba asserts "researchers and students in developing countries have expressed frustration in accessing gender programs and resource materials. In developing countries, the spread and depth of these programs and resource materials are still more limited than in developed countries."<sup>lxxxviii</sup> It is the

researcher's responsibility then to contribute to the accessibility of information about the gender debate. It is my hope that this analysis and its subsequent chapters will do just that. By completing my case study fieldwork with the women of Asociación Mayalán in Guatemala, I hope to contribute to the debate in the context of Guatemala. I further hope that this work will stimulate discussions within Asociación Mayalán and others about how best to integrate gender needs and interests into development planning and programming.

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<sup>i</sup> Due to the scope of this paper, those paradigms derived from the capitalist model of development (either from within it or as a response to it) will receive particular attention, and this attention is not meant to diminish paradigms outside of the capitalist model – it is simply another project for another time. This does not allow for the radical political economy to be fully developed as an alternative model of development. The radical political economy paradigm will be briefly discussed, however, in terms of its importance to the evolution of the capitalist model to incorporate other considerations in development theory. The reader is asked to understand that this is by no means an exhaustive analysis of these approaches. This section is meant to animate the field of women and gender in development by providing insight into these frameworks. For a further analysis, please refer to (1.) Rathgeb, Eva M. (1990). “WID, WAD, and GAD: Trends in Research and Practice,” in *Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. XXIV, July; and (2.) Visvanathan, Nalini. “Introduction to Part 1” in Nalini Visvanathan, Lynn Duggan, Laurie Nisonoff and Nan Wiegersma, eds., *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*, p. 17-32, (London: Zed Books Ltd., 2002). The latter will provide further reading on the topic.

<sup>ii</sup> The case study chapter will take place during the summer of 2003 with Asociación Mayalán, a fascinating, community-based, economic development organization centered on indigenous and women’s rights. Within the Asociación exist several community-based women’s cooperatives, many of which were formed by widows who lost their partners during Guatemala’s civil war. In conjunction with Asociación Mayalán, I will continue the work I did there last summer in facilitating discussion among various women’s weaving cooperatives to create a shared vision for the future of the Asociación. Additionally, I will work with these cooperatives in organizing workshops on domestic violence, women’s rights, self-esteem, and literacy. I will conduct research for the Asociación, determining business and marketing opportunities for the sale of Mayan products produced by the women’s cooperatives, and help to locate additional donors for the young girls’ scholarship program. In working with this ambitious organization, I hope to gain perspective on manners in which community-based women’s groups are empowering themselves through education and through working to end poverty in their communities while actively preserving traditional and cultural values.

<sup>iii</sup> Young, 366.

<sup>iv</sup> UNDP, 12 (Emphasis theirs).

<sup>v</sup> UNDP, p. iii, p. 12

<sup>vi</sup> Sen, Gita and Grown, Caren. (1987). *Development, Crisis and Alternative Visions: Third World Women’s Perspectives*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

<sup>vii</sup> Visvanathan, p. 26.

<sup>viii</sup> Oxfam, p. xi.

<sup>ix</sup> Oxfam, p. 292-293.

<sup>x</sup> Some, however, view this framework as limiting and believe women’s *equity* is not the goal. They recognize that women and men are both part of a larger *system*. They believe that strategic gender interests are only middle-order needs and do not lead to empowerment. To these “systems theorists,” the Oxfam Women’s Empowerment Framework achieves only middle-order levels inside of Maslov’s hierarchy of needs. Self-actualization, the highest order need according to Maslov, is beyond the Oxfam model (where there is a distinction between self-actualization and Self-actualization – that is, one’s consciousness of their self in the universe as a part of a larger community or *system*).

<sup>xi</sup> Information for figure derived from The Oxfam Gender Training Manual, p. 292-293.

<sup>xii</sup> Oxfam, p. 294-295.

<sup>xiii</sup> Hollnsteiner and Badran, quoted in Karl (1995), p. 94.

<sup>xiv</sup> Webster’s, p. 543.

<sup>xv</sup> Bromley, p. 250.

<sup>xvi</sup> Bromley, p. 250.

<sup>xvii</sup> Bromley, p. 250.

<sup>xviii</sup> Bromley, p. 250.

<sup>xix</sup> Seager, p. 104. Created in response to the feminist critique of the more widely-used gender-blind standard of living index, the Gender Development Index illuminates issues such as domestic violence, sexual exploitation, poverty and unemployment. The other Western Hemispheric country ranked “low” was Haiti. The gender disparities present in Guatemala were outweighed by only ten countries in the world, including Afghanistan, Niger, Sierra Leone, and Angola.

<sup>xx</sup> Seager, p. 78.

<sup>xxi</sup> Flores Rios, 9 April 2002.

<sup>xxii</sup> Duggan, p. 107.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Other, more specific questions to be answered include: How is the term ‘development’ understood by women in the western highlands of Guatemala? Who defines the goals of development in the context of grassroots community-based organizations? How and by whom do these organizations understand national development goals to be determined, and how does this understanding compare with the reality of who is determining national development goals? How are women participating in defining progress and/or the goals of development?; under what conditions? How are women’s needs being met in the development process? Under what conditions are women’s issues included in the development discourse?

<sup>xxiv</sup> Oxfam, p. 291-292.

<sup>xxv</sup> The chapter following this analysis will explore the Guatemalan case much more fully. As a precursor, this analysis will provide a thorough understanding of how empowerment fits into the theories driving women, gender and development policies and programs and will contextualize these theories whenever possible. Questions for fieldwork are outlined in the appendix.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Bromley, p. 250.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Bromley, p. 250-251.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Bromley, p. 250.

<sup>xxix</sup> Bromley, p. 250.



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<sup>lxx</sup> Molyneux, p. 283-284.

<sup>lxxi</sup> Moser, p. 62.

<sup>lxxii</sup> Moser, p. 61.

<sup>lxxiii</sup> Asociación Mayalán is one of these organizations. It was developed in the 1980s to provide welfare assistance to the fleeing refugee population in Guatemala. Once the civil war ended, the Asociación evolved to serve the higher-order interests of the population, for example cultural preservation, indigenous rights in the legal system, literacy and business skills training, domestic violence and gender inequity.

<sup>lxxiv</sup> Moser, p. 71.

<sup>lxxv</sup> Moser, p. 71-72.

<sup>lxxvi</sup> Moser, p. 72.

<sup>lxxvii</sup> Moser, p. 76.

<sup>lxxviii</sup> For a clearer distinction between the empowerment and welfare approaches, consider the distinction provided by Paolo Freire (1970) between humanitarian and humanist approaches to development and aid. Humanitarian aid provides short term help in the form of material resources. While there certainly is an appropriate time and occasion for such aid, it is generally unsustainable (it ends) and is not conceived of among those it aids. It therefore cannot lead to self-empowerment. Freire advocated a very different sort of development which begins when the oppressed recognize inequity and collectively seek political, economic and personal empowerment, leading to liberation (in this case from poverty, discrimination, or limited access to resources based on gender).

<sup>lxxix</sup> Rowlands, p. 5.

<sup>lxxx</sup> Karl, p. 102.

<sup>lxxxi</sup> Karl, p. 102.

<sup>lxxxii</sup> Rowlands, p. 6.

<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Rowlands, p. 6.

<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Rowlands, p. 7.

<sup>lxxxv</sup> Rowlands, p. 7.

<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Connelly, Li, MacDonald, and Parpart, p. 64.

<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Connelly, Li, MacDonald, and Parpart, p. 64.

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Alba, p. vi.

Table 2: Women, Gender and Development Frameworks

	<b>Women in Development (WID)</b>	<b>Women and Development (WAD)*</b>	<b>Gender and Development (GAD)</b>
<b>Origins</b>	Early 1970s after the publication of Ester Boserup's book <i>Women's Role in Economic Development</i> . Term WID articulated by American liberal feminists.	Emerged from a critique of the modernization theory and the WID approach in the second half of the 1970s.	As an alternative to the WID focus this approach developed in the 1980s.
<b>Theoretical base</b>	Linked with the modernization theory of the 1950s to 1970s. By the 1970s it was realized that benefits of modernization had somehow not reached women, and in some sectors undermined their existing position.	Draws from the dependency theory.	Influenced by socialist feminist thinking.
<b>Focus</b>	Need to integrate women in economic systems, through necessary legal and administrative changes. Women's productive role emphasized. Strategies to be developed to minimize disadvantages of women in the productive sector.	Women have always been part of development processes—therefore integrating women in development is a myth. Focuses on relationship between women and development processes.	Offers a holistic perspective looking at all aspects of women's lives. It questions the basis of assigning specific gender roles to different sexes.
<b>Contribution</b>	Women's questions became visible in the arena of development theory and practice.	Accepts women as important economic actors in their societies. Women's work in the public and private domain is central to the maintenance of their societal structures. Looks at the nature of integration of women in development which sustains existing international structures of inequality.	Does not exclusively emphasize female solidarity—welcomes contributions of sensitive men. Recognizes women's contribution inside and outside the household, including non-commodity production.

<p><b>Features</b></p>	<p>WID was solidly grounded in traditional modernization theory which assumed wrongly that women were not integrated in the process of development. It accepted existing social structures—it did not question the sources of women’s subordination and oppression. Non-confrontational approach. It did not question why women had not benefited from development strategies. It treated women as an undifferentiated category overlooking the influence of class, race and culture. Focused exclusively on productive aspects of women’s work, ignoring or minimizing the reproductive side of women’s lives.</p>	<p>Fails to analyze the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production and women’s subordination and oppression. Discourages a strict analytical focus on the problems of women independent of those of men since both sexes are seen to be disadvantages with oppressive global structure based on class and capital. Singular preoccupation with women’s productive role at the expense of the reproductive side of women’s work and lives. Assumes that once international structures become more equitable, women’s position would improve WAD doesn’t question the relations between gender roles.</p>	<p>GAD rejects the public/private dichotomy. It gives special attention to oppression of women in the family by entering the so called ‘private sphere’. It emphasizes the state’s duty to provide social services in promoting women’s emancipation. Women seen as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development assistance. Stresses the need for women to organize themselves for a more effective political voice. Recognizes that patriarchy operates within and across classes to oppress women. Focuses on strengthening women’s legal rights, including the reform of inheritance and land laws. It talks in terms of upsetting the existing power relations in society between men and women.</p>
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Source: Adapted by Suneeta Dhar and Aanchal Kapur, Kriti Newsletter, 1, 1992-3, from Visvanathan (1997).

\*WAD is included in this table for comparative purposes, though it is not discussed in the analysis.

Table 1: WID Policy Approaches

Issues	Welfare	Equity	Anti-poverty	Efficiency	Empowerment
Origin	Earliest approach (pre-WID) -Modernization Theory/Economic Development Model	Original WID approach – originated in 1976-85 UN Women’s Decade	Second WID approach; originated in 1970s	Third WID approach; predominant since 1980s debt crisis	Most recent approach (1975 onward); articulated by Third World women and their grassroots organizations
Period Most Popular	1950-70 but still popular because of its uncriticalness	UN Decade on Women 1976-85	1970s – present; limited popularity, particularly among NGOs	1980s until present; most popular of the WID approaches	Unpopular except with Third World women’s NGOs and their supporters
Focus	Practical gender needs within reproductive roles (motherhood is seen as the most important role for women in society and “child-rearing is the most effectove role for women in all aspects of economic development” <sup>lxxxviii</sup> ) -Attempts to bring more women into the development process as “better mothers”	Strategic gender interests (equity between men and women) -state interventions grant women political and economic independence (designed to combat inequality with men in the market place) -Assumes economic strategies have had negative impact on women -Women’s multiple roles are recognized as contirbuting to economic growth	A ‘toned down’ version of the equity approach (because of equity approach’s criticism) -Practical gender Needs; increase productivity of poor women; women’s poverty and economic inequality is problem of underdevelopment, not subordination; emphasis is not on reducing inequality, but on reducing income inequality	Practica gender needs are met by relying on women’s multiple roles, the ‘elasticity’ of their time, and their unpaid work -Development is more efficient and effective with women’s contribution; women’s participation is equated with women’s equity	Strategic gender interests through bottom-up mobilization around practical gender needs -Empower women through greater self- reliance; women’s subordination not only the problem of men but also fo colonial and neo-colonial oppression -Women experience oppression differently based on their race, class, colonial history and current position in global economic order, therefore must challenge oppressive structures simultaneously at different levels -Women must increase their power; power is zero-sum, game, men do not losepower as women gain it; power is the capacity of women to increase self- reliance and internal strength (right to choices, influence, resources) -Inclusion of women and gender-aware organizations in planning process through political mobilization, consultation, participatory planning, consciousness raising and popular education
Method of implemen-tation	-Women are seen as passive recipients of development aid and “the main method of implementation is through ‘top-down’ handouts of free goods and services.” -Training is not usually included, and when it is, “it is for those skills deemed appropriate for ‘non- working’ housewives and mothers.” <sup>lxxxviii</sup>	-Influence policy to include women in USAID project -‘Bring’ women into development process through granting access to market place and employment -‘Top-down’ legislative measures -Participatory planning practices	-Small-scale income- generating projects, particularly those initiated by NGOs -Increasing women’s access to employment and income-generating opportunities through improved access to resources	-Encourage extension of women’s working day; “shifting of costs from the paid to the unpaid economy” <sup>lxxxviii</sup> -IMF and World Bank led reallocation of resources to restor balance of payments equilibrium and increase exports and growth rates; structural adjust ment programs)	-Long-term strategies; “national liberation from colonial and neo- colonial domination, shifts from export-led strategies in agriculture and greater control over the activities of multinationals” <sup>lxxxviii</sup> -Short term strategies including food production through a diversified agricultural base, formal and informal sector employment

<p>Problems/ Criticisms</p>	<p>-Negative effects on women were discovered when it was realized that modernization theory had failed in the Third World. -Women are excluded from development programs “operated by the mainstream development agencies which provide a significant proportion of development funds”<sup>lxxxviii</sup> -Strategic gender interests ignored (i.e. right of women to control reproduction)</p>	<p>-Viewed as reflecting Western feminism’s preoccupation with equality, not Third World women’s interests; “inappropriate application of Western values regarding women’s work”<sup>lxxxviii</sup> -considered threatening -unpopular with governments</p>	<p>-Employment programs alter gender division of labor within household and may also alter balance of power between men and women within the family -Encourages projects in gender-specific occupations instead of by introducing women to new fields; preference for rural-based projects; targets only low-income women or head of household women; rarely participatory -Strategic gender interests ignored (i.e. domestic labor, child care, autonomy)</p>	<p>-The idea that women are essential to successful development efforts does not necessarily mean that development improves conditions for women; cannot assume that economic participation increases women’s status or equity; paid work and unpaid work are competing for women’s time, impacting children, women and households -Lack of education and technology also affect women’s participation and are not addressed in this framework -Problems with household taking on burden of structural adjustment include increased domestic violence, mental health disorders, increased number of women headed households due to breakdown of nuclear family structures -Fails to satisfy any strategic gender interests; because of reduction in resource allocation, also a reduction in practical gender needs met</p>	<p>-Underfinanced because it is potentially challenging and avoids Western feminism</p>
<p>Results</p>	<p>-UN, concerned about negative effects of development projects on women and the failure of modernization theory, created 1975 Women’s Year Conference, putting women on the map in terms of providing legitimacy of women’s organizations and later leading to the women’s decade (1976-1985).<sup>lxxxviii</sup> -Creation of equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment approaches.</p>	<p>-1973 Percy Amendment to the US Foreign Assistance Act (mandating US assistance to “help ‘move women into their national economies’ in order to improve [their] status and assist the development process.”<sup>lxxxviii</sup> -UN followed up the International Women’s Year Conference by “call[ing] for equality between [the sexes] requir[ing] that women...be given their fair share of the benefits of development, and recogniz[ing] the need for changes in the traditional role of men as well as women.”<sup>lxxxviii</sup></p>	<p>-NGOs designing income-generating projects to meet practical gender needs of poor women, a new category under this approach.</p>	<p>-UNICEF published recommendations to create adjustment policies ‘with a human face,’ challenging IMF and world Bank to include women’s concerns in forming policy; involving women in defining, developing and implementing these policies -NGO reliance on women’s unpaid time for implementation of projects (i.e. Vaso de Leche campaign in Lima, communal kitchen organizations)</p>	<p>-Traditional organizations moved towards greater awareness of feminist issues -Third World women’s organizations have provided examples utilizing practical gender needs to reach strategic gender interests -“Potentially challenging nature of [this] approach has meant that it remains largely unsupported either by national governments or bilateral aid agencies;”<sup>lxxxviii</sup> underfunded, reliant on voluntary and unpaid women’s time, dependent on donors prepared to support unpopular approach</p>
<p>Sources: Karl, Marilee (1995) and Moser, Caroline O.N. (1993).</p>					