
mujer y desarrollo

Democratic governance
and gender: Possible linkages

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Abstract

This paper has been written within the context of the activities of the ECLAC/Division for the Advancement of Women/United Nations Development Account Project on Democratic Governance and Equality in Gender Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean. Its purpose is to present an overview of the social and institutional changes unfolding in the region and the relationships that exist between democratic governance and the reform of societal gender-based practices. The paper postulates that the new modes of democratic governance take the form of institutional changes, that is to say, they manifest themselves in the rules and regulations that govern the relationships between social actors in various scenarios, in particular between the State and society and between the State, the market and the family. These changes also create opportunities to transform gender roles. At the same time, this paper shows how the shift in relationships between men and women increases the foundations for the support of democratic governance by ensuring that high-level discussions and policy-making effectively mainstream the results achieved and problems overcome in the area of gender inequity.

At the same time, the paper shows that despite the indisputable importance of a focus on gender inequality in those mechanisms of governance that seek to strengthen democracy, the feminist and women's movements have failed to attach sufficient importance to these issues in their agendas. Nor has the influence of gender issues in institutional reforms been sufficiently analyzed or sufficiently visible.

The achievements of the women's movement in organization, in promoting discussion, in developing new agendas, as well as its influence on the behaviours of other political constituencies and the experience that it has acquired in its interactions with governments and parliament, have failed to raise the profile of women in the key reform mechanisms which have been conducted throughout the region. This situation derives both from the persistence of discriminatory practices as well as from policy choices that are explicit or implicit in these movements.

The paper is organized into two sections: in the first section we analyze the state of emergency of the concept of governance, in an environment characterized by major upheavals which create imbalances and instigate institutional changes designed to achieve acceptable standards of governance. This is followed by an analysis of the contents and meanings attributed to the concept of governance and complementary reflection on the relationships that exist between gender and institutions.

The second section studies the subject of governance from the viewpoint of a specific participant, namely the women's movement, which in playing its role within these reforms has made a significant contribution to the democratization of societies and the creation of new institutional frameworks responsible for the formulation of public policies based on gender equality. Later, the paper examines the participation of the women's movement and of gender roles in State reform mechanisms and governance programs, which have taken place in the region.

The contents of this paper are based on an exhaustive bibliographical review, on a survey of National Gender Machineries in the region and on an analysis of secondary information.

I. The Emergence of the Concept of Democratic Governance in a Context of Major Changes

A. The Emergence of the Concept of Governance

In common with most concepts, the notion of governance is not carved in stone. It has a history, it is in flux, and, moreover, its meaning and uses are moulded in accordance with the social and political context and depending on the theoretical perspective from which it is studied.

The concept of governance that has its roots in the social sciences dates back to 1975 in a report prepared by the Trilateral Commission¹ relating to the crisis in democracy. In that document, the concept of governance merely designates the imbalance between the demands of citizens and the State's capacity to respond, and proposes—in an effort to ease that imbalance—to reduce the demand and impose restraints on social mobilization. It did not propose how to expand on the State's capacity to respond, and for that reason constituted a conservative reaction to the growth and diversification of citizens' demands.

¹ The Commission was created in July 1973. It is a private organization in which—according to its most fanatical supporters—the most heavyweight financiers and intellectuals in the world have played a role. In 1975, the Commission asked Michel Crozier, Samuel Huntington and Jo Ji Watanuk, three important intellectuals from each continent, to write reports regarding the issues of greatest concern facing the contemporary world.

As from the 1980's, and especially beginning in the 1990's, the region's socio-economic and politico-cultural landscape is transformed significantly with the deepening of globalization, economic restructuring and democratic transition. These transformations are reflected in more pluralistic lifestyles,² in various mechanisms of wealth-generation and policy-making, in new kinds of societal conflicts and in changes in civic culture. The women's movement, as will be observed in the second section, is an important catalyst for change within this landscape.

The multiple, simultaneous and contradictory effects of these changes create political instability, institutional uncertainty and insecurity and impose enormous demands on governments to react to the quantum shifts that are taking place. The loss of governments' capacity to act, the sacrifice of democratic legitimacy, the coarsening of politics, the diminishing effectiveness of collective action and the abrupt decision to rely on private endeavours, whether they be legal or illegal, illustrate just some of the risks that must be confronted by societies within the region.

But at the same time this scenario opens up opportunities for the emergence of democratic governance by highlighting the need to change the ground-rules that govern the interactions between the various transactors at both national and international levels.

From an economic viewpoint, the fading usefulness of the development strategy based on import substitution which had ruled the roost for over half a century, and the increase in countries' external debt and their difficulties in paying their debts, caused people to rethink their continued reliance on ever-expanding "welfare" states.

In this situation, some international financing agencies first promoted the implementation of austerity policies backed up by structural reforms. The former policies, designed to reduce public expenditure, succeeded in balancing the budgets, reducing rates of inflation and generating surpluses to help debt servicing, but also went hand-in-hand with economic recession and worsening social indicators (Tomassini, 1998).

Structural reform policies,³ with their roots in the Washington Consensus,⁴ succeeded in restoring macro-economic balances, increasing economic liberalization and international economic competitiveness while restoring moderate growth coupled with productive restructuring and, as a result, an upswing in confidence with regard to market mechanisms. At the same time, these measures stimulated capacity building in countries and this enabled the countries in question to gain access to the opportunities offered by the global economy.

That being said, reforms relating to fiscal discipline, privatization policies, decentralization and the changes in the tax system leave their mark upon the infrastructure and the State's political and institutional capacity, in the same way that the reforms aimed at liberalization and deregulation undermine the State's technical and administrative capacities (Sojo, 2002).

Economic changes increase the vulnerability of Latin American economies with regard to the fluctuations of the global economy due in part to the fact that the principles that govern global production and trade and the enforcement mechanisms designed to ensure compliance therewith, necessarily have an impact upon the economic regulations and decisions of national governments.

The implementation of the new economic strategy is at loggerheads with the traditional structure of State institutions, and it inevitably collides with the precarious mechanisms of governmental management, while exposing the unsuitability of political policies and the

² The fact that more pluralistic lifestyles do exist should not be viewed as incompatible with the assertion that the mass media and the dissemination of consumer expectations have as their corollary the pushing down of behaviours to the lowest common denominator.

³ Fiscal discipline, control of public expenditure, improvement of tax systems, management of a free exchange rate, trade liberalization, investment promotion, the privatization of public companies, the deregulation of the economy, the reduction in the size of the State.

⁴ The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the US Treasury Department participated in the Washington Consensus (1989).

obsolescence of legal systems. In many cases, in order to implement economic reforms, governments use their authority in a discretionary way and this enables them to alter legislation and wield influence over the judiciary, thereby instigating considerable institutional uncertainty. In this connection, the institutionalization of new economic regulations promoted from a global perspective is frequently ill-matched with the institutional arrangements already in place within the domestic political arena. This implies the co-existence of two kinds of legal systems: one system which regulates the economic environment (more rules, less uncertainty); and the system that oversees the world of politics —so often characterized by the exercise of arbitrary power and patronage.⁵

In short, in ensuring that power relationships are conducted and organized on a far larger spatial scale, globalization necessarily entails a sacrifice of power on the part of national governments, and their institutions are overwhelmed as a result of the emergence of new social practices at national and international levels. The dominant economic policy weakens the power of the State; in redefining the State's role and its economic and social responsibilities, it bolsters the private sector and ensures that market forces carry the day (Medellín Torres, 2002).

From a political perspective, while it is true that globalization fosters liberal democracy as a dominant form of political organization, it also alters the traditional benchmarks of politics and transforms the whole concept of the Nation, the State, the political parties, the social classes (Tomassini, 1998). In general, studies and surveys suggest low levels of trust in the legitimacy of the State's political institutions, of political parties and their leaders,⁶ and senior policymakers.⁷ As a result, although most people claim support for voluntary associations of a permanent nature, they maintain low levels of effective participation (Latinobarómetro 1996).⁸

At a social level we observe sharper conflicts associated with urban marginalization, unemployment, and the informal sector of the economy. The social segmentation that is increased as a result of the changes in the organization of production and labour further diversify employment arrangements and living conditions, and this has implications for the general public's access to information and knowledge. A sizable proportion of the population is excluded from the benefits of the modern world. These disparities can, moreover, impose constraints upon the development of social organizations and the functioning of mechanisms that foster dialogue, negotiation and conflict resolution. At the same time, the increase in social aspirations, and the fact that these are so multifaceted, put pressures on a State originally designed to manage societies that were more structured and more cohesive in nature.

Studies on Human Development carried out by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in a number of different countries, in particular, Chile over the last few years, show a diminution of interpersonal trust and a reduced willingness to lobby for changes that benefit society as a whole.⁹ This trend complicates collective endeavour and hinders the emergence of effective leadership in the social, political, economic and cultural spheres.

⁵ While new economic institutions aim to eliminate contingencies in property rights, price regulation, capital mobility, the manipulation of the exchange rate and interest rates, and the enforcement of contractual rights, the fact remains that political decisions are often unpredictable given the arbitrary nature of political authority and the lack of transparency in electoral campaign financing.

⁶ For example, the electorate rejects procedures for nominating candidates for electoral office, electoral systems that do not adequately reflect majorities or minorities —not to mention the frequent lack of transparency in electoral campaign financing.

⁷ The loss in legitimacy is mirrored by the emasculation of political parties and the marked volatility of an electorate, which is fickle in its choice of political candidates.

⁸ Participation is greater in local organizations, and there is greater apathy with regard to political parties.

⁹ On this issue, Joan Prats points out that in this region, contrary to what can be observed in the development of European cities, well-to-do citizens are able to attend and protect their own necessities and to avoid being affected by the unhealthy life conditions of the whole provoked by inadequate and insufficient urban services related to health, education, water supplies and transportation.

On the other hand, we see how the difficulties involved in empowering the citizenry due in part to the limited power and responsibilities of local governments,¹⁰ as well as to income disparities, unemployment and differences in quality of life —could have the effect of luring marginalized individuals into networks of unlawful trade and trafficking at the domestic and international levels. In effect, these underground networks are magnets for the more marginalized members of society.

Notwithstanding these risks and the tendency toward greater social fragmentation, civil society has played a more prominent role over the last decades. The greater levels of information and the plurality of interests also increase the demands by communities, organizations and individuals to participate in the decisions that affect them. Likewise, the national social actors —as well as feminist, indigenous, environmental, and human rights pressure groups— tend to look beyond national boundaries, giving rise to a kind of civil global society, and this increases its capacity to lobby for an increased role in public decision-making both at national and international levels.

From a cultural perspective, new technology has profoundly altered everyday life: this has had implications for the skills that people possess, the structure of professions, the labour market, and social and cultural life. Split-second global communication constitutes an indisputable cultural revolution that provides a gateway for the value systems, preferences, demands, attitudes and public modes of behaviour of those groups and nations that have access to these resources.

The revaluation of what constitutes “local” and “individual”, the difficulty involved in forging the diverse attitudes toward progress into a cohesive national identity, not to mention migration flows and the patterns of community membership to which they give rise; these phenomena are chipping away at the underpinnings of a unified national culture. The States have become entities that are both multi-cultural and pluri-national, which makes it imperative for us to devise fresh approaches toward citizenship.

Finally, from an institutional viewpoint, the emergence of new and diverse social practices calls into question those conventions, rules and regulations that have governed relations between individuals and communities within the spheres of the family, the economy, politics and culture, at the national and international levels.

Within this context of profound economic, social and cultural change, we are witnessing an increasing focus on democratic governance. The effects of globalization, market-oriented economic reforms, the emergence of societies that are more complex and multifaceted, the steadily broadening range of citizens’ interests, together with their tendency to intervene more assertively in public policy questions, intensify the pressure on the State, which is ill-equipped to accommodate these demands to the unsuitability of its rules, regulations, institutions and limited resources.

The countries in our region therefore run the risk of subsiding into crises of governance of varying degrees of intensity,¹¹ in the absence of profound institutional reforms and efforts to strengthen a democratic culture that allows new social actors to take their seat at the table and chips away at those mechanisms that breed inequality.

B. Meaning and Scope of the Concept of Governance

¹⁰ The Latin American political tradition of strong central government, in conjunction with the existence of highly arbitrary presidential powers, has also meant that our region has been slow to recognize the importance of municipal autonomy. In addition, our region has suffered from a lack of institutional frameworks to decide upon the scope and financial resources of local executive authorities.

¹¹ A crisis of legitimacy associated with the loss of the political balance of power, obstruction of the government’s agenda, and the emergence of moderately severe tensions and conflicts. A crisis of government as a test of political management, with governors having lost control over their constituents. A crisis of governance as a State crisis due to the political non-viability of governmental actions and decisions and the loss of control in the face of tensions and conflicts within society.

Face to face with the scenario that has been described, financial agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) are focusing their discussions on the subject of governance. Some international organizations use the concept of governance to refer to the political reforms necessary to create a suitable framework that promotes the region's integration into the global economy and that facilitates the functioning of modern markets. These organizations relate governance to the countries' capacity to adapt to the new development framework, and they also link governance to the capacity of societies to develop virtuous circles of *equilibria* (or at least reasonably stable *equilibria*) between economic, political and cultural systems.¹²

From the perspective of political science, the concept of governance makes reference to the capacity to govern in a stable manner, to the viability of a government (Tomassini, 1998) and, moreover, to the quality of the relationships which the government establishes with society. From this perspective, governance is the institutional manifestation of the problem of a government's legitimacy and this is connected with the capacity to establish rules that create consent and accommodate social demands (Sojo, 2002).

In the analysis of Joan Prats (2002a), governance acquires broader dimensions. It refers to the capacity of a democratic social system to govern itself by confronting challenges and opportunities in a meaningful fashion. From this author's perspective, governance is a hallmark of societies and systems and not an attribute of governments.

The various authors emphasize some aspects over others. The liberal viewpoint highlights the ability of governments to convert individual demands into collective endeavours or into public policies through forming coalitions, brokering the interests of citizens or constituencies that form part of the political system. The structural approach gives greater importance to the power structure that prevails in society, and which is going to determine the spectrum of those social actors that are truly equipped with the capacity to lead societies. The institutional perspective highlights the importance of values, guidelines and organizations, and rules in the actions of the government, which are shared by most of the members of society thanks to efforts to achieve outreach, socialization and co-ordination of interests.

Despite the nuances and differences in the definitions, all the authors concur in pointing out that the central core of governance lies in the quality of the relationships between governments and society. The role of governing lies in building a critical mass, focusing personal interests on a collective goal which, in being defined by whoever governs, confers a sense of empowerment and political control upon the governed.

In the process of acquiring meaningful authority, particular importance is attached to negotiations between strategic stakeholder¹³ —in other words, those participants who have the resources to affect the capacity to co-ordinate demands and interests or even to throw roadblocks in the way. For this reason, commensurate with the varying interests and degrees of power of the social actors, conflict is an inescapable element of governance.

At the same time, the authors are in agreement with respect to the need to transform the ground rules required to build or restore legitimacy in relationships between the State and society and to articulate the political and economic dimensions of this process so as to ensure the growth and economic and political stability of the countries concerned. The concept of governance thus refers not only to changes in the political system within one particular development framework but also to reforms of the political system to catalyze changes in development policies that will truly

¹² For example, the IDB (2000), advocates more intensive development policies, which not only strengthen economic reforms and promote internal socio-economic integration, but also stimulate the modernization of the State and the bolstering of civil society's democratic institutions.

¹³ The concept of "strategic stakeholder" undermines the very notion of democracy and governance. As a result, there is not only greater inequity in the distribution of resources but also a greater polarization of democracy and governance.

ensure the economic growth and stability of the countries concerned. In this respect, politics should lead the way for the economy in the changing environment imposed by globalization and technological change, and economic stability should become a source of the legitimacy of governments.

From this viewpoint, governance is determined by the capacity of governments to lead social actors and society toward socio-economic development, social integration and the consolidation of democratic institutions, in accordance with democratic procedures and thereby resolving the conflicts that arise with respect to these objectives (Urzúa, 1999). We are talking, therefore, about a systematic and simultaneous effort to build democracy, markets and equity. The capacity of governments in a global world does not only depend on economic, social and internal policy dynamics but is also determined by the development of new ground rules at a global level; the implicit challenge here is to trigger mechanisms that can ensure governance at such a global level.

For the achievement of democratic governance it is necessary to advance at least in three directions (see box 1): strengthening of the democratic system, institutionalization, and enhancing the capacity for social performance (Diamond quoted by Sojo, 2002).

Box 1

DIMENSIONS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

1. Strengthening

- ♦ The broadening of support for the rule of law and accountability among the branches of government and *vis-a-vis* citizens.
- ♦ Reduction of institutional barriers that limit political participation and hamper the mobilization of marginalized members of society.
- ♦ Decentralization of power.
- ♦ The establishment of resources that guarantee a greater role, vitality and independence for civil society.
- ♦ Effective protection for the political and civil rights of citizens.

2. Institutionalization

- ♦ Consistency of political practices.
- ♦ Predictability of rules.
- ♦ Acceptance of the fact that democratic systems always have uncertain outcomes.
- ♦ Political structures that allow for the effective brokering of competing interests as well as conflict resolution.
- ♦ Degree of development of the political parties.

3. Social Performance

- ♦ Social and economic results of political dialogue and its effects on the stability of the institutional system.
- ♦ Macro-economic stability and the elimination of poverty.

Source: "Gobernabilidad democrática en Centroamérica: Riesgos y oportunidades" (Governance-Risks & Opportunities), Carlos Sojo (2002), *Paper* No. 48, Instituto Internacional de Gobernabilidad <<http://www.iigov.org/papers/tema1/paper0048.htm>>.

In a nutshell, governance has to do with the capacity of democratic institutions to remain steady in spite of the vagaries of the political process—in other words, the horse-trading among political transactors. Governance further refers to negotiations and the agreements between political social actors; and in addition, it pertains to the capacities of political and social institutions to marshal and articulate interests, as well as to regulate and resolve the conflicts that arise among competing interests.

From an institutional viewpoint, a social system is governable when it is structured from the socio-political standpoint so that all the strategic participants interact in such a way as to adopt collective decisions and resolve their conflicts in conformity with a system of formal or informal rules and procedures, which may possess varying degrees of institutionalization.¹⁴

Under a system of democratic governance, the rules and regulations ought to be the product of participation, deliberation, a matching of interests and mindsets among participants who take into account not only their own personal rights and interests but also the importance of stability and overall progress.

C. Gender Roles and Democratic Governance

The concept of democratic governance makes reference to institutional reform. By institutions, we mean the ground rules that govern relationships between individuals and groups. They delineate (a) the opportunities and (b) the restrictions that individuals and groups encounter in their relationships with others in a variety of international contexts. These institutions—which can be formal (laws and organizations) or informal (the product of repetition and customs)—affect the interactions between people. But more importantly—and this is vital for ensuring the success of efforts to promote inequality— institutions mould the expectations that can be held by people in their relationships with others (Guell, 2002).

Now, the social system of gender relationships is basically an institutional framework—in other words, it is a body of regulations and conventions that crystallize specific concepts and mentalities and influence the perceptions that men and women have of themselves as well as their aspirations. These rules and conventions limit people's access to opportunities at the same time as they narrow their possible range of choices. The system, which we have described, is interwoven with other institutional systems, to the extent that any changes in those institutions—the family, economy, politics, or culture— leave their mark upon gender roles, just as changes in the system of gender relationships have an impact on other institutions.

The system of gender has structural roots (the gender-based division of labour) and institutional roots (rules and regulations) which influence the distribution of resources and opportunities in society and between men and women in particular. Gender roles also manifest themselves at a symbolic level, and are nourished, sustained and replicated in the attitudes, mindsets, and imaginations of the community. It is the gender system that has made it possible for men to harness a richer range of resources—symbols, authority, recognition, goods and services—to a variety of institutional environments.

The social behaviour of men and women, the rules and regulations that govern their interactions, and depictions of feminine and masculine roles are historical by-products, the result of explicit or implicit social negotiations or pacts between various social actors, constituencies, and communities. Women have traditionally entered at a disadvantage in these negotiations due to their lowly status in the sexual division of labour and the various pressures which handicap them as second-class citizens in the division of resources, responsibilities, attributes, capacities, power, and privilege. Beneath a veneer of neutrality, the rules and regulations become widespread and firmly entrench social attitudes and practices that exclude women from opportunities and the possibility of acquiring skills.

¹⁴ The institutions (rules and regulations) which govern communication between transactors are not the product of bureaucratic decision-making, but the end-result of long and acrimonious historical trends which have been neither intentional nor conscious in nature, presided over by a variety of participants characterized by a multitude of competing interests, mental paradigms, partnerships and loyalties.

In this sense, part of the power that is exercised over women is to be found in the ability to develop ground rules that effectively disguise the true nature of power arrangements and create the illusion of consensus and complementary gender roles (Kabeer, 1998).

An example of the practices that contribute to the subordination of women can be found in the preference of economic institutions for certain kinds of skills, generally associated with masculine roles, as well as the preference for economic transactors who are unencumbered by obstacles imposed by their bodies, their families and their sexual identities.

The rules that regulate the division of labour within the family means less time for women to participate in the public arena whereas it leaves men free to participate in the market economy precisely because of the housework carried out by women. The existence of legal and administrative restrictions limits the number of professions to which women have access and constrains the amount of female workers' wages. The fact that women are in a relationship of dependency *vis-à-vis* men is used to "justify" the fact that the resources that are produced by them or targeted at them end up getting used by men, or that women put their own interests to one side in order to benefit other members of the household.

The fact that men have historically ruled the roost in public life has meant that their needs and interests have permeated public institutions and that daily labour patterns and the forms of communication have been geared toward men's capacities and needs. The scant control and power of women to gain access to these public arenas and make decisions mean that women are left out in the cold and consequently their experience, demands and alternatives are shunted aside.

The fact is that women are continuing to face problems when attempting to gain access to traditional leadership positions or high-ranking political posts. There are only a few women at the highest decision-making levels and many of these women are unwilling to challenge patriarchal authority. This explains why the access of women to positions of authority, when they are in a minority, is not necessarily a recipe for greater co-ordination of the interests of women as a whole, and it also explains why they run the risk of having their true needs subsumed into the interests associated with their membership of a particular class, ethnic group, or culture.

Finally, the constitutional reforms of governmental rules and regulations do not directly eliminate the mechanisms of discrimination that are present in legal practice and in the mentalities of the officers of the judiciary and civil servants who must enforce the new regulations.

From another perspective, the rules and regulations in a society have a defining role in the core relationships within the State, the market and the family —relationships in which gender roles are perpetuated. Women have functioned, for example, as a secret buffer to absorb the shocks of economic austerity programs to compensate for declining social services caused by public spending cuts. Women have thus been forced to devote more time to their own households and, given their position within the family and the workplace, they have constituted an integral part of the strategy to deregulate the labour market (Guzmán and Todaro, 2001).

At the same time, when public policies treat the family as a homogeneous entity and delegate to it responsibility for tackling social problems previously handled by the State, we run the risk not only of entrenching the traditional sexual division of labour but also of hampering efforts to achieve greater empowerment for women that will truly enable them to play their full roles within society and the community at large.

As we have already seen, a period of time such as the present affords opportunities for the development of new rules and regulations to govern interactions between societal social actors in a more equitable fashion. However, if in the process of developing new standards, women are not given the same importance as their male counterparts, they will continue to be shut out of the process of building these new institutions. In this way, neither the magnitude of the problems that

women experience, nor women's contributions to rearing the next generation, to the bolstering of civil society and the struggle for democracy, will be taken adequately into consideration when the new institutions are created.

As a result, sexual equality transcends mere equality of opportunities and makes it imperative for women to play their full role in the process of reforming the basic rules, hierarchies and practices of public institutions. If women are deprived of their rightful place at the debating table where people are laying the groundwork for a new system of governance, it is by no means clear that public institutions will be able to cater to women's different needs and values. Moreover, women are liable to be excluded from educational and training opportunities, and are unlikely to be accorded the same degree of decision-making autonomy as other participants in the public arena.

In conclusion, it is possible to harmonize democratic governance and sexual equality if women acquire legitimacy and a place in the corridors of power and make their contribution to discussions by meshing their gender aspirations with the more generalized interests of democracy and democratic governance. And in this way, when creating new institutions, it will be possible to include a gender analysis that can effectively undermine harmful habits of mind—as well as— weaken the impact of those institutional practices, patterns of behaviour, and personal prejudices that relegate women to the status of a disadvantaged group in the relationships which the State establishes with society and in the relationships that are forged between the State, the market and the family.

II. Governance from a Gender Perspective

A. The Feminist and Women's Movement: A Catalyst for Social and Institutional Change

In countries in the region subject to the pressures for change that were analyzed in the first part of this paper, during the periods of transition from dictatorial to democratic governments (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay) the changeover from conservative governments to liberal administrations with a greater focus on modernization (Colombia, 1990), or the times of major crisis in governance (Argentina, 2002), the participants who take part in the discussion of new ground rules and efforts to address urgent public problems tend to grow in number. The greater diversity achieved by civil society and the emergence of different social actors within civil society, together with the complexity of these problems, also leads these governments to look for new political ways of mediating between the State and society.

The new forms of societal dialogue can arise when societal groups take a spontaneous interest in partnership and consensus-building among branches of civil society¹⁵ based on policies first

¹⁵ Citizens' Forums and "Inter-Forums" in Honduras, the Assembly of Civil Society promoted by various NGOs in Belize.

articulated by the governments themselves¹⁶ or in the context of peace agreements signed after lengthy armed crises.¹⁷ In getting these discussions off the ground, especially in countries with weaker institutions, the international community has wielded considerable influence.

These new mechanisms reflect not only the growing complexity of the problems but also the inadequacy and limitations of corporative transactions and the traditional means of political representation. These new forms of dialogue offer fresh hope for supporting diverse societal aspirations based on interest groups that are structurally heterogeneous and truly reflect the diversity of constituencies and social aspirations that co-exist within society.

These experiments with societal dialogue—involving the participation of civil society in which parties and other strategic agencies also get involved—typically engender resistance from legislatures and political parties, and this ushers in the risk of worsening social and political instability.

The survey of women's roles sent to women's groups in countries in the region, proves the existence of mechanisms for dialogue and political and citizen participation, particularly the Round Tables (Mesas de Diálogo) (Argentina,¹⁸ Brazil, Colombia,¹⁹ Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama,²⁰ Paraguay and Peru)²¹ and the recognition of new social actors as key players in decision-making exercises. Among these we find non-governmental organizations or NGOs, women's organizations, indigenous associations, offices of the citizens' ombudsperson, the church and the universities (see annex 1).

Within these contexts, women's organizations have functioned as an important catalyst for social and institutional change. Their attitudes, aspirations, and efforts have influenced the behaviour of other societal social actors, while enabling the inclusion of new issues into the agenda and enriching policy decision-making. They have also stimulated the creation of new institutions with the State.

The so-called second wave of the women's movement burst onto the scene beginning in the 1980s, and found its origins in the interactions among women coming from different organizational backgrounds: political parties (which had been made illegal during dictatorships in many countries in the region), the intelligentsia, and grass-roots women's organizations, rallying around the issues of practical survival and the defence of human rights (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay). By joining hands, they have staked (and continue to stake) a claim to political territory which is then used as a basis for the development of new forms of discourse that publicize the various forms of discrimination against women and the importance of recognizing their rights. Together with other social movements, the feminist and women's movements contribute decisively to the revitalization of democracy and the bolstering of civil society, showcasing the various individual social actors and their social demands and calling into question the rules and regulations that govern relationships between the State and society.

¹⁶ In Costa Rica, consultation with respect to the Institutional Reform Proposal in 1998, in Honduras the Commission for State Modernization in 1993, National Convergence Forum in 1994, Commission for the Participation of Civil Society for National Reconstruction and Transformation in 2000.

¹⁷ In Guatemala: Esquipulas Peace Agreements (1987), Civil Society Assembly (1993), and in El Salvador the Forum for Economic and Social Reconciliation.

¹⁸ During the most recent (and severe) economic crisis in Argentina (2002), the Round Table for Argentine Dialogue was formed, its task being to initiate radical political, economic and social reform. The Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Production, the Ministry of Social Development, the Interior Ministry, the Justice Ministry, the Cabinet Head of Ministers in bilateral meetings with NGOs, businessmen, small and medium-sized companies, trades unions, banks, professionals, university teachers, religious organizations, provincial and municipal governments, the cultural sector, political parties and agricultural spokesmen all took part in this Round Table. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) coordinated the event.

¹⁹ In an effort to identify solutions to the armed conflict with paramilitary organizations such as the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC).

²⁰ Round Table for Dialogue, which got under way in 2001, for the reform process. National Dialogue for Economic Revitalization 2001, National Dialogue for Saving Social Security, National Dialogue for Education, and National Economic Dialogue.

²¹ National Consensus Round Table Dialogue.

The reader's attention is drawn to the participation of the women's movement in the design of new institutions and new government programs in democratic contexts: these are periods during which relations between different women's movements have become intensified in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Uruguay. The existence of gender-oriented structures within these movements—as in the case of Brazil and Ecuador—played a central role in forging linkages between women's organizations with the various branches of government (see table 1). The achievements reached by the women's movement in the legislative drafting of constitutions are to be found not only in the inclusion of the movement's proposals—incorporation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), of the Human Rights Convention, non-discrimination and affirmative action laws—but also the inclusion in public debates of subjects that had until then been deemed to be of a private nature, thereby breaking down the barriers that separate the public and private domains.

Table 1
THE PARTICIPATION OF THE WOMEN'S
MOVEMENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CONSTITUTIONS

Participation of women in the process	Results
<p>Argentina: National Constituent Convention of 1994 (under the first government of Carlos Menem, 1990-1995)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Large-scale mobilization of women's organizations to lobby in favour of concerns related to gender equality. Important debate about abortion. This period witnesses the emergence of "Mujeres Autoconvocadas por el Derecho a Elegir la Libertad", which brings together 109 NGOs and includes women from all walks of political life, to lobby with members of parliament. ♦ The Women's Social and Political Movement, among other NGOs, plays a major role in getting signatures for the inclusion of women's rights in the Constitution. Women are represented in the Assembly to the tune of 26.2%. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ We observe the incorporation into the Constitution of the Human Rights Treaties, signed and ratified by Argentina, including the CEDAW. ♦ The authorities are thus guaranteeing the full exercise of political rights and are displaying a commitment to pursuing efforts to promote their full realization. They are also guaranteeing the pursuit of meaningful steps to achieve equality of treatment and opportunity among men and women. No clause referring to the decriminalization of abortion is included.
<p>Brazil: National Constituent Assembly of 1988 (under the transitional government of José Sarney, 1985-1990)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ This period witnessed the broadening of the debate characterized by the participation of a diverse number of organizations and subjects. ♦ The National Council for the Rights of Women (CNDM) functions as liaison between the women's movements and the parliament. This process has been described as the "Batom Lobby", which resulted in the drafting of the "Letter from Brazilian Women to Parliamentarians", presenting the movement's demands to the Assembly. ♦ The Constituent Assembly numbers 25 female federal deputies out of a total of 462 and 10 lady senators out of a total of 72. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ The constitution now includes nearly all of the demands pointed out in the "Letter from Brazilian Women to Parliamentarians", including the recognition of sexual and reproductive rights with the exception of those rights referring to the decriminalization of abortion.
<p>Colombia: National Constituent Assembly of 1991 (under the liberal government of César Gaviria, 1990-1994)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ This period witnesses the formation of the Women's Constituent Network, which will later be called the National Women's Network. ♦ Within this framework, feminist women and politicians from a number of different parties (liberal, conservative, communist and socialist) present their proposed amendment to the existing Constitution, under the slogan "Without women's rights, democracy is an empty word". ♦ Their demands include the institutionalization of the equality of rights and opportunities for men and women and a prohibition on discrimination on account of gender and sexual orientation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ It enshrines in law the CEDAW principles.

Table 1 (conclusion)

Participation of women in the process	Results
Ecuador: National Constituent Assembly of 1998 (under the Government of Fabián Alarcón, 1997-1998)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Participating in the debate are a diverse number of societal social actors, including in particular the indigenous movement and the women's movement. ♦ The National Council of Women (CONAMU) co-ordinates with women's organizations and the proposal document is discussed by the Seventh Commission, responsible for analyzing issues of concern to women and children. CONAMU and the women's movement organize special forums to discuss lobbying strategies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Equality between men and women is institutionalized, discrimination is declared unconstitutional and the doors are opened to positive discrimination. ♦ Other issues include guaranteeing non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.
Paraguay: National Constituent Assembly of 1992 (under the government of Andrés Rodríguez 1989-1993)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ The co-coordinator of women for Paraguay and the Women's Multi-Sectorial Organization participate actively in the presentation of proposals to the Assembly with respect to the elimination of discriminatory laws. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Proposals are incorporated to the Constitution.
Peru: The Congress of the Republic pursues discussions regarding constitutional reforms in a context of social and political crisis, 2000 (transition government of Valentín Paniagua, 2000-2001)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Participation of the broader women's movement and feminist movement in a debate that brings together all members of society. ♦ This process is coupled with joint initiatives by the executive and the legislature, such as the First Public Audience concerning Women and Constitutional Reform. ♦ The proposals of Fujimori's government in the 1993 Constitution did not include transparent mechanisms for consultation with the women's organizations. ♦ For this reason, the creation of PROMUDER took place through special laws adopted outside constitutional channels. 	

Source: Survey on mainstreaming gender in government, mechanism for civic participation in State reform programs and policies, and, incorporating gender into the rules and procedures of public administration, ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, Santiago, Chile (2000), (unpublished).

The analysis of women's organizations and networks in the region that have their own web pages show the degree of national, regional and global coordination by the women's movement over these thirty years and their significant contribution to the construction of a rights-based dialogue. They have played a fundamental role in the centralization and dissemination of information and in the development of fresh approaches toward the interpretation of the status of women, efforts to ensure that Human Rights are understood to include women's rights, and the recognition of new rights, especially those that are sexual and reproductive and those that are economic, social and cultural.

Increasingly, women's organizations participate in lobbying activities to keep a watchful eye on parliaments and governments and in the preparation of political proposals directed at different sectors of the State and which are geared not only toward the redistribution of resources and opportunities but also toward ensuring recognition of women as legitimate social actors in these corridors of power. At the same time, these organizations monitor compliance of the agreements reached at International Conferences and Conventions with the aim of achieving gender equity, in particular the Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994) and the IV World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995).

The policy efforts, which women have pursued with regard to gender discrimination, became diversified with the return of democracy and with the emergence of new social actors, especially other women, coming from other communities, from the political parties and from the State.

Women have been especially active in spearheading legislative proposals to eliminate the discriminatory practices that continue to exist in legislation and to promote pro-active endeavours such as quotas in order to promote their social and political involvement.

Table 2
POLICIES FOR INCREASING THE PARTICIPATION
OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC SERVICES AND REPRESENTATIVE OFFICES

Country	Quota Law	Regulations aimed at promoting a gender balance in government
Argentina	1991 ^a	Not available.
Brazil	1997	The Ministry of Agrarian Development (2001) establishes a quota policy for management positions and vendorized services (20% of African origin, 20% women and 5% disabled). The National Program of Affirmative Action for the Federal Public Administration (2002), fixes percentage participation targets for those of African descent, women and the disabled and management and senior advisory streams; beneficial treatment in government procurement proceedings for those suppliers who adopt practices that are compatible with the National Plan of Affirmative Action; and establishment of percentage targets for the procurement of external services and projects implemented in conjunction with international organizations.
Chile	No (reform plan)	The Management Improvement Program (PMG) with a gender focus proposes an economic incentive for those Ministries and services that comply with the set requisites (2002). Development of a project for equality of opportunity between men and women in the public sector (2001).
Colombia	2000	Law 581 of 2000 obliges State organizations to enforce the law that requires that a minimum of 30% of management level positions be occupied by women; it ordains that at least one woman stand as a candidate and punishes those politicians and entities that fail to comply with the order (suspension from their posts for up to 30 days and dismissal in cases of backsliding).
Ecuador	1997	There is a bill termed Equality for the Sexes in Public Life and this enshrines positive discrimination in the recruiting of women in the highest echelons of decision-making, beginning with a quota of 30% and every 2 years being increased by an additional 5% until reaching 50% of the total.
El Salvador	No (reform bill)	Not available.
Guatemala	No (the new electoral reform bill does not include a quota)	There are no affirmative action policies.
Mexico	1996 ^a	The Federal Executive Branch has issued the following instructions: firstly, civil service job descriptions position must not make any reference to gender and, secondly, there should be an end to the policy of requiring medical certificates to prove cases of pregnancy or a certificate testifying that the woman is not pregnant.
Panama	1997	Not available.
Paraguay	1996	Not available.
Peru	1997 ^a	No known cases.
Dom. Rep.	2000	There is no affirmative action program.
Uruguay	No	There is no affirmative action program.

Source: Survey on mainstreaming gender in government, mechanism for civic participation in State reform programs and policies, and, incorporating gender into the rules and procedures of public administration, ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, Santiago, Chile (2000), (unpublished).

Memo: Apart from those countries that have been mentioned above, other countries have passed quota-laws: Bolivia (1997), Costa Rica (1997) and Venezuela (1998).

^a last change 2000.

The survey demonstrates how in various countries, prompted by the women's movement and institutions working in the field of gender, electoral and administrative reforms have been implemented so as to increase political participation by women and achieve greater gender equality between government employees (see table 2).

Coupled with the fact that gender issues have achieved greater visibility and influence, not to mention the cultural modernization of societies, these efforts are reflected in an increase in political participation by women both in the legislative and executive bodies (tables 3 and 4).

Table 3
OVERALL PERCENTAGE RATES OF REPRESENTATION

Female	2000	1990
Ministers	14	9
Representatives	14	8
Senators	15	5
Local governments	7	5

Source: ECLAC/Division for the Advancement of Women/United Nations Development Account Project on Democratic Governance and Equality in Gender Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean with input from: Women and Power in the Americas, A Report Card, Index Section, Country Data: Women in Political Office, Inter-American Dialogue, Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas, April 2001 (www.thedialogue.org). Database of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in Parliament (www.ipu.org). International Institute for Democracy and Electoral assistance (www.idea.int).

Table 4
TRENDS IN PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATURE (SELECTED COUNTRIES)
(In numbers)

Country	Legislative branch (females)	Last election		2000	1990	1980
		(Year)	(Number)			
Argentina	Representatives	2001	79	27	5	4
	Senators		25	3	9	7
Bolivia	Representatives	2002	24	12	9	0
	Senators		4	4	4	1
Brazil	Representatives	2002	44	6	5	1
	Senators		10	7	0	1
Chile	Representatives	2001	15	11	6	6 ^a
	Senators		2	4	6	2 ^a
Colombia	Representatives	2002	20	12	9	5
	Senators		9	13	1	1
Costa-Rica	One-Chamber	2002	20	19	12	9
Dominica	Representatives	2002	26	16	12	13
	Senators		2	7	0	7
Ecuador	One-Chamber	2002	16	15	7	0
Mexico	Representatives	2003	116	16	6	9
	Senators		20	16	12	6
Nicaragua	One-Chamber	2000	19	10	19	12
Paraguay	Representatives	2001	7	3	8	0
	Senators		2003	4	18	4
Uruguay	Representatives	1999	12	12	6	1 ^a
	Senators		3	10	0	0 ^a
Venezuela	One-Chamber	2000	16	21	12	0

Source: ECLAC/Division for the Advancement of Women/United Nations Development Account Project on Democratic Governance and Equality in Gender Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean with input from: Women and Power in the Americas, A Report Card, Index Section, Country Data: Women in Political Office, Inter-American Dialogue, Women's Leadership Conference of the Americas, April 2001 (www.thedialogue.org). Database of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in Parliament (www.ipu.org). International Institute for Democracy and Electoral assistance (www.idea.int).

^a 1970.

At an institutional level, one of the most substantive achievements of the women's movement is its decisive contribution to the creation of gender machineries in the Executive Branch, with the brief to formulate and co-ordinate policies in favour of gender equality. At the same time, the demands by citizens to participate in government policy has led to the inclusion of women in the institutional structures that function as intermediaries between the State and society, and/or has resulted in the implementation of new mediating structures. Classic examples of these are the round tables to discuss labour practices in the State, health advisory bodies, rural round tables, and the support networks, which seek to protect victims of domestic violence.

The inclusion of feminist technical and professional expertise within the State has facilitated the dissemination of women's viewpoints within the framework of government and the furtherance of policies and services that favour women. Feminist politicians active in the State and gender machineries have highlighted the voluntary work of women and women's organizations in the implementation of social policies to showcase their vital role as individual beneficiaries, social actors, and in some cases politicians.

The efforts to build these new institutions and the mainstreaming of gender issues in government agendas have created increasing pressure in favour of State modernization given that those structures entrusted with the authority to co-ordinate equity-based policies must explain their gendered assumptions in their public policies in various sectors, they must push cross-sectorial policies, and they must promote on-the-job training for male and female civil servants to enable them to better discharge their new responsibilities.

B. The Role of Gender Structures in the State, in the Modernization Process and in Institutional Change

Since the mid 1980s, and especially since the start of the 1990s, government authorities have been equipped with institutions responsible for formulating and coordinating public policy focused on gender equity. This phenomenon can trace its ultimate origins to the existence of an office dedicated to women's interests and/or specific programs for women in the fields of health, agriculture and poverty.

Most of these gender machineries have been created at moments of dramatic political change, which have been marked by a greater receptivity to social needs on the part of political social actors and public authorities to social needs, and this has enabled women to harness this dynamic to their own specific agenda. The mechanisms in question have been triggered by monumental changes in the national political landscape, whether during moments when there have been upheavals in parliament or government or when countries have been obliged to take action in response to international agreements. The international conferences that were convened by the United Nations in the 1990s gave impetus to the creation of these machineries or helped to redefine their purpose and scope.

In Brazil the founding of State Councils in 1982-1983 and the National Council for Women's Rights (CNDM, 1985) occurred during the period when that country was heading toward democracy. In Argentina, this phenomenon was energized by the democratic fervour that imbued Alfonsín's term of office (1983-1989). His government program encompassed, *inter-alia*, the adoption of a law on divorce, shared custody, and the ratification of CEDAW. The Program to Defend the Interests of Women and the Family was initiated in 1983 and in 1987, as a response to women's demands for a mainstream women's organization, the Under-Secretariat for Women was founded.

In Chile, in response to the demands of the group known as the United Women's Democratic Front (Concertación de Mujeres por la Democracia), the entity known as National Service

for Women (SERNAM) was created during Patricio Aylwin's Presidency (1990-1994). The government of Patricio Aylwin, whose political program had been agreed to by the political parties involved in the *Concertación* and the umbrella of groups and agencies that had opposed the former dictatorship, enshrined as part of its political platform equality between men and women and created a number of new organizations designed to seek solutions for marginalized groups: women, the indigenous population and youth.

The reformist zeal of the government of Cesar Gaviria in Colombia embodied in the so-called "peaceful revolution" 1990-1994, gave rise to the Constituent Assembly in which both the feminist movement and women in particular participated. The first gender-oriented State institutions date to 1990 and these agencies, sponsored by a constellation of various women's organizations,²² concerned themselves with the task of coordinating policies against discrimination.

As far as other countries are concerned, agreements reached at International Conferences galvanized governments to either implement or re-invent institutional mechanisms and their attendant powers and responsibilities.

An analysis of collated data, acquired from a number of surveys, provides us with an overview of gender mechanisms in place in 2002.

As table 5 makes clear, most gender mechanisms were implemented between the 1980s and the 1990s, following the III World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women (Nairobi, 1985) or the IV World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995). The demands of women's movements, the international agreements subscribed to by governments, and support from the international foreign aid authorities have all been crucial components in the pertinent development, stabilization and institutional bolstering. The transnational networks of gender machineries and the role played by the Women and Development Unit at ECLAC, utilizing regional conferences or steering committees, have bequeathed to gender machineries a forum for dialogue, consensus building, vital know-how and support in their respective national efforts.

These mechanisms take many forms such as Women's Secretariats (Brazil, Paraguay, Dominican Republic, Guatemala), Councils (Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador), Vice-Ministries (Peru and Bolivia) and Institutes with varying degrees of autonomy (Nicaragua and Panama, reporting to the Ministry of the Family; Uruguay, reporting to the Ministry of Education; Venezuela, reporting to the Ministry of Health and Social Development). The characteristics of some of these would make it logical to designate them as brokers between society and the State on account of the presence of women in decision-making capacities (National Women's Council (CONAMU) in Ecuador, the Salvadoran Institute in El Salvador). All these agencies have strong, but not always harmonious, links with women's NGOs, the women's movement, academia and women's social organizations, as well as the international foreign aid community, which are not only vital benchmarks but which also serve to give credibility to these organizations.

²² The Committee for Co-ordination and Control for Discrimination against Women, reporting to the Office of the President of the Republic, was founded in 1990 and the Women's Forum within the Presidential Advisory Office for Youth, Women and the Family was created in August 1990.

Table 5
STATUS OF GENDER MACHINERIES IN 2002

Countries	Gender machineries	Year of Creation	Positions within the hierarchy	Government structures in which gender machineries participate	Structures in which the national mechanism participates with NGOs and civil society
Argentina	National Women's Council	1992	National Council for the co-ordination of social policies of the Office of the President of the Nation	Inter-Ministerial Commissions and sectorial ministries	Round Tables with NGOs
	Special Representative Office for Women's Issues in the International Sphere/Women's Directorate	1998	Under-Secretariat of Foreign Policy of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Relations, International Trade and Worship	Inter-Ministerial Commissions, sectorial ministries	Round tables with NGOs Tripartite commission for equality of opportunity <i>Ad-hoc</i> commission for the supervision of the plan for action arising from the IV World Conference on Women, 1995
Barbados	Bureau of Gender Affairs	2000	Ministry of Social Transformation	Inter-Ministerial Commissions, Sectorial Ministries, Round Tables with NGOs	
Belize	Women's Bureau	1993	Ministry of Human Development, Women and Childhood and Civil Society	Executive Council, Inter-Ministerial Commissions, Sectorial Ministries, Round Tables with NGOs	National Women's Commission, Women Issues Network
Brazil	Secretary of State for Women's Rights (SEDIM)	2002	Justice Ministry	Cabinet of the Government, Inter-Ministerial Commissions, Sectorial Ministries	Round tables with NGOs National Council for Women's Rights, health networks, violence support networks
Chile	Women's National Service (SERNAM)	1991	Office of the President of the Republic	Government Cabinet, Inter-Ministerial Commissions	Round Tables with NGOs, Academic Council, Council of Social Organization, Round Tables on Women and Employment
Colombia	Presidential Council for Women's Equality	1999	Office of the President of the Republic	Inter-Ministerial Commissions, National Council for Economic and Social Policy, CONPES	Round Tables with NGOs
Dominica	Women's Bureau	1982	Ministry of Community Development and Gender Affairs	Inter-Ministerial Commissions, Inter-sectorial Commissions and Round Tables with NGOs	Advisory Committee
Ecuador	National Women's Council (CONAMU)	1997	Office of the President of the Republic	Inter-Ministerial Commissions (Policy Round Tables for employment and gender, Round Table on tourism and equality Technical Inter-Institutional Committee for the promotion of the right to education and the prevention of teen pregnancy Round Table on gender and the environment. Social Front. Broad-Based Council	Round Tables with NGOs Party-based representation of public agencies and women's organizations at the senior management level of CONAMU
El Salvador	Salvadorian Institute for Women's Development (ISDEMU)	1996	Ministry of the Office of the President	Sectorial Ministries	Round Tables with NGOs; some are NGO members of the Institute's Board of Directors

Table 5 (conclusion)

Countries	Gender machineries	Year of Creation	Positions within the hierarchy	Government structures in which gender machineries participate	Structures in which the national mechanism participates with NGOs and civil society
Guatemala	Presidential Secretariat for Women	2000	Office of the President of the Republic	Government Cabinet, Social Cabinet, Inter-Ministerial Commissions, Sectorial Ministries National Council for Urban and Rural Development	Round Tables with NGOs
Mexico	National Institute for Women (INMUJERES)	2001	No information available	Government Cabinet, Inter-Ministerial Commissions, Sectorial Ministries, State Governments Institutional Round Table for the co-ordination of actions for the prevention of and focus on domestic violence and violence toward women Task force to guarantee social dignity in the City of Juárez, Central Round Table on the modernization of labour legislation	Round Tables with NGOs, Permanent Dialogue Mechanism with Civil Society Organizations (the Institute, Federal Government Agencies, NGOs, Universities and Research Centres participate)
Panama	National Women's Directorate (DINAMU) ^a	1998	Ministries of Youth, Women, Childhood and the Family	Government Cabinet, Inter-Ministerial Commissions, Network of government machineries for equality of opportunities, Sectorial Ministries, Network of Public and Civil Entities which produce and use statistical information with gender focus	Round Tables with NGOs, National Commission for the development of the National Plan against domestic violence and policies for citizen co-existence
Paraguay	Women's Secretariat	1992	Office of the President of the Republic	Government Cabinet, Inter-Ministerial Commission for a National Plan for the prevention and punishment of violence against women	Round Tables with NGOs, Tripartite Commission for the monitoring of commitments undertaken in Beijing
Peru	Ministry for the Promotion and Development of Women and Human Development (PROMUDEH)	1996	Office of the President of the Republic	Government Cabinet, Inter-Sectorial Commissions, Sectorial Ministries	Round Tables with NGOs
Dominican Republic	Secretary of State for Women	1999	Office of the President of the Republic (autonomous)	Government Cabinet, Inter-Ministerial Commissions, Sectorial Ministries	Round Tables with NGOs
Uruguay	National Institute for Women and the Family	1992	Ministry of Education and Culture, National Education Directorate	Inter-Ministerial Commissions	Round Tables with NGOs, Design of an equality of opportunity plan

Source: Survey on mainstreaming gender in government, mechanism for civic participation in State reform programs and policies, and, incorporating gender into the rules and procedures of public administration, ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, Santiago, Chile (2000), (unpublished).

^a The National Women's Council (CONAMU) is the forum for dialogue among the various women's groups organized in Panama. It is also an organization for providing consultation, guidance, advice, and recommendations concerning public policies to help promote the empowerment of women. It is comprised of representatives of the State and extra governmental organizations. The National Women's Directorate (DINAMU) functions as a Technical Secretariat for CONAMU, which also reports to the Ministries of Youth, Women, Childhood and the Family (and their president is the line minister).

A high percentage of these machineries are at a high level of government and this means that the head of the agency often has cabinet status (Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay or Peru) or has an inside track with the Secretariat of the Presidency or Government (Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador and Mexico), or participates in coordination efforts intended to design policies (National Council of Economic and Social Policy, Colombia). Its authorities participate in inter-ministerial commissions and socially oriented coordination authorities, preferably social in nature for policy planning, having a more ongoing contact with the Ministries of Health, Employment, Agriculture and Education. The organizations that have a woman minister in charge have access to the Cabinet of Ministers, which gives them greater clout in decision-making and in the overall discussion of government policy.

A considerable number of these organizations have enshrined Equal Opportunity Policies (Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Dominica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and the Dominican Republic).

These policies are veritable road maps for mainstreaming gender issues into public policy in the various sectors of the public administration and the establishment of links with the various branches of government.

If we analyze table 6 (see also annex 1) we can observe how the machineries have not only triggered the formation of sector-based gender machineries but have also promoted national programs that facilitate a cross-sectorial approach to policy design and implementation.

Table 6
INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

	State, regional and Municipal offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-Sectorial approach	Mediating mechanisms between the State and women's organizations	Role of women's organizations in committees directing and advising gender machineries	Agreements between branches of government and society relating to gender equality
Argentina	X	X	X	X	n/a	n/a
Barbados	n/a	X	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Belize	n/a	X	n/a	X	n/a	n/a
Brazil	X	X	X	X	X	n/a
Chile	X	n/a	X	X	X	X
Colombia	X	n/a	X	X	n/a	n/a
Dominica	n/a	X	X	X	n/a	X
Ecuador	X	X	X	X	X	n/a
El Salvador	n/a	n/a	X	n/a	X	n/a
Guatemala	X	X	X	X	n/a	n/a
Honduras	X	n/a	X	X	X	n/a
Mexico	X	X	X	X	X	X
Panama	X	X	X	X	X	X
Paraguay	X	X	X	X	n/a	X
Peru	n/a.	n/a	X	n/a	n/a	X
Dominican Republic	X	X	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Uruguay	X	X	n/a	X	n/a	n/a

Source: Survey on mainstreaming gender in government, mechanism for civic participation in State reform programs and policies, and, incorporating gender into the rules and procedures of public administration, ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, Santiago, Chile (2000), (unpublished).

Moreover, they directly encourage the formation of mediating structures between the State and civil society (Tripartite Commission for Equality of Opportunities, Argentina; Tripartite Commission for the Monitoring of the Beijing Accords, Argentina, Paraguay; Council for Social Organizations, Academic Council and Labour Round Tables, Chile) and they maintain permanent relationships with thematic networks and various women's NGOs. The reader's attention is drawn to the development of important national agreements relating to gender equality, which in various ways help to strengthen and broaden the policymaking environment surrounding gender equality issues.

The characteristics of these organizations in theory enable them to coordinate policies with various governmental and State structures and to participate in Inter-Ministerial Commissions. And moreover, they allow them to gain recognition as key players by the rest of the State, by women's movements, other social and political participants and the international foreign aid authorities. Their efforts are focused on proposals for State reform because, as we have seen, they promote an inter-sectorial approach toward policies, mainstreaming the views of new participants such as women's groups, the young, ethnic movements and rural and urban women's movements, etc.

Together with gender machinery at a national level, there are other gender structures at a sectorial, regional and municipal level and these are responsible for pursuing public policies with a gender-oriented perspective (see annex 2 and table 7).

Table 7

OTHER BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT AND GENDER ORGANIZATIONS IN CIVIL SOCIETY

	Legislature	Ombudsperson's offices for women	Political Environment Relating to Gender Equality
Argentina	n/a	X	X
Barbados	n/a	n/a	X
Belize	n/a	n/a	X
Chile	Not in existence	Not in Existence	X
Colombia	n/a	X	X
Dominica	n/a	n/a	n/a
Ecuador	X	X	X
El Salvador	X	n/a	X
Guatemala	X	X	X
Mexico	X	X	X
Panama	n/a	X	X
Paraguay	X	X	X
Peru	X	X	X
Dominican Republic	X	n/a	X
Uruguay	X	n/a	X

Source: Survey on mainstreaming gender in government, mechanism for civic participation in State reform programs and policies, and, incorporating gender into the rules and procedures of public administration, ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, Santiago, Chile (2000), (unpublished).

In the State there are gender organizations that defend women such as women's offices or gender units inside the ombudsperson's offices (Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Peru, etc.), which promote anti-discriminatory legislative initiatives and new legislation that is favourable to promoting gender equity in parliament. Examples include the Parliamentary Commissions for Women or Women's Political Forums (Brazil, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Peru among others) and finally other judicial institutions, which guarantee access to justice for women (the police, the judiciary). The various institutions constitute a full-fledged institutional framework, which often transcends national states, launching themselves into the international arena or areas of public life not under the State's control.

For example, the Specialized Women's Forum (REM) has existed within the Latin American Treaties (Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR) since 1998.

The existence of this system of institutions and informal networks throughout the government sector and the various branches of the State serves as a basis for disseminating new management ideas and proposals and public policies designed to offset gender inequity. The responsibility assigned to gender machineries and their placement within the institutional framework permit them, in varying degrees, to enhance their skills in the area of inter-sectorial activity, coordinating mechanisms, efforts and resources. The distinct components of the framework can act in a coordinated manner under the leadership of gender machineries or, conversely, they can strike out competitively in different directions depending upon their underlying views and attitudes. In the worst case scenario, the gender machinery can end up getting all boxed-in, while other constituencies with an interest in gender issues may seek to topple it from its perch.

The presence of women in the highest echelons of the executive branch and, in general, a greater gender balance in the exercising of functions of governmental administration, can be a catalyst for giving these machineries extra muscle while reinvigorating the existing institutional framework, obviously depending on the degree of sensitivity and awareness possessed by the authorities and politicians with regard to the aspirations and proposals put forward in this field.

Finally, the interactions between the various manifestations of the women's movement and feminist organizations (networks, feminist groups, academia, political forums, municipal networks) are a crucible for the development of new types of relationships between the State and society.

However, the extent to which it is possible to achieve the above-described opportunities for mainstreaming gender equity, inter-sectorial efforts and institution-building will depend on the varying degrees of legitimacy achieved by gender machineries and their institutional stability, which is what ultimately will allow these mechanisms to truly discharge their assigned responsibilities. Nor should we dismiss the expertise and know-how possessed by women in decision-making positions, in particular the special insights enjoyed by women leaders and civil servants regarding the concepts, debates and conflicts associated with the Cairo and Beijing Accords; and at the current juncture, we should applaud their efforts to withstand conservative backlashes within our region.

Moreover, the abruptly shifting balances of power and their impact on weak institutions take the form of constant pressure to discredit gender machineries and to undermine the focus on gender concerns. The analysis of these machineries over a long-term perspective demonstrates their vulnerability to the vagaries of the political process.

In this connection, weak governance in some countries and the conservative backlash threaten to hamper efforts to mainstream gender issues and to acknowledge women as social actors with their own values and aspirations, unfettered by the demands of their families. This situation is bound to be exacerbated if women's organizations and gender institutions fail to participate in the major debates that swirl around State reform and governance policies.

C. State Reform, Gender Machineries and Women's Organizations

The dangers of a breakdown in governance and the unprecedented recognition by Latin American elites of the validity of the market economy, of the importance of entrepreneurship and the free market, as well as the need to consolidate democratic systems, have at last made comprehensive State reform in the region an achievable goal (IDB, 2000).²³

²³ Studies carried out by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Institute for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean (INTAL) demonstrate that the region's elites do accept proposals for State reform (1988).

Experience garnered over recent decades has demonstrated that the functioning of the economy may collide with the traditional structure of State institutions, the flimsy mechanisms of political governance, inadequate public policies and the obsolescence of legal systems. Transition to a new economic paradigm is unlikely to be viable unless we first lay the basic groundwork for political legitimacy, social order and institutional efficiency (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1998).

Reforms have been carried out in accordance with guidelines and directives similar to those that have been developed in international financial and co-operative organizations and in various seminars and meetings of academics and politicians in the region.

These proposals postulate a strategic framework, which builds upon economic reforms and facilitates internal socio-economic integration, the modernization of the State and the strengthening of democratic institutions and civil society.

The State must strengthen its capacities to establish and guarantee the set of rules on which markets are based. In this respect, the aim is not to bolster the efficiency of the State in its current form but, rather, to increase the capacity of its institutions and to pave the way for the efficient functioning of the private sector and to safeguard social cohesion. The reform seeks to pinpoint those State functions, which need to be bolstered or incorporated as prerequisites for the new development paradigm, particularly in regard to its regulatory function. From this perspective, the State is viewed as the effective broker of property rights, generator of regulatory frameworks, and as an impartial and efficient umpire between various societal social actors. However, when faced with market failures in the allocation of resources and in cases of social equity, the State should reserve the right to supply the goods and services that the market cannot guarantee in an efficient and fair manner, albeit without degenerating into runaway bureaucracy. At the same time, this strategy presupposes the existence of an independent and efficient judiciary, capable of standing up to arbitrary power and corruption. Reform also promotes a civil society that is autonomous and that keeps a watchful eye on the government bureaucracies.

In the context of administrative management, the proposed reforms are designed to groom bureaucracies so that they can shoulder the core functions of the State based on the rule of law. For this purpose, it is proposed that the reform in question encompass the reform of the civil service, the government sector and the management of human resource systems, and promote a merit-based career stream so as to achieve a professional and efficient civil service. We are also recommending the pursuit of political and administrative decentralization efforts so as to improve the allocation and use of the public resources administered by the State.

Additionally, the goal is to enhance the transparency and accountability of government policies, reducing arbitrary decisions by politicians and subjecting the exercise of political power to legal responsibility. The implementation of mechanisms for the defence of civil rights or to provide a platform for the rights of citizens and/or intermediaries between public institutions and individuals promotes civic participation in State management.

In brief, the reforms seek to do away with cronyism and political patronage and to increase the standards of efficiency: to increase the efficiency and quality of government, to improve the quality of services and focusing on customer service through the adoption of standards of performance and a commitment to public accountability.

In the economic sphere, reforms seek to overhaul Latin America's traditional mercantilist economic model by transforming it into a market economy that is more open and more transparent, so as to guarantee economic growth. The proposed economic reforms should go far beyond mere structural adjustment, macro-economic stability, trade liberalization coupled with ad hoc privatizations and deregulation. They should take into account the social safety net and promote social equity through programs and policies designed to combat marginalization and poverty, guaranteeing basic social services (water supply, health, education and social welfare).

It is in this context that we are to find the policies, instruments and actions designed to facilitate procedures for the privatization of public sector companies or their concession to private sector countries, which reflect the whole new ballgame between the State and the market.

In the political sphere, the reforms are designed to rein in the political populism which has been a hallmark of many countries in the region, by strengthening and developing the rule of law for which the following reforms *inter-alia* are essential: improve electoral systems and political parties; ensure a seat at the table for all constituencies and social actors, as well as civic participation; guarantee the effective division of powers and the subjugation of all these and all citizens to the dominion of the law; create systems to defend the rights of citizens and design policies that can robustly strengthen democracy in society.

In the final analysis, our aim is to chip away at red tape and cumbersome bureaucratic procedures so as to enhance the relationship between State institutions, the private sector, and the citizenry, to foster civic role-playing in the implementation of public social policy and to solidify regulatory mechanisms, governmental supervision and civic autonomy.

It is certainly the case that institutional reforms usher in fresh opportunities for new patterns of social coexistence, which are more just and equitable. However, the new mechanisms do not appear overnight but are the by-product of the national history of each country, and these institutions are peopled with social actors equipped with varying degrees of power and divergent interests. Besides, these reforms occur in a global scenario, which, as we have already witnessed, increases the inter-dependence of sovereign nations, reining in the extent to which an individual State can leave its stamp on the processes of democratic governance. This necessitates a focus on the issues of global governance, namely the creation or reforms of institutions at a global level as a prerequisite for pushing ahead with democratic governance throughout the region and within individual countries.

Taking these precepts into account, we have analyzed State reform mechanisms instituted in the 1990s in the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Dominican Republic and Uruguay based on information collated from the integrated analytical system of information on State reform, management and public policy (SIARE) of the Latin American Centre for Development Administration (CLAD).

Box 2 provides an outline of the most important reforms that have been implemented in the countries that have been analyzed.

In the countries that have been analyzed (see Annex 3) the various aspects of reform process have made uneven progress: administrative and economic reforms have made greater headway than political and social reforms. Administrative reforms have principally revolved around management modernization, regional changes and the strengthening of public and regional management; while the most common economic reforms are the implementation of fiscal packages and the introduction of privatization policies. The countries that have spearheaded the greatest efforts in these two areas are Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Colombia, and Peru. Guatemala also stands out on account of the sheer number of its administrative and economic overhauls, most likely reflecting the need to bolster the State after a lengthy period of strife. The most common political reforms typically focus on approval of new constitutions and changes to the electoral system. Labour reforms and changes in social insurance, in addition to social safety nets to overcome and eradicate poverty, social emergency programs and the creation of national funds are social reforms that are increasingly on the agenda in a number of different countries.

SYNTHESIS OF THE PRINCIPAL ASPECTS OF STATE REFORM CARRIED OUT WITH EFFECT FROM THE 1990'S

- 1. Administrative**
 - Institution building.
 - Institutional Re-designing.
 - Creation of Ministries and Services.
 - National Program for the Elimination of Red Tape.
 - Management Modernization.
 - Creation of regulatory frameworks for basic services and concessions policy for the execution of projects and services.
 - Transparency mechanisms for public management.
 - Civic Participation.
 - Civic Councils for Participation.
 - Decentralization.
 - Regional Reform.
 - Regional Governments.
 - Municipal Governments.
 - Bolstering of public management at a territorial and municipal level.
- 2. Economic**
 - Fiscal reform.
 - Implementation of Fiscal Packages.
 - External Debt Rescheduling.
 - Restructuring and Strengthening of the Financial System.
 - Introduction of Greater Flexibility into Foreign Exchange Policy.
 - Changes in the Administration of Pension Funds and the Securities Market.
 - Trade Reform.
 - Greater openness to the Outside World and Trade Liberalization.
 - Membership of Regional Pacts and Markets.
 - Privatizations.
 - Abolition of State Insurance Monopolies.
 - Private Insurance Administrators.
 - The Freedom to Generate and Sell Electrical Power.
 - The Elimination of State Subsidies.
- 3. Politics**
 - The Convening of National Constituent Assemblies for the Approval of New Constitutions.
 - Constitutional Amendments.
 - Electoral System Reforms.
 - The Election of Regional and Municipal Governments.
- 4. Justice**
 - New Methods for Appointing Judicial Authorities and Determine their Composition.
 - Supreme Court.
 - Creation of the Academy for Justice and Training Programs.
 - Creation of Prosecutorial Authorities and other structures.
 - Council for Judicial Coordination.
 - Criminal Reform process.
 - Reform of the Criminal Code.
 - Creation of New Law Courts.
- 5. Labour**
 - Labour Reforms.
 - Reform of the Social Insurance System.
 - Law on Employers Rights.
 - Fixed-term Contracts.
 - Introduction of Greater Flexibility into Working Hours.
 - Reform of the Pension System.
 - New Social Security Systems.
 - Private Pension Systems.
- 6. Social**
 - Education Reform.
 - Health Reform.
 - Reforms to Combat Hunger and Poverty.
 - Community Solidarity Program.
 - Social Emergency Program.
 - National Compensation and Development Fund.

Source: Author's own analysis based on the Integrated Analytical System of Information on State Reform, Management and Public Policy (SIARE) of the Latin American Centre for Development Administration (CLAD).

On the other hand, while we encounter a number of measures intended to facilitate civic participation in the management and monitoring of State action, policies specifically designed to promote social equity and the recognition of vulnerable groups, as full-fledged participants in the institutional reform process are negligible.

The women's movement and gender institutions in the Executive Branch have participated to a lesser extent in the ratification of new constitutions, in State reforms. In general, the reforms are initiated by administrative, political and economic elites and thus acquire an aura of technical complexity and expertise. The range and variety of societal organizations that participate in State reform differ according to countries. Action has been mainly aimed at preventing these reforms from having a baneful impact on the various sectors of society (see table 8). Widely differing outcomes are also observed in the degree of participation of the gender machineries in the reforms. In Ecuador the gender machinery has influenced health reform; in Mexico the Women's National Institute participates in the Central Round Table for Deciding, Modernizing, and Updating Labour Legislation presided over by the Minister for Labour and Social Insurance. Chile has forged ahead by mainstreaming gender equity in the Management Improvement Program in 98% of its Ministries and Services and in the System for the Registration and Monitoring of Civic Participation Objectives in 2002. Women's organizations and gender institutions have both been active in reforms of the electoral system and criminal code.

Table 8
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN STATE REFORM

Country	Year	Reform	Participation	Results
Brazil	1995	State Reform Chamber is instituted	Restricted and select group: members of the Executive and high-level academic institutions. Experts analyze reform strategies and results achieved at the international level. Participation limited to those women who serve in executive agencies and the female caucus of parliament.	The master plan does not include any directive relating to gender equality
Chile	1990s		Executive Branch, political parties, political agreements	Inclusion in the Organic Constitutional Municipalities Law of 1995, the promotion of equality between men and women
Guatemala	1985		Congress with the participation of advisors (men and women) with support from the international foreign aid authorities	The gender institutions in the State convene women's organizations and women's groups participate by making proposals and protesting the approval of certain laws that could be detrimental to women
Mexico	1963 1970 2002	State reforms First Round Tables on State Reform State Reform, government transition from the Revolutionary Party (PRI) to a new government	Commission of Inquiry for reforming the State and to move it away from an authoritarian and corporative regime to a democratic system Among other measures, the Law on transparency and access to information are passed. The Oaxaca Group participates. Civic Initiative. Consultative Forums convened by the Ministry of the Interior The National Women's Institute participates in the Central Round Table Deciding, Modernizing, and Updating Labour Legislation presided over by the Minister of Labour and Social Insurance	

Source: Survey on mainstreaming gender in government, mechanism for civic participation in State reform programs and policies, and, incorporating gender into the rules and procedures of public administration, ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, Santiago, Chile (2000), (unpublished).

While gender machineries have not participated in the most important debates and decisions regarding the various aspects of State reform, they have made greater progress in social reform and in changes to administrative procedures, highlighting the fact that men and women do not get equal treatment in the various areas of government policy. Furthermore, they have achieved progress in re-apportioning opportunities between men and women within the civil service and among the most vulnerable groups (see table 9).

Table 9

RULES AND PROCEDURES FOR THE INCLUSION OF GENDER EQUITY IN PUBLIC POLICIES

Countries	Gender Statistics and Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes to Rules and Procedures • Access to Funding • Training for Government Employees • Evaluation Criteria • Information Report Forms 	Measures Adopted to Ensure Gender Balance in Government
Argentina	X	n/a	n/a
Barbados	n/a	X	n/a
Belize	n/a	X	n/a
Brazil	X	X	X
Chile	X	X	X
Colombia	Does not exist	X	X
Dominica	X	X	n/a
Ecuador	X	X	X
El Salvador	X	X	n/a
Guatemala	X	X	Proposal
Mexico	X	X	n/a
Panama	X	X	n/a
Paraguay	Does not exist	X	n/a
Peru	X	X	Does not exist
Dominican Republic	X	n/a	n/a
Uruguay	X	n/a	n/a

Source: Survey on mainstreaming gender in government, mechanism for civic participation in State reform programs and policies, and, incorporating gender into the rules and procedures of public administration, ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, Santiago, Chile (2000), (unpublished).

Memo: The "X" identifies those countries, which have adopted the measures, indicated. There may be other countries which have adopted similar measures but which do not show up in the surveys.

And so it is the case that most countries are equipped with gender-related statistics, training programs in gender issues for government employees, proactive policies for the redistribution of educational grants to women (Mexico) and for funding for female micro entrepreneurs (Barbados, Ecuador, Mexico and Paraguay). The sectors in which efforts have been made to mainstream gender in programs and services generally have criteria and indicators for monitoring and evaluating their results.

In all cases, the ratification of CEDAW and the CEDAW Optional Protocol constitute a tool for encouraging the inclusion of new regulations that eliminate gender discrimination in all aspects of State policy.

In a nutshell, the analysis of survey data and other secondary sources show us that women have been a catalyst for change and a force for democracy in reform agendas, and they have played

a prominent role in the new forums for dialogue occurring between the State and the various social actors within society as a whole.

However, they are less well represented in decision-making circles and in political coalitions and farther removed from the corridors of power where critical decisions are taken regarding the various dimensions of governmental reforms.

Although the agenda for gender equity has ushered in a mainstreaming of gender issues in the State which is highlighting the existence of a network of institutional structures, these trends are still largely unfolding within the sphere of social policy and fall short of the loftiest corridors of power where decision-makers design and implement the rules and regulations that govern relations between the State and society, and between the State and the market. The significant shifts which these machineries have nonetheless induced in the government sector constitute significant progress in the sense that they have heightened awareness of the very real discrimination between men and women in the highest-ranking political posts, greater gender equity or equality between men and women in government and a reapportionment of opportunities toward the most vulnerable social groups (credit, scholarships).

We are still faced with the challenge of getting involved in the most substantive programs and policies designed to ensure democratic governance and to make headway in State reform. Such participation presupposes a willingness on the part of women's movements and organizations and gender institutions to form political coalitions and institutions that will support these political reforms. This situation also calls for new forms of leadership designed to facilitate a grasp of the short-term and long-term interests of a wide spectrum of societal social actors and to enable people to become more sensitive to the tradeoffs implicit in the prevailing institutional arrangements, as well as more aware of the impact which these trends and forces for change —now and in the future— are going to have upon society and the members of society.

Other courses of action pursued by the women's movement and gender organizations and machineries do, of course, have their role to play in ensuring that agendas continue to specifically include issues pertaining to gender fairness and inequality and a focus on supporting the most severely disenfranchised groups of women. These strategies also serve to enhance the cultural debate, change mindsets in a more pluralistic direction, while broaching topics that are still controversial in today's prevailing cultural environment.

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Annexes

Annex 1

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

Argentina	Dominica	Panama
Barbados	Dominican Republic	Paraguay
Belize	Ecuador	Peru
Brazil	El Salvador	Uruguay
Chile	Guatemala	
Colombia	Mexico	

Annex 1-a

ARGENTINA

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
Offices of Provincia I Women (19)	Ministry of Foreign Relations: - Special Representative Office for issues in the international Sphere. Employment Ministry: - Tripartite Commission for equality of treatment and opportunity. Health Ministry: - Women's program for health and development.	Federal program against violence	Tripartite mechanisms at a provincial and	n/a	n/a

Annex 1-b

BARBADOS

Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender structures at various Ministries and public services - Focal points of gender at various Ministries 	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Annex 1-c

BELIZE

Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender mainstreaming program - Women's department: training for Civil Servants 	Zero tolerance policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Head of Women's Bureau participates in round tables with NGOs. - National Women's Commission. - Women's Issues Network. 	n/a	n/a

**Annex 1-d
BRAZIL**

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
State councils for Women's Rights Municipal councils	Health Ministry: - National Committee for Maternal Mortality. - Technical Chamber concerning domestic and sexual violence. - Women's and AIDS Commission.	Inter-sectorial Commission for Women's health. Program for Women's health. Program to combat violence.	National Health Council (CNS)	National Council for Women's Rights (CNDM)	n/a

**Annex 1-e
CHILE**

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
Regional Directorates Municipal Women's Offices	Employment Ministry: - Round Table on Gender and Work Ministry of Agriculture	Program of comprehensive support to women who are heads of household. Program to combat violence. Inter-Ministerial Commission for the monitoring of the equality of opportunity.	Round Table for Women and Employment. Academic Council of SERNAM. Council of Social Organization. Rural round table at both central and regional levels. Thirteen regional round tables with Women's Organizations monitoring equal opportunity plan. New political discussion of civic participation in the design and implementation of policies that mainstream users into the design and implementation of policies, incentives for voluntary work, and the bolstering of civil society organizations.	Advisory Council of SERNAM	Political commitment of Ministry to gender equality

**Annex 1-f
COLOMBIA**

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
Women's offices and/or gender equality at regional and municipal levels	Some Ministers have offices for dealing exclusively with gender issues	n/a	National Indigenous Associations participating in decision-making structures in the agricultural sector. Monitoring of women's organizations. Women's associations participate in comprehensive labour programs for heads of household organized by the Presidential office, promoting gender equality.	n/a	n/a

**Annex 1-g
DOMINICA**

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
n/a	Advisory Committee CEDAW Committee Commission for the Convention of Rights of the Child Commission of the Family	Proposal for a National Plan. Head of the Women's Bureau is member of several inter-ministerial committees: Rights of the child, the family, CEDAW, against domestic violence. Also serves on the inter-sectorial commissions.	Relationship with Dominica National Council of Women (DNCW). Women's Bureau Advisory Committee.	n/a	Northern District Progressive Women's Club (NDPWC). Small Project Assistance Team (SPAT). Dominica Council on Ageing. National Development Foundation of Dominica (NDFD). National Development Corporation (NDC). Dominica Rural Enterprise Project (DREP). Dominica Export Import Agency (DELIA).

**Annex 1-h
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
Office of gender equality and development at each one of the State Secretariats	Ministry of Education: - Gender Program	Inter-institutional Commission for the Protection of Women and National Councils to combat violence	n/a	n/a	n/a

Annex 1-i

ECUADOR

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
n/a	Minister of Government: National Directorate of Gender Ministry of Education: Pro-equality Gender Network Health Ministry: Gender committee.	National plan against violence. National Plan for the promotion of health. Prevention of adolescent pregnancy. Program to support women in rural districts in Ecuador (PADEMUR). Technical Inter-institutional commission to promote the right to Education and the Prevention of Teen Pregnancy (CONAMU), Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Public Health, INFPA, UNICEF).	Ministry of Employment and Human resources Political Round Table on Employment and Gender: CONAMU, Technical Advisory commission on Employment Ministry of Tourism, Quito Municipality, NGO specializations and Women's Organizations Ministry of the Environment, Round Tables on gender and the environment (CONAMU, specialized NGOs). Participatory policies in the context of implementing the free maternity law.	CONAMU Directorate has parity-based representation of public entities and Women's Organizations	n/a

Annex 1-j
EL SALVADOR

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
n/a	n/a	National Women's Policy	n/a	Two members of the Governing Body of the Institute come from the NGO	

Annex 1-k
GUATEMALA

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
National Women's Office at the Ministry of Employment	Ministry of Employment: - National Women's Office - Office of the Working Woman Presidential Commission on Human Rights: - Gender Unit Ministry of the Interior: - Women's Unit. Ministry of the Environment: - Women's Unit Ministry of Energy: - Women's Unit. Consultative Commission for the Reform of Education: - Sub-Commission for Gender Secretariat of Social Work: - Wife of the President: Program for the prevention and eradication of domestic violence	National policy for the promotion and development of Guatemalan women Laws of Social Development (includes sexual and reproductive rights)	The development of a national policy for the promotion and development of Guatemalan women constructed in co-ordination with SEPREM and women's organizations. Office of the Ombudsperson for Indigenous Women Advancement of women National Coordinator for the prevention of violence in the family and against women (CONAPREVI)	n/a	n/a

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
<p>30 structures and/or mechanisms for the progress of women in 32 states in the Republic.</p>	<p>Gender units at Ministries:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Environment, - Economy, Employment, Social, Development, Public education, Foreign relations, and Health <p>Directorate of International Affairs of Women (RREE)/General Directorate for Gender Equality.</p> <p>Directorate for the monitoring of Equality and Gender (Secretariat of Social Development).</p> <p>General co-ordination office for the Productive Development Program for Women (Ministry of the Economy).</p> <p>Gender liaison with the other Ministries.</p> <p>Health Ministry: Programs for Women and Health.</p>	<p>Pro-equity Program:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Mainstreaming gender in plans, -Programs, -Projects, and -Mechanisms <p>Institutional round table on efforts to combat violence.</p> <p>Inter-institutional round table on gender liaison to monitor program goal attainment.</p> <p>Inter-sectorial program for services to indigenous women.</p>	<p>Round Table restoring and safeguarding social dignity in Mexico City.</p> <p>50 Regional and National forums concerning the development of the Plan for Equality of Opportunity and non-discrimination towards women. Pro-equity 2000-2006.</p> <p>Institutional round table to combat poverty.</p> <p>Mechanism for ongoing dialogue with Civil Society organizations.</p> <p>Round Table about women's rights (monitoring international commitments).</p> <p>Strengthening of partnership structures with the Agrarian Advisory Office, participation in productive development.</p>	<p>Governing body of the institute:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Heads of government, -RREE, -Treasury and public credit, -Social development, -Environment, natural resources and fisheries, -Trade and industrial development, -Agriculture, livestock and administrative development, -Health, -Employment and social welfare, -Agrarian reform, -Office of the Attorney General of the Republic, -National indigenous institute, and -The national system for the comprehensive development of the family. 	<p>National Agreement for Equality between men and women (March 2002):</p> <p>Co-ordination of sectors of the Federal Public Administration and collaboration with governments of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -States and municipalities, -The federal judicial and legislative branches, -The federal entities and co-operation with universities, -Research centres, -NGOs and other social actors of society. <p>Commitment by public entities and the Office of the Attorney-General of the Republic in pursuit of equity-oriented goals.</p> <p>Institutional round table for the co-ordination of preventive actions and a focus on violence within the family and services for women (representatives of the three branches of government and NGOs).</p>

**Annex 1-m
PANAMA**

Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
<p>Network of government mechanisms for equality of opportunity.</p> <p>Ministry of development of Agriculture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Program for Rural Women 	<p>Network of public and civil entities that are producers and users of statistical information with a gender focus.</p> <p>National plans:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Against violence in the family, and policies for civic co-existence. - For sexual and reproductive health. - or Women and Development, 1997. 	<p>Be Executive Decree, the National Council for Women is created in 1995.</p> <p>Co-ordination with the Women's National Commission for the National Plan against Violence.</p> <p>Second plan of equality of opportunity with participation by all the Ministries, offices of women, planning, legal advice, NGOs and Civil Society.</p> <p>National consultation through the holding of local workshops with groups of men and women.</p> <p>Participation of women's organizations in the Program of Rural Women of the Ministry of Agricultural Development.</p> <p>National meetings between women and DINAMU.</p>	<p>CONAMU agency setting public gender policies, constituted by representatives of the State and Civil Society.</p> <p>Construction of the national plan on women and development, which receives international support.</p>	<p>Women and Development Pact 1993 (commitment by women with candidates for the Presidency of the Republic).</p> <p>Women and Development Pact 1999 (presidential elections, 1999).</p>

**Annex 1-n
PARAGUAY**

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
<p>Departmental Secretariats of Women.</p> <p>Centre for Initiative of Women's Development, 1999.</p> <p>Women's Municipal Secretariats.</p>	<p>Ministry of Education: PRIOME</p> <p>Plan for Women's Health</p> <p>Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Office for Gender and Youth. 	<p>National plans for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The prevention and punishment of violence against women. - Reproductive health and family planning. <p>Inter-institutional commissions for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The health plan. - The plan of equality of opportunity. 	<p>National Council for reproductive health.</p> <p>Tripartite commission to monitor the Beijing accords.</p> <p>Participation of the NGOs in the evaluation of the National Plan for Equality of Opportunity.</p> <p>Training of local female monitors in sexual and reproductive health.</p> <p>Network of centres of initiative and development for women in Paraguay.</p>	n/a	n/a

Annex 1-o
PERU

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
n/a	n/a	Inter-ministerial agreement of 2000 concerning specific objectives with regard to gender equality, promoting greater participation by women. National plan for action for children. National plan against violence toward women 2002-2007 (Inter-sectorial commission)	n/a	n/a	Tenth policy of the National Agreement approved as State policy for promoting social and gender equality.

Annex 1-p
URUGUAY

State Regional and Municipal Offices	Sectorial Structures	Programs that promote an Inter-sectorial approach	Mechanisms for mediating between the State and Women's Organizations in Civil Society	NGOs role in the Executive and Consultative Committees of Gender Machineries	Agreements between Branches of Government and Sectors of Society
Gender Commission at 16 departmental governments Commission of Women at the Municipal Government of Montevideo	Ministry of Labour and Social Security: - Tripartite Commission for equality of opportunity and treatment in employment (1997). - Program for the promotion of equality of opportunity for Women in the workplace and job training. Ministry of Public Health: - Program for responsible maternity and paternity. Program for the prevention of cervical cancer. - Program for prevention of breast cancer. Ministry of Livestock, Agriculture and Fisheries: - Rural Uruguay Project (2001): Honorary commission on Rural Women (2000). Ministry of the Interior: - Technical Unit for Support for Women and the Family, National Directorate for the Social Prevention of Crime. Ministry of Sport and Youth.	n/a	Commission for the implementation of the Beijing proposal, located at the Ministry of Education and Culture, including representatives from the Ministries of: - Economy, - Employment and Social Security, - Public Health, - Housing, - Regional Planning and the Environment, - National Institute for Family and Women. Moreover, this possesses 10 task forces comprised of members from Civil Society organizations. Work group to co-ordinate the country's health-care establishments for the prevention of disease, promotion of education in health, with the aim of achieving a better quality of life and well-being for women (2002).	n/a	n/a

Source: Survey on mainstreaming gender in government, mechanism for civic participation in State reform programs and policies, and, incorporating gender into the rules and procedures of public administration, ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, Santiago, Chile (2000), (unpublished).

INSTITUTIONAL MACHINERIES IN OTHER BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT

Country	Legislative Branch	Others
Argentina	n/a	- Office of the People's Ombudsperson; - Office for the Defence of Women's Rights
Brazil	Women's caucus	n/a
Chile	Does not exist	Does not exist
Colombia	n/a	- Delegate for women at the Office of the People's Ombudsperson - Delegate for women, children and family in the Office of the Attorney-General of the Nation
Ecuador	Special Commission for women, children, youth and the family	Office of the People's Ombudsperson: - National directorate for the defence of the rights of women, children and adolescents Offices of the Commissioners for women and the family
El Salvador	Commission for: - Women, Minors and the Family in the Congress of the Republic - Women, Children, Youth and the Family (Central American Parliament) - The Family, Women and Children. Municipal Council.	Office of the Attorney-General of the Republic: - Office for the Protection of the Rights of Women and the Family.
Guatemala	n/a	Office of the Ombudsperson for Women
Mexico	- Congress of the Union and 28 local congresses out of 32 have equity and gender commissions - 1998: Parliament of women in the Congress of the Union: flexible forum for the discussion of gender at a national legislative level.	- National Human Rights Commission: a special structure to address women's rights issues - Office of the Federal Advocate for the Consumer - Agricultural advisor: to raise awareness among rural women regarding agrarian policy and rights
Panama	n/a	- Office of the People's Ombudsperson convenes the National Commission against all forms of discrimination. The authorities are proposing to establish a body for the defence of women within that context. - Equality of Opportunity Management, Panama Canal Authority. Respect for human rights against all types or causes of discrimination
Paraguay	- Commission on Equality, Gender and Social Development in the Chamber of Senators; and the commission for Women, Youth and Childhood in the Chamber of Deputies - Municipal Board of Asunción: Permanent Advisory. Commission for Gender Equality	ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, at the Office of the Inspector-General of the State.
Peru	Commission of Women in Parliament	Offices of the: - Women's Ombudsperson - Commissioners for women
Dominican Republic	n/a	n/a
Uruguay	- Special Commission on the Status of Women (1985) - Women in Parliament (Legislature 2000-2005) - Special Commission for Gender Equity (2000)	n/a

Source: Survey on mainstreaming gender in government, mechanism for civic participation in State reform programs and policies, and, incorporating gender into the rules and procedures of public administration, ECLAC, Women and Development Unit, Santiago, Chile (2000), (unpublished).

Annex 3

**LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN:
DIMENSIONS OF REFORM IN SOME SELECTED COUNTRIES (1990-2002)**

	Argentina	Bolivia	Brazil	Chile	Colombia	El Salvador	Guatemala	Mexico	Panama	Peru	Dominican Republic	Uruguay
a) Administrative Reform												
- Institution-building												
Institutional redesign and development	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓
Creation of Ministries and Services, National Programs for Streamline Bureaucracies		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Management Modernization	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Generation of regulatory frameworks and policies on concessions		✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓
- Mechanisms for transparency in public management												
Civic Participation (eg. Civic Participatory Councils)			✓				✓			✓		
Decentralization		✓	✓	✓								✓
Regional Reform		✓			✓		✓					✓
Regional Governments	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Municipal Governments	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Bolstering of Management at regional and Municipal levels		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
b) Economic Reform												
Implementation of fiscal packages	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Debt renegotiation		✓										
- Trade Reform												
Opening up to outside world, and trade liberalization (tariffs)			✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓		
- Financial reform												
Restructuring and Strengthening of the Financial System	✓				✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	
Introducing greater policy flexibility into foreign exchange	✓		✓				✓					
De-indexation of the economy			✓									
- Tax Reform												
Reform of the Administration of pension funds and the securities market	✓				✓			✓		✓	✓	
Membership of regional markets and pacts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Bilateral agreements												
Privatizations	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Abolition of State Monopolies			✓		✓			✓			✓	
Elimination of State subsidies				✓							✓	
Establishment of freedom to generate electrical power and sell it												✓
c) Political Reform												
Approval of new constitutions	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓			✓		
Constituent Congress	✓				✓					✓		
Constitutional amendments (eg. re-election of presidents or changes in terms of office)	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓		✓		
Institutionalization of referendums (eg. parliamentary immunity)			✓		✓					✓		✓
Reform of the electoral system	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
Election of regional and/or municipal governments	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Annex 3 (conclusion)

	Argentina	Bolivia	Brazil	Chile	Colombia	El Salvador	Guatemala	Mexico	Panama	Peru	Dominican Republic	Uruguay
d) Judicial reform												
Reforms of appointments to and membership of judicial authorities Supreme Court				✓				✓				
Creation of an Academy of Justice and train programs				✓								
Creation of prosecutorial authorities (Public Ministry) and other similar entities		✓		✓	✓			✓				
Judicial co-ordination council	✓									✓		
Criminal reform process	✓			✓	✓	✓						
Criminal Code Reform		✓		✓	✓			✓				
Creation of new law courts				✓	✓							
e) Labour reform												
Labour reform				✓	✓				✓		✓	
Reform of Social Insurance System				✓	✓			✓			✓	✓
Law on the rights of employers	✓									✓	✓	
Fixed-term contracts			✓								✓	
Greater flexibilization of working hours	✓		✓							✓		
f) Pension System Reform												
New Social Security systems	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓
Private Pensions System	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓
g) Social Reform												
Reform of Education		✓		✓	✓							✓
Health reform				✓	✓							
New social programs (health, education, housing etc)	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓		✓		
Policy of Decentralization of Decisions and Resources	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓				
Unified Health System: municipal organization, financing			✓				✓					
Decentralization of public health and epidemiological surveillance			✓									
Increase in percentage of budget allocated for health			✓									
Improvement of infrastructure for a unified health system			✓									
Social plans for the eradication/reduction of poverty	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓			✓	
Increase in percentage of budget allocated for social expenditure				✓	✓			✓				
Promotion of the sustainable development of family farms			✓									
Social emergency programs					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
National funds (eg, compensation and development)	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Source: Author's own analysis based on the Integrated Analytical System of Information on State Reform, Management and Public Policy (SIARE) of the Latin American Centre for Development Administration (CLAD) <<http://www.clad.org.ve/wwwsiare>>.



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