



## **GENDER and CITIZENSHIP**

### **Overview Report**

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## Acronyms

ADEW	Egyptian Association for the Development and Enhancement of Women
AU	African Union
CALS	Centre for Applied Legal Studies
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CNDM	National Council on Women's Rights
DFID	Department for International Development
FGM	Female genital mutilation
GAD	Gender and Development
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MacMag GLIP	Machreq/Maghreb Gender Linking and Information Project
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MIGEPROFE	Ministry of Gender and Women in Development
MMTR	Movimento das Mulheres Trabalhadoras Rurais do Noreste
MST	Movement for the Landless
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NWMN	Namibian Women's Manifesto Network
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OSAGI	United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RWM	Rural Women's Movement
SWAP	Sector-Wide Approach
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	World Bank
WID	Women in Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation

## **Executive Summary**

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### **Citizenship and development**

For women and other marginalised groups inequality and exclusion have, on the whole, increased over the past decade. There is a growing realisation amongst those working in development that strategies based on economic models have, for many people, failed to bring about genuine, positive change. This has led to the search for new ways of constructing programmes and approaches that look beyond economics, and into the political, social and cultural world. Looking at citizenship means looking at the people who make up a group, community or nation, and how they work within the group to guide the way it functions. Taking people's activities, roles and responsibilities as a starting point opens up new possibilities for addressing, and indeed redressing, the marginalisation of groups such as women.

Citizenship is about membership of a group or community that confers rights and responsibilities as a result of such membership. It is both a status – or an identity – and a practice or process of relating to the social world through the exercise of rights/protections and the fulfilment of obligations. Citizenship theory has its roots in western political thought and is based on the “universal citizen” – an individual, with rights, who engages with governance institutions or the state in the public arena of political debate. However, the forms of citizenship change according to historical and cultural context. People define their citizenship in many different ways – in relation to the local, national or a global community. Rights and responsibilities, construed in western thought as referring to the individual can, in other societies, be based on family or community needs. One important way in which citizenship has been re-framed has been the introduction of a gender perspective by feminists and gender equality activists. This has led to distinct shifts in many interpretations of both the status and the practice of citizenship.

### **Gender-based critiques of citizenship**

Ideas of universal citizenship – equal rights for all members – are a feature of many understandings of citizenship. Feminists, amongst others, have pointed out that this hides the reality of unequal power on the basis of race, class, ethnicity and gender, that can render women subject to double discrimination. These inequalities lead in reality to some people being excluded from the rights and responsibilities of full citizenship on the basis of their difference. Gendered exclusion from citizenship is linked to the public/private divide that identifies men's role as being in the public world of politics and paid employment, and women's in caring and child-rearing in the home. The public/private divide also operates to exclude men who do not conform to traditional gender norms.

### **Re-framing citizenship from a gender equality perspective**

Citizenship is bound up with relationships and expressions of power. Like power relations, citizenship rights are not fixed, but are objects of struggle to be defended, reinterpreted and extended.

### *Challenging the public/private divide*

Challenging the public/private divide means asserting that private matters such as sexuality, reproduction and the family are matters for public attention. This applies both to addressing “private wrongs” such as domestic violence and to including issues like welfare and support for childcare as citizenship rights. This report describes a case study where sex workers in India fought to have a “private” matter – sexuality – placed on the political agenda. Efforts to include so-called private gender needs such as welfare and childcare in policy are demonstrated in initiatives to better include women’s perspectives in countries’ Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) – as in the case of Rwanda. Accepting women’s multiple roles as mothers and as workers who should be entitled to workers’ rights is illustrated in a case study on Brazil.

### *Challenging exclusion from rights on the basis of gender*

One way to redress existing disadvantage is through policies of affirmative action that target the interests of those excluded from rights. The case of Sister Namibia describes a campaign for political parties to increase the numbers of women on their lists of election candidates. A second way of addressing disadvantage is by basing rights on the actual needs of women and men of minority groups and not on abstract ideas of the need of a universal citizen. This can be achieved through gender-sensitive needs assessments and consultations. A project to reform customary marriage law in South Africa shows how tactics used to address polygyny (the practice where a man is allowed to take more than one wife), were modified when better understanding was achieved of the particular legal needs of women living in polygynous marriages.

### *Promoting women as agents and political actors*

Collective struggles can allow women to influence institutions such as the household, market and state. Many of the examples in this report demonstrate advocacy, lobbying, campaigning and awareness-raising in civil society organisations as citizenship “in practice”. These struggles are evident in women’s organising in both formal and informal arenas. The campaign by Sister Namibia combined lobbying political parties with raising awareness amongst women of their political exclusion.

## **Recommendations**

The following recommendations are intended to support policy-makers and practitioners in expanding citizenship rights according to a gender perspective. The recommendations can also indicate potential directions for future campaigning by civil society groups and women’s organisations:

- Issues that are “left out” of citizenship rights – such as the safety of women in their own homes, childcare and sexuality – need to be addressed and given public, and/or institutional solutions.
- In order for women’s citizenship to be acknowledged, institutions including the state, civil society and families, need to incorporate their perspective into all areas of activity. This can be achieved through gender mainstreaming in all policy areas, even those that are supposedly “gender neutral”.

- Affirmative action needs to be initiated to increase numbers of women in formal political structures and other decision-making bodies as an effective way to kick-start processes of change towards gender equality.
- Needs assessments are crucial to enable development initiatives to be based on the experiences of real people. Participatory assessments and consultations have the potential to put gender-differentiated needs on the policy agenda.
- Good quality gender analysis is also essential. Policy-makers must be trained in the technical skills of gender analysis and planning.
- Policy-makers and project implementers should support social movements, including human rights and gender equality NGOs, through resources, capacity-building and provision of training in advocacy and lobbying skills.
- Spaces must be created and utilised for dialogue between civil society organisations and government.
- The creation of networks amongst those working on similar issues must be supported in order to foster dialogue, gain information and develop effective strategies.

*Specific recommendations for women's civil society organisations.*

- Civil society groups need to create a role for themselves as providers of valuable information to policy-makers on women's needs, gender discrimination and potential strategies.
- Groups need to be aware of entry points into decision-making and policy dialogues – such as processes of law reform, new governments and administrations, or important local, national and international events.
- Groups need to invest time and resources in skills training, particularly in advocacy and lobbying.





# 1. Introduction

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In recent years many development actors have used citizenship rights and responsibilities in order to address development goals such as poverty eradication, discrimination and democratisation. Alongside this, women's rights activists, feminist academics and women's social movements have drawn on ideas of citizenship in order to achieve greater gender equality. The interaction between development workers, activists and civil society in promoting the rights of citizens can be a powerful force.

This report looks at the importance of both citizenship and gender to development theory and practice. It discusses key debates in the literature on gender and citizenship and attempts to illustrate how reframing citizenship from a gender perspective can introduce broader rights and political participation as development goals. It also highlights how understanding the ways in which different groups define and experience citizenship can enable development actors and the citizens they work with to make such rights and participation a reality. In an environment where addressing discrimination and exclusion is being placed more firmly on the agenda alongside economic and technical development, understanding citizenship can help to provide a fuller picture of the basis of such discrimination and exclusion. Such a people-focused approach is essential to effect positive change.

Citizenship is about membership of a group or community and about the rights and responsibilities conferred by that membership. Citizenship can therefore be a relationship with the state and/or a group, society or community. Citizenship is both a status – or an identity – and a practice or process of relating to the social world through the exercise of rights/protections and fulfilment of obligations.

The concept of membership by definition means that some are included and some excluded; and for people the world over, citizenship has been about exclusion. We only have to look at the experiences of migrants in all societies to see how certain groups are excluded from the benefits of membership of nations and communities and the effects that this can have. Such exclusion has served as the basis of citizenship struggles – for example past anti-colonial struggles to include the colonised as full and equal citizens, and more recent citizenship struggles to include the right of poor people to basic resources.

Exclusion and marginalisation from full citizenship are not only about being an outsider in a geographical sense. Groups such as women, ethnic minorities and the poor can fall outside full citizenship.

Experiences of citizenship are therefore also dependent on societal position and roles – roles that are dictated by social relations of unequal power formed on the basis of race, ethnicity, caste, class and gender. The roles and relationships within societies dictate who is “inside” and who is “outside” and which activities are valued. They lead to different types and levels of exclusion from the advantages that membership incurs.

Gender roles and relations are one such power relation. Gender refers to both the meanings and practices of being women and men. The relations between and within groups of women and men differ across cultures, have changed over time, and are constantly shifting. However, across the globe women are disadvantaged in access to resources and power when compared with men of the same race, class, or ethnic group. Women may also often suffer double exclusion. Women living in minority ethnic communities, for example, can be discriminated against on account of their race *and* their gender.

People's social roles and responsibilities are central to their experience of citizenship. Men's and women's roles and status vary from society to society. However, in the majority of societies women take a far greater role in home-making and care work, and participate less in formal politics and possibly less in wage earning. Ideas of women's lesser status and men's superior status are ingrained so deeply as to make this relation between women and men seem natural, even to women themselves. Struggles for gender equality that work to redress the imbalance of power and resources between women and men, can do so through questioning and challenging these roles.

Citizenship can be a dynamic concept incorporating negotiations over membership, exclusion, roles, values, power and equality. Such negotiations can coalesce around struggles to include the roles or activities that are "left out" or under-valued in citizenship – and therefore to include those who undertake such activities. It is important that such struggles do not fix these roles but enable them to be negotiated. People take on a wide variety of multiple activities in society and must be seen as whole and complex beings. Above all, people must be able to articulate how they themselves view their position and their contribution to the groups to which they belong.

Initial attempts to include women in development policy and practice can be described as a "Women in Development" or WID approach that involved targeting women to counter their invisibility in development interventions. The WID approach was subsequently criticised for separating out women's development in isolated projects that failed to change mainstream development strategies. In the 1990s this gave way to Gender and Development (GAD) which sought to understand women's situations and discrimination in the context of gender roles and relationships of unequal power. Subsequently a "gender mainstreaming" agenda was adopted that promoted gender equality across all project areas – even those such as infrastructure and economics which were apparently "gender neutral". Looking at citizenship means looking at people and their activities in the social world. It can show the need for both cross-cutting measures that emphasise women's inclusion in all areas of development *and* targeted programmes that stress particular gendered needs and inequalities.

This report begins in Section 2 by outlining the concept of citizenship, and why it has come to be used in development – and particularly in Gender and Development (GAD). Section 3 goes on to point out the problems with concepts of citizenship with regard to gender, such as assumptions of universality and underlying gender-based exclusion. Section 4 discusses some of the ways in which feminists and development policy-makers and practitioners have sought to work with and re-frame citizenship in the

context of struggles for gender equality. A substantive case study section provides examples of such work in practice. The final section offers some conclusions, and recommendations for shaping development initiatives along the lines of gendered citizenship.

Citizenship is by definition an abstract and nebulous concept. Linking what can be dense theory to the experiences of the poor and the marginalised with a view to effecting concrete and positive change is a hard task. It is hoped that this report goes some way to making this connection.

## **2. Why are Citizenship and Gender Relevant to Development Practice?**

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### ***2.1 What is citizenship? Traditional definitions and origins***

Citizenship is about belonging to a group or community and about the rights and responsibilities associated with such membership. In addition to being about a status, that confers rights and obligations, citizenship is also a practice whereby people are able to participate in shaping their societies. It implies not only rights and responsibilities, but also interaction and influence within the community.

The concept originated in western political thought on liberalism and democracy and is based on the notion of the individual as member of a democratic nation state. It described the relationship between the individual and the state in which the individual was able to secure protections and participate in the public life and decision-making of the nation. The “true citizen” was originally conceived as one who was able to fight and die for his country. In changing historical contexts this warrior citizen became the democratic voter in the context of struggles for universal suffrage and, in the past century, into the individual who could exchange contracts in the market place – now the citizen-consumer. All these “citizens” have been at different times the “true” and “full” members of the community or group – those whose roles indicated membership and who are most highly valued or recognised.

Citizenship rights in western thought were traditionally conceived as civil and political rights that enabled people to engage in political debate and decision-making in the public arena. Citizenship bestowed a legal status on such rights, thus giving the individual the means of claiming them and also an avenue by which to seek redress should they be violated (Lister 2003b).

Citizenship, as conferred equally on all people who succeed to “membership” of the nation, is based on a neutral, abstract person, without a gender, race, class, ethnicity or any other social relation that marks real, living people. Equality therefore implies that all citizens are the same with the same needs. The law, which guarantees the rights of citizens, is itself seen as neutral and applying to all citizens equally. Such concepts are referred to as “universal” citizenship.

### ***2.2 Different understandings of citizenship***

However, different meanings of citizenship have been expressed by groups all over the world whose experiences of membership, belonging and participation do not fit this model. The particular and differing forms of states and societies mean that people experience these concepts in different ways. The growing dominance of western forms of statehood and democracy does not obscure other forms of being in the world expressed by women and by people from diverse regions, races and ethnicities. In addition to

membership of a nation state, citizenship has also been applied to membership of social groups or communities within a nation state, and to rights, responsibilities, resources and recognition that arise from such membership. Many understandings of citizenship are about community roles and obligations where citizenship is seen not only in relation to the state, but also as a relationship between fellow human beings.

### ***2.3 Citizenship in a changing global context***

Traditional notions of citizenship are also being mediated by three important global political shifts:

1. National agendas, the “traditional” location of citizenship, are increasingly framed by the policies of international institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which national citizens have no way of holding to account.
2. The acceptance of neoliberal economics as the only approach sees a limited role for the nation state in addressing the needs of the poor. Restrictions on the ability of citizens to claim entitlements from this powerful policy-making arena can increase the likelihood of poverty and inequality.
3. Increased international migrations and tensions around ethnic and cultural differences within countries have fractured relationships among citizens as well as between citizens and states.

However, globalisation, at the same time as it constrains, provides new opportunities to claim rights on the basis of membership of a regional or global community (Sen 2003) and increasing possibilities for addressing and redressing poverty. More recently a sense of “global citizenship” has emerged in which people from all over the world come together as members of the global community in international movements such as peace protests and in international conferences such as the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.

Shifting notions of citizenship have been reflected in policy and practice. In many cases citizens’ rights have been expanded to include social, cultural and reproductive rights – rights that cover a wider range of life experiences and needs. In Section 4 we shall look in more detail at how struggles for gender equality have re-cast citizenship in ways that better reflect the experiences of women and other marginalised groups. However, firstly it is necessary to outline in greater detail why and how notions of citizenship can be important in the development context.

## ***2.4 Trends in development theory and practice***

Development has historically been approached as a technical exercise that, with a bit of tinkering here and there, will be able to manage poverty and inequality. Bringing citizenship into development debates can help to introduce concepts of power and inequality to such technical operations since it explores the nature and basis of discrimination against particular groups, and can therefore offer avenues for change.

Poverty has been linked to the low number of women in positions of power and authority – even specifically to the number of women parliamentarians (Shabbir Cheema 2000). Unequal power relations result in unequal access to resources and thus contribute to the impoverishment of marginalised groups such as women. Feminist academics and advocates and women's organisations have made the case that unless development planning and practice take into account unequal power relations on the basis of gender, women's position, and that of other marginalised groups, will remain unchanged and might even worsen (Kabeer 1994, Sen and Grown 1985).

Over at least the last three decades there has been an ongoing search within development theory and practice for more effective ways of addressing poverty and inequality. Such efforts are reflected in a number of recent development trends and agendas.

### ***2.4.1 Decentralisation and governance***

Development cooperation has recently shifted to working directly with national governments on policy development. The World Bank Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) and Sector-Wide Approaches (SWAPs) are examples of interventions at this level (Macdonald 2003).

At the same time, development agencies have sought to support processes of decentralisation of governance in which local governance is strengthened in order to bring decision-making closer to populations and more able to address context-specific problems through resource management and planning at the local level. In India for example, decentralisation has involved increasing the power and influence of Gram Panchayats (village councils). Here the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendments state that one third of the seats in the Gram Panchayats should be reserved for women, indicating a commitment to gender equality in the process of decentralisation.

Working with policy development in national governments and decentralisation agendas both link into a broader aim to promote good governance as an integral part of development, alongside the more traditional economic models. Governance and citizenship are intimately connected and mutually dependent. The ability of citizens to participate in the life and shaping of their communities is dependent on the commitment of decision-makers to seek, understand and act upon their views. The aim should not be to construct a dividing line between citizenship or citizens on the one hand and governance on the other, as this implies either a bottom-up or a top-down focus. Rather, what these recent trends suggest is

an understanding of the interactions between citizens and governance institutions. This means looking at ways of increasing citizen decision-making and participation and getting governments to be more responsive to citizens' needs and priorities (Jones and Gaventa, 2002).

#### *2.4.2 Participatory methodologies and consultation*

In the 1980s various methods of public or participatory consultation were developed with the aim of increasing poor people's influence over community development projects. Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRAs), for example, enable local people to articulate and analyse their own situations for themselves and engage in planning in their communities (Chambers and Blackburn 1996). In the mid 1990s development policy-makers and practitioners began to expand ideas of participation to include wider decision-making processes. Ideas of participation in formal political structures fed into the new governance and decentralisation agendas. In Brazil, for example, participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre has sought to decentralise the planning of resource allocation to local constituencies (Eşim 2000). Such processes have been much vaunted for their innovative approaches to governance and citizen participation and yet many, including Porto Alegre, still fail to acknowledge gender inequalities in their planning and implementation.

Participation has been seen as citizenship "in practice". Like citizenship, participation demonstrates a people-centred approach to development where interventions begin with formulating an understanding of people's lives, their needs and the particular discriminations they suffer from. Linking participation to citizenship can give "teeth" to participatory development. Citizenship extends the right to participate to the right of such participation to be acted upon by states, communities and other decision-making bodies. It both reflects and analyses existing conditions *and* allows for "bottom-up" and "top-down" change in power relations. It also opens the stage to participation that is not "asked for", such as in activism, campaigning or oppositional political involvement.

However, participatory development has by no means been adopted across the board. In many situations participatory approaches have been included in the planning stages of projects and interventions but without sufficient commitment. Often the findings of consultations are not taken on in the management and implementation phases, and citizens are unable to hold institutions accountable for acting on their opinions. Moreover, the participation of the poor and the engagement of the community in fact often means the participation of men since in almost all cultures men tend to be the spokespersons for communities. Areas such as macroeconomic policy and national and international level politics still remain out of the reach of most citizens, particularly women.

#### **Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs)**

One example of attempts to include consultative processes in drawing up national strategies are the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) which are now the basis for the World Bank and IMF's assistance to Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). PRSPs are supposed to be drawn up and modified through extensive processes of consultation with civil

society. However the success of such consultations in influencing the content and implementation of the PRSPs has been limited (IDA and IMF 2002) due to lack of time and political will among other factors. The PRSPs have largely failed to involve the participation of women in the consultations or to integrate a gender perspective in the content. **Case study 5.7** in this report describes the drafting of the Rwanda PRSP – one of the few success stories with regard to addressing gender equality.

#### *2.4.3 The rights-based approach to development*

Another important shift has been the coming together of human rights and development communities, giving rise to the rights-based approach to development (Jones and Gaventa 2002). This has been taken up by actors such as the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as Oxfam and Action Aid, civil society groups and some national governments.

Rather than arguments of economic growth or technical development, the rights-based approach establishes development interventions on the basis that all people are entitled to universal human rights and that development should be orientated towards fulfilling these rights. The expansion of rights to cover many areas of life such as political, social, cultural and domestic spheres seemed to offer a way of regulating development goals and introducing people's real needs and problems. In this way the rights-based approach also offers the potential to work towards gender equality in that it departs from a focus on (mainly male) actors in formal political and economic spheres.

This approach also emphasises citizen action as it provides a platform for people to actively call for rights that they perceive are being denied them. It introduces the role of civil society politics and social movements as ways through which people can access and influence institutions and decision-making arenas. Again, as we shall see in the following sections, this is crucial for work towards gender equality, since it allows for collaboration between development actors and women's movements that have been active throughout the world in recent decades.

#### **International Instruments**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) are examples of international rights treaties. When governments ratify such treaties citizens are able to use the rights outlined in them to claim entitlements or challenge discrimination. CEDAW, for example, has enabled women's organisations to promote and shape domestic violence legislation and other legal rights. **Case study 5.1** describes how women's rights campaigners have used the rights outlined in CEDAW to put pressure on governments to change laws which state that their children's citizenship must be that of their father. In this way international instruments provide an entry point for citizens to access and influence institutional processes from a position of knowledge and legitimacy.



However, rights-based approaches hold their own problems. In Section 3 we shall see how development strategies that are founded on “universal” norms that apply to all people, inevitably exclude people, many of them women. Moreover, the struggles for rights are predicated on the individual perceiving that their rights are being violated. This situation does not take into account the interdependency of people and the fact that some may not see their own rights as taking priority over those of their children, family members or communities.

#### *2.4.4 Gender mainstreaming*

Alongside a focus on rights and participation, another important shift in development policy over the past decade has been the introduction of a gender mainstreaming agenda in response to the continued marginalisation of women. Gender mainstreaming is the policy process within development and other institutions designed to integrate a gender equality perspective in all areas as a cross-cutting theme. This means including a gender analysis in supposedly “neutral” sectors such as infrastructure or energy as well as health and education. Gender mainstreaming involves including the perspective of both men and women at the design, planning, implementation and monitoring phases of development programmes and analysing the differential effects of such programmes on men and women, with the goal of promoting greater gender equality. It can mean changes to goals, strategies and actions, and to organisations, institutions, cultures and behaviours – as such it is a potentially radical tool.

This policy fits into, and can use, the language of citizenship in two important ways. Firstly commitments to gender mainstreaming acknowledge the importance of including the contributions and needs of women in all areas of public policy. Secondly gender mainstreaming is an example of how citizen’s voices – in this case women’s movements – have successfully put issues of equality on the development policy agenda in both national and donor contexts.

#### *2.4.5 Setting international goals*

In 2000 the United Nations developed a set of eight “Millennium Development Goals” (MDGs) which represent a commitment by governments to key development targets. Efforts to address gender inequality are reflected in Goal 3 of the Millennium Development Goals to ‘Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women’. Although the target for this goal focuses on education, the indicators include the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments – a sign that women’s political participation is seen as central to development.

Other goals also indicate a role for reassessing women’s citizenship. The poverty goal, for example, can include projects that improve women’s access to the legal system (World Bank Gender and Development Group 2003).

However, although the need for inclusive political processes and strong partnerships with civil society was made clear in the United Nations Millennium Declaration, neither civil society nor people-centred

approaches were explicitly stated in the MDGs themselves. In addition there was little participation of civil society in the formulation of the goals, although there have been subsequent efforts to mobilise a wide range of diverse actors in working towards their achievement (Bissio 2003).

The picture of citizenship and its relationship to development (and to gender) is not straightforward, and not necessarily always positive. Firstly, the development “project” has a particular relationship to traditional notions of citizenship in the light of the continued imposition of western political and economic models on the world’s poorest countries. Whereas, over the past century at least, nation states made up of individual citizens have arguably been an effective form of political organising in Western Europe and North America, the mapping of such organising onto newly liberated and created nation states in the name of political and economic development/modernisation was, and is, problematic. This can involve imposing top-down political reforms without popular support, failing to take historic contexts such as experience of colonialism into account and working with a lack of knowledge about indigenous forms of power and collective decision-making.

This section has sketched some of the broad currents in development policy and practice over the past decade and how they related to citizenship. In the following sections we shall go on to examine in more detail what citizenship means in practice and whether it can contribute to furthering gender equality in development. Firstly we need to examine the critiques, challenges and limitations of citizenship before examining attempts to re-frame it from a gender perspective and illustrating how this has influenced gender and development.

### 3. Critiques of Citizenship “through a gender lens”

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Framing development interventions in the language and practice of gendered citizenship can point to and argue for particular forms of gender work, new areas of intervention, good practice and ways of working, and can illuminate end goals. In short it can set a new agenda for gender and development. It has even been argued that ‘Citizenship must be the premise ... for any concrete action supposed to be taken in women’s favour’ (Lawson 2003: 11). Citizenship enables both the “why?” – why gender equality should be addressed; and the “how?” – through engaged and active citizenship.

However, it must be acknowledged at this point that there are also many people who may just not want to involve themselves in struggles or active participation – people who are “time poor”, or uninterested in decision-making and would rather be represented by someone else. Many women find themselves in this situation but may want their citizenship recognised through other means such as their welfare roles, their paid employment or bringing up and educating their children. Others may not talk about their needs or experience in the language of membership or rights. Citizenship is not a panacea for positive change.

Citizenship and its language of rights and participation must therefore not be taken unquestioningly. It can be criticised from a gender perspective on a number of levels. Such critiques are often directed at traditional, western notions of national citizenship for their western-centric, limited view of the world. However, other ways of looking at citizenship including different forms of membership, belonging, rights and participation also raise problems in terms of gender, race, class and ethnicity inequalities. This section describes some of these critiques – some are explicitly gendered, and others apply to all forms of difference.

#### **3.1 Universal ideas imply we are all the same and hide inequalities**

The idea of universal rights implies we are all the same, that we all have the same needs and interests, and start from the same positions of power and resources. Feminist scholarship and activism highlight that although democracy implies equality, in practice it allows some people to count more than others. Particular concerns – those of men from the dominant group – are able to masquerade as universal concerns (Philips 1993).

Equality, if taken to mean equal treatment on the basis that we are all the same, is therefore meaningless to women and marginalised groups who differ from the standard that defines citizenship. In reality, different groups have different needs. For example, while men and women have the right to work, women might need more support than men in order to exercise this right. Women workers, for instance, need maternity leave, extra safety when pregnant and time off for menstruation (Mukhopadhyay *et al.* 2003).

Lack of understanding of difference hides and thus exacerbates such inequalities and also serves to make certain activities or traits entrenched for particular groups. In employment, for example, women are often clustered in care work or education and men are over-represented in areas like finance or transport work.

### **3.2 Inclusion also means exclusion**

The boundaries of nations, communities or social groups that determine membership also determine non-membership. Within nations, communities or groups some are included and others, who do not fit the conventional idea of who is a citizen, are excluded. Migrants and stateless people provide conspicuous examples of the perils of living outside national citizenship, but there are others.

The exclusion of women from the rights and obligations of citizenship takes place in most societies around the world both past and present. Immediately after independence in the US, married women did not exist as independent individuals in the law, as they were deemed to be under their husband's protection. Women could not own property, enter into contracts or have custody of their children (Kabeer 2002). *De facto* conditions in the US such as lack of childcare and economic inequality mean that such impediments to full citizenship still remain for large numbers of women.

#### **Exclusion on the basis of gender in South Africa**

In many cases, as in South Africa, exclusion affects women and those who do not conform to traditional gender roles such as younger or less powerful men. Here both age and gender are bases of inclusion and exclusion. In parts of rural South Africa, although women have equality under state or "formal" law, under customary law they are excluded from ownership of land and from participation in decision-making structures. Citizenship in terms of customary law in South Africa is linked to land allocation. Land takes on different meanings for women and men. For men, land is central to social relations and political power, while for women it is about survival and providing for families. Men are reluctant to give women rights to land in this context as they fear women will not use land "correctly" (Cross and Friedman 1997).

Here citizenship is granted to families and not individuals, and a "proper" household deserving of citizenship is one headed by a man. Women heads of households, including widows, therefore continue to be excluded from resources and authority.

Men who do not conform to gendered roles as citizens also face political and/or social exclusion. As we have seen, in various constructions of citizenship men's roles are defined as warriors, breadwinners and politicians. Those excluded from such definitions include:

- pacifists or men who refuse to fight in the national army or undertake military service;

- migrant men, including men trafficked for exploitative work in sweatshops or other feminised jobs such as domestic work;
- men who have sex with men;
- male sex workers.

For a case study on gay men’s organising in Zimbabwe see section 3 of the Supporting Resources Collection of this pack.

Shifts in the meanings and definitions of citizenship uncover different levels of citizenship, where people are included on the basis of some roles and excluded on others. The idea of “tiered citizenship” (Lister 1997) goes some way to explaining the different positionings within groups and the effects this has on rights. A person can be simultaneously inside and outside the group – excluded on the basis of race for example, but included on the basis of class or gender.

### **3.3 Public/private divide and gender roles**

Gendered exclusion hinges on a particular understanding of what is termed the “public/private divide”. This divide sees women’s gender roles and responsibilities as lying in the family, caring and child-rearing, and men’s gender roles as being to do with decision-making, formal politics, economics and the workplace. This division of roles and labour is important for understanding citizenship, which traditionally saw men as the holders of citizenship rights on account of their position in the public arena. Men were seen as political agents, and women as being under their protection. Women and their concerns were outside the realms of citizenship, and their roles, though contributing to society, were not valued as worthy of membership in terms of decision-making and public activity.

This understanding of the public/private divide has wide-ranging implications:

- Women’s concerns may be seen as family and not as public or community/national matters. Domestic violence and rape in marriage, for example, are often not considered to be crimes. It has taken prolonged struggles worldwide to get governments to pass laws to deal with these crimes. Attitudes of officials continue to stand in the way of the implementation of such laws in many countries around the world.
- Both rights and what comprises a community or nation’s “common good” (good for the whole community) are framed in the interests of men of the powerful groups in a society. Rights and responsibilities in the domestic arena are de-valued or not seen as contributing to the good of society in the same way.

- Women are often not considered to be political actors. Struggles for women's rights, and community activism may not be seen as political but rather as limited and domestic in focus. Moreover, the forms of politics that women often engage in – such as informal community-based associations – are often not seen as “political” or valued as such.

Feminist scholars have pointed out that male participation in politics has itself been possible because of women's labour in the private, domestic sphere. In addition to ideas about women's place, women find it difficult to enter the public world of politics because their time and energy are taken up by domestic work in addition to income-earning, and because of male authority which limits their autonomy. Hence as well as their interests being excluded, women themselves have physically been excluded from politics. While in many contexts women have overcome these constraints to enter formal politics, we are very far from equality in this regard. Despite political rights enshrined in law, deep-seated ideas about women's role in society continue to reinforce women's exclusion from public office. According to estimates in 2002, women made up only 14.7 per cent of parliamentary members worldwide (Norris 2002).

### ***3.4 Inequalities in power and resources mean unequal abilities to claim rights***

While rights determine access to resources and authority, in order to claim rights an individual needs to have access to resources, power and knowledge. Unequal social relations result in some individuals and groups being more able to claim rights than others. For example, a woman's right not to be raped means little if she does not see forced sex as a contravention of her rights and is unable to demand control over her body. Rights to protect property and livelihoods mean little if poor people do not have the resources and power to fight multinational corporations (Jones and Gaventa 2002). In other words, the status of citizenship is not enough without the conditions to enable such citizenship to be experienced or practised. Formal – i.e. legal – equality is not sufficient to ensure women can access rights. Moreover, not only does formal or legal equality not guarantee real equality, it also hides inequalities because being legally entitled to rights and resources may be seen as having exercised rights or received entitlements in reality.

### ***3.5 Citizenship is based on the individual rather than the community***

Some observers (Bulbeck 1998) point out that, for many people, community ties and relationships are a better way of expressing their position in the world than individual identity. Many people, particularly women, feel that their individual rights come secondary to their obligations to their children or the rights of their family as a whole. Moreover, the basis of citizenship on the individual's ability to voice their concerns in the public arena may not reflect women's decision-making roles within the family or relationships between women in the community. For example, in parts of Africa, women in traditional communities exercise power “behind the scenes”, through arranging marriages and negotiating disputes

between men. Their influence does not therefore involve seeking public office as an individual, but working within community relationships (Kraft 2003). For a summary of Chila Bulbeck's 1998 volume, see section 2.1 of the Supporting Resources Collection in this pack.

### **3.6 Looking at the context**

Ideas that rights are universal and fixed hide historical processes through which rights are formed and large numbers of people are excluded. They also hide the reality that historical processes in different contexts gave rise to different forms of citizenship (Mukhopadhyay *et al.* 2003).

#### **Citizenship and colonialism in Africa**

Under British colonial rule in parts of Africa the system of rule resulted in British *citizens* and colonial *subjects*. British settlers in African colonies were privileged citizens whose lives were shaped by a European legal system. The colonised African people were devalued subjects of the colonial state with limited rights, ruled by a regulated version of indigenous law (Mamdani 1996).

In much of the global South, nation states were set up by the colonial powers in ways that cut across existing communities with a common identity on the basis of language, culture and kinship. For example in West Africa, or parts of Latin America, the colonial powers created new states that divided ethnic and indigenous groups into different nation states. Those outside the boundaries of a state lost contact with their fellow group members, had no claim to rights outside the "new" nation, and by virtue of being colonial subjects, also had limited rights within the newly created nation.

Understandings of the gendered nature of citizenship have changed as the meanings of citizenship have shifted over time. In many countries, notably in Europe, when early definitions of "citizens as warriors" gave way to "citizen voters", women were able to campaign for inclusion in universal suffrage. However, as we have seen through the critiques above, although finally acknowledged as members of the nation, women's citizenship was dependent on their role as mothers – reproducers of the nation. As such, gender roles did not cease to be a factor, but in fact allowed for entry into the realms of citizenship.

Such definitions served to essentialise the responsibilities of women to bear and care for children and the home. "Appropriate" social roles and obligations that are formed by gender can inhibit individuals, particularly women, from taking on other activities and hides the multiplicity of roles that any individual may engage in. Understandings of gendered roles within citizenship are inevitably partial. In reality women and men do take on a variety of different roles in society, and do exercise power in different ways. Women are politicians, soldiers and wage-earners, just as men can be peace activists and care

workers. If citizenship is to be a useful way of understanding rights and active participation in societies, such diversity must be acknowledged and understood.



## **4. Reframing Citizenship from the Perspective of Gender Equality in Development**

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Feminist<sup>1</sup> academics such as Mouffe (1992), Yuval-Davis (1997), Lister (1997, 2001, 2003a, 2003b) and Fraser (2000) have attempted to resolve some of the critiques of citizenship outlined in the previous section. They have come up with ways of reformulating the public/private divide that marginalises women, including those excluded from citizenship rights and participation, and have defined ways in which women can become agents and political actors. The following two sections show how reworking citizenship from a gender perspective has influenced and been influenced by activists and development actors. They illustrate citizenship as inclusion and practice at the economic level (economic equality), the cultural level (norms and values) and the personal level (family and domestic life) (Sen 2003). They explore activities by social movements, women's groups, donors and national and international political bodies.

Participation can range from the local, through the national and regional to engagement in the international political arena (Kabeer 1994, Sen 2003). National policy is often the most effective arena for promoting gender equality and women's citizenship rights. However, it is engagement in local struggles that is particularly significant for most women, given their lack of experience in formal politics, their family commitments and restrictions on their mobility (Lister 1997). Sections 4 and 5 provide many examples of good practice and lessons learned by diverse actors and in a range of spheres. These lead to recommendations which will be drawn together in the final section.

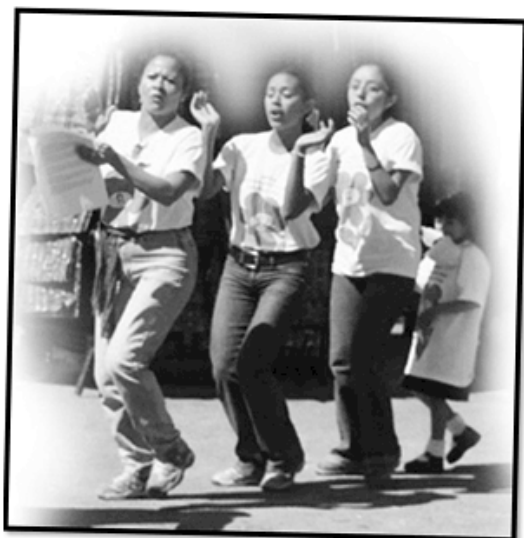
### ***4.1 Initial steps – challenging the public/private divide***

Because the exclusion of women is based on a particular understanding of the public/private divide, including women requires a redefinition of both private and public arenas. Conventional ideas that women's place is in the private or domestic sphere leads to their exclusion from formal politics, from rights, and from acknowledgement of their contribution to society. It can also mean that women's informal associations are defined as non-political social groups or service providers.

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<sup>1</sup> While feminism refers to understandings of women's subordination and to political actions to redress this subordination there are wide-ranging differences among feminists. My reference here is to a specific group of feminist political theorists.

#### 4.1.1 Linking “private” wrongs to public solutions – extending rights to include protections in the private sphere



*Marking the International Day of No Violence Against Women in Guatemala. ‘This is a new form of social mobilization—by holding events in the public plaza where families come every Sunday to enjoy their day off, we educate more people than we might if we walked by holding protest signs.’ (Organiser Luz Mendez).*

Grossman, L., 2003, ‘Enough is Enough! Guatemalans protest violence against women’, Global Fund for Women Newsletter. Photo by Olga Talamante.

Challenging the public/private divide means identifying “personal” oppressions that occur in the private or domestic sphere, in sexuality, reproduction and family life, as structural and widespread issues which can be dealt with in the language of citizenship rights. As such this “puts in” a range of activities and identities that are left out of citizenship rights and expands the capacity of individuals to shape both the intimate and the broader decisions that affect their lives. In citizenship struggles over the past two decades this has primarily relied on the efforts of women’s rights activists pushing for better legislation and policies to protect women from violence, particularly domestic violence, as their citizenship right. It also encompasses campaigns relating to and greater awareness of traditional cultural practices such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), early marriage and other private, domestic or family issues.

In **case study 5.3** we see an example of where a “private” issue such as sexuality is re-defined as a public matter in the context of sex workers in India claiming rights to political organisation and freedom from discrimination.

#### 4.1.2 Including “private” gender needs in policy – extending rights to include welfare and services

Women’s gendered interests need to be defined as citizenship struggles and as part of the common good – as affecting all and being in the interests of all (Lister 1997). This involves donor agencies and state actors valuing and resourcing welfare, childcare and services (i.e. economic and social rights) and addressing women’s security needs as part of national and community development projects. **Case study 5.7** provides an example of how consultations with women’s organisations over the PRSPs have been used to incorporate women’s concerns in many areas, including health services, education and rights into the national agenda.

However, it is important when emphasising inclusion of welfare services and support with care work that this does not entrench women's social roles as that of mothers and carers. Expanding the focus of policy to women's roles as workers and decision-makers, and allowing the possibility for roles to shift through processes of negotiation, will allow for greater enjoyment of rights and participation throughout the social and political community. **Case study 5.4** shows how women in Brazil were unable to benefit from the advantages of trade union membership as their agricultural labour was not considered "wage-earning" – they were not seen as workers *and* as wives/mothers. Policies that address women's double or triple roles through employment protection, childcare and unemployment benefit will better guarantee their citizen rights in all areas of their lives rather than just on account of their family responsibilities.

Moreover, challenging the nature of the "private" can help to address inequalities that arise as a result of the state's reluctance to interfere in private or domestic arrangements. There is a need to question assumptions about families and households that may influence the ways policies are constructed (UN OSAGI 2002). Economic inequalities, which have their basis in control over household resources, can be uncovered and made political issues. In **case study 5.4** we describe how the exclusion of women from trade unions arose from the household being seen as the unit of membership. This meant that the male, as household head, was the one to receive benefits of trade union membership, and the activities of other members within the household were ignored.

Expanding rights therefore means including economic and social rights as well as civil and political rights in definitions of citizenship. Economic and social rights are necessary in order to fulfil the potential of citizen status in practice since they provide the material conditions necessary to engage in decision-making and participation (Kabeer 2002). This has been acknowledged in international rights instruments such as CEDAW.

#### *4.1.3 Redefining the "political" to include informal and private or community decision-making and mobilising*

Political participation is often only seen as that which occurs within state/governmental arenas and, to a lesser extent, in civil society activist groups. Many feminists have pointed out that politics is about the ability to have an input into decisions at all levels through mobilising support from those around you. Many women who do not, or are not able to participate in formal structures, do participate in informal networks and forms of decision-making. Researching these activities and valuing their work makes it clear that women are political beings and that women's interests are the stuff of politics. They also extend the spaces within which citizenship can take place – from narrow views that citizenship participation is about voting or standing for elections to a wider view that recognises community-level and informal actions. This wider view can strengthen the political potential of women's organisations and encourage institutions to see them as valuable sources of information and input into policy.

## **4.2 Challenging exclusion from citizenship rights on the basis of gender**

Since a key problem with citizenship is exclusion on the basis of power and social roles, much thinking has gone into how to include the excluded. Reframing feminist concerns in the language of inclusion in rights and participation may help to make women and their concerns more integral to development thought and practice.

### **4.2.1 Understanding and including diverse needs – needs assessment**

A key concern of feminists has been to find ways of taking gender and other differences into account through expanding citizen rights based on their needs. As Lister (1997) and Mouffe (1992) note, people can draw on the emancipatory potential of universal principles such as equality, while demanding equity in their diversities. Gender analysis can create better understanding of the different activities, responsibilities, interests and priorities of men and women (UN OSAGI 2002).

Recognising difference means moving away from universal, homogeneous ideas of women and women's interests to bring in the real experiences of women. Often the needs of the less powerful in a society are not articulated and ways need to be found to bring out voices that are usually silent. This means involving marginalised groups in defining their needs and ensuring that development institutions make the necessary shifts in their cultures, procedures and practices so as to be responsive to marginalised groups including women. **Case study 5.6** describes a project to reform customary marriage law in South Africa which changed tactics following better understanding of the particular legal needs of women living in customary marriages.

Gendered needs assessments can operate at all levels of campaigns or interventions. Particularly effective are those that are introduced through participatory methodologies.

#### **Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) in Tanzania**

PPAs have been a method of needs assessment conducted in many countries, most recently in the context of PRSPs. PPAs are geared towards including the perspectives of poor people in developing policy. They seek to understand the causes of and vulnerability to poverty, and opportunities available for people to avoid or escape impoverishment. However needs assessments which take the household as the unit of analysis fail to consider differences in needs and levels of control over resources between family members. PPA teams in Tanzania have recognised the importance of conducting gender-sensitive needs assessments that acknowledge these differences. In the course of consultations they separated groups into men and women to encourage discussion of gender needs, before bringing groups back together in order to discuss differences and priorities (Bell 2003).

#### 4.2.2 Increasing numbers of women – affirmative action

One way of taking difference into account is to formulate rights in order to redress disadvantage. This could for example take the form of affirmative action policies, and policies to affirm cultural rights of indigenous people. In the 1990s, as the attention of development agencies shifted from project level participation to participation in local and national political structures, women's lack of involvement in formal politics began to be challenged. Because women's "natural place" is not seen as resting in formal politics, special measures such as quotas have been put in place in many formal political contexts to increase their numbers. Evidence suggests that it requires a minimum of 30 per cent women in political office to exert a distinct influence on policies (UNDP 2000).

In South Africa, after apartheid, the new democracy saw a significant proportion of women in national parliament as a result of voluntary (that is not legally required) quotas for women adopted by political parties. In countries such as Rwanda, Uganda, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan quotas enshrined in law have resulted in large numbers of women entering local government. At the regional level, the African Union (AU), which replaced the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), has recently set a quota of 50 per cent of women in its Commission and has approved the creation of a Gender Promotion Directorate as a result of advocacy by women's organisations (Nzomo 2003). **Case study 5.2** describes a campaign by Sister Namibia which called for political parties to increase the numbers of women on their lists.



*The Caravana Ciudadana or Citizenship Convoy – a project of the Peruvian civil society organisation Calandria – traveled to the main village squares across Peru offering information, and a space for debate on the forthcoming election. Here people are being encouraged to vote for female candidates.*

Photo by Pilar Bobadilla.

However, there are problems with this approach. Firstly, despite evidence that a critical mass of women involved in politics will affect policy, quotas must not absolve institutions of the responsibility to enact change. Moreover, female politicians themselves may not necessarily introduce gender-sensitive policies. Secondly, experiences of women who have entered formal politics confirm the hostility to women in political arenas; in many cases women struggle to establish their legitimacy as political beings in the face of deeply ingrained public resistance (Mukhopadhyay 2003). Women may also face other constraints such as lack of education and awareness that such opportunities are open to them. Time

pressures on women who take primary roles in caring for children, domestic work and agriculture will also inhibit their uptake of such opportunities even if legal measures exist that enforce affirmative action.

#### *4.2.3 Including gender perspectives – constructing gender equality policies*

Exclusion must also be challenged at the institutional level. Over the past decade, as we discussed earlier, gender mainstreaming has taken over from targeted WID programmes in development institutions, government departments, and civil society organisations such as NGOs. Gender mainstreaming involves integrating a gender perspective into all areas of policy-making and planning and can therefore be instrumental in expanding women's entitlements and rights.

#### **San Salvador Gender Equality Policy**

In San Salvador the new Gender Equality Policy aims to promote women's concerns and gender equality throughout the activities of the municipal government. It proposes action in areas of citizen participation, education, culture, work, health, security, infrastructure and services. It also identifies the importance of looking at the municipal council itself, in terms of gender equality within its organisation and approach. To ensure the mainstreaming process is carried out effectively, the policy employs gender focal points throughout the council's structure and has included gender training for 40 per cent of staff. This has been combined with public awareness campaigns on gender issues and with the creation of spaces for citizen participation and consultation. The policy has so far resulted in greater legitimacy for gender concerns within council policy and has heightened support for women's demands in the wider community (Clulow 2003).

For a longer case study of the San Salvador Gender Equality Policy, see section 3.4 of the Supporting Resources Collection of this pack.

Gender mainstreaming in national governments is often driven by national women's machineries that have been set up by governments in various country contexts (UN OSAGI 2002). **Case Study 5.7** gives an example of where a gender perspective has been introduced into national policy in the Rwandan PRSP. Here the national women's machinery was central to the process, which provided a platform for women as citizens to influence state policy on poverty reduction.

#### **Gender Budgets**

One concrete tool through which gender mainstreaming is being achieved is gender budgeting. Gender budgets can promote gender equality goals and women's concerns in all areas of policy-making and development planning. Analysing existing budgetary allocations in terms of how they affect men and women differently can illustrate how women's needs and discriminations are not being addressed, particularly outside sectors like health and education. Gender budgets can promote the balancing of resources to reflect women's needs as well as men's within all sectors. They can also ensure that money is attached to specific

gender policies. In addition to being gender mainstreaming tools, gender budgets also provide another important mechanism for the practice of citizenship. Public budget processes that are accessible to citizens provide useful lobbying and advocacy material for citizens to hold governments to account for delivering on commitments to women's needs and to policies that promote gender equality (Hofbauer Balmori 2003).

However, it is important to recognise that gender mainstreaming should not preclude targeted strategies aimed at promoting women's rights and empowerment. For example, initiatives that support women's networking or provide training to sensitise officials and policy-makers on domestic violence and other specific gendered discriminations are still needed, as are those that target women for financial assistance, such as micro-credit schemes (UN OSAGI 2002).

Gender mainstreaming is an example of how institutional commitment to equality has resulted from pressure from citizens. The mobilisation of women and other excluded groups in civil society, and their ability to put pressure on states and policy-makers, are crucial to active citizenship.

### ***4.3 Mobilising for change – promoting active gendered citizenship***

The right to have a right, to politicise needs, to have influence over wider decision-making processes that affect one's life, and the right to act, are fundamental to the project of equality in development (Mukhopadhyay 2003). Much thought has gone into questions of how to enable oppressed groups to take up their citizenship rights to participation in decision-making, as a prerequisite to other rights (Mouffe 1992, Lister 1997). Constructing more inclusive forms of citizenship entails processes of change that go beyond policy analysis to include social movements and the politics of everyday life as seen in community-level struggles. Bringing these ideas to development offers a way of involving the poor and marginalised, including women, in holding institutions accountable (Jones and Gaventa 2002).

The Beijing Platform for Action was formulated at the 4th World Conference on Women in 1995 and subsequently adopted by 189 countries. Beijing served as the basis of NGO and activism by women's movements in many parts of the world. It ushered in a new era of transnational feminist networking that was one of the key factors in promoting institutional change and moves towards gender mainstreaming in development and other policy arenas (True and Mintrom 2001). This international mobilisation has linked in with national and community-level struggles that draw on international instruments to push governments to be more responsive to women's interests.

#### ***4.3.1 Raising awareness of exclusion***

Gender-based exclusion, like other forms of exclusion, works by co-opting the excluded into seeing their exclusion as natural – as if there were no alternative. In many cases women's autonomy is constrained by male authority and the demands on their time given the unequal gendered division of labour. It is important to note that women can and do overcome these constraints and that it is possible to be a

subject of subordination while at the same time acting to improve situations of poverty and inequality (Lister 1997).

A first step is for people to become aware that their exclusion is an injustice and that things can change. In turn, taking up actions and winning demands reinforces the idea that change is possible and struggling is worthwhile. Many of the case studies in section 5 illustrate the importance of outreach to struggles for citizens' rights. **Case study 5.2** on the Women's Manifesto in Namibia demonstrates a campaign that mobilised widespread support through raising awareness of women's exclusion within society and publicising the successes of the project as they happened.

#### *4.3.2 Supporting women's groups and NGOs*

Fundamental cultural shifts are required in order to promote women as political actors and decision-makers – as people possessing “agency”. Once women begin to act politically (in the broad sense) their self-perception as political actors will be reinforced. This self-perception is central to active citizenship and central to social change. Citizen's organising is a central force in development. Communities of struggle such as women's organisations and movements (Mukhopadhyay *et al.* 2003) can bring individuals together in thinking through and taking actions to deal with their exclusion and subordination. Many of the examples in this report demonstrate how advocacy, lobbying, campaigning and awareness-raising can influence the state and other institutions such as the family and the market.

Such movements need trained and experienced personnel and capacity-building to enable them to think in terms of long-term strategies. Regional community-building and networking between groups and movements is essential for the pooling of resources and information and undertaking joint projects. Not only will such networking support and strengthen organisations, but it can also help to focus on shared regional issues and avoid donor-driven agendas (Lawson 2003). However, gender equality NGOs also need to be aware that their actions may be destabilising and may encounter adverse reactions from policy-makers as well as the general populace. Governments have the power to withhold resources and tools from organisations, as has been the case in central Africa where governments are concerned that NGOs may encourage populations to defy government (Lawson, 2003).

#### *4.3.3 Creating spaces for interaction between citizens and institutions*

In addition to the creation and support of women's voices in civil society, women must be able to voice their demands and be heard by key institutions. Such institutions, however, often fail to listen to such voices. In order for change to happen, the struggles of civil society groups and individuals to expand and enforce citizenship rights must be matched by processes of governance that pick up on and incorporate their voices into institutions and policies.

Matching up citizenship with governance involves creating spaces in which people can define and express their needs and views. This can be an important area of activity for development workers. Policy consultations like those required in the drawing up of PRSPs can provide such arenas. **Case studies 5.6**



and 5.7 describe entry points for policy dialogue, in the former in law reform and, in the latter in strategies for poverty reduction. Both these initiatives took into account the gender inequalities that create barriers to participation in influencing policy.

#### **Participatory Gender Budgeting in Recife**

In the municipality of Recife, Brazil, the municipal government has sought to increase women's participation in popular consultations on the municipal budget through provision of childcare at budget meetings and efforts to ensure greater numbers of women in the various budget committees. Women's issues have also been established as one of the thematic areas addressed by the budget. The successes of the initiative has largely been due to the "Women's Coordinating Group" within the municipal government, which has been instrumental in guiding the process and has worked closely with civil society and women's rights activists. Also significant was the election of a left-wing municipal government that placed gender inequality and social exclusion on the policy agenda. This change of administration opened up new opportunities for policy intervention (Butto Zarzar 2003).

These case studies show how entry points and strategies need to be carefully considered, and opportunities in the external environment need to be seized and acted upon. Outcomes of rights struggles will be determined by who is involved, the authority and legitimacy they are able to claim or build, where they are placed in the political hierarchy and their political influence (Fraser 1987 cited in Lister 1997). The combination of gender equality activists and policy-makers is an important one in effective policy change.

A shift in development policy and planning is needed from a reliance on experts to better incorporation of the views of the marginalised in defining their concerns, in seeking solutions, and in acting to change their lives. Successful interaction between citizens and governance institutions means that the so-called beneficiaries of development are able to become political agents who can act to shape policies, and increase their access to resources and decision-making (Jones and Gaventa 2002).

#### **4.4 Making change**

Ideas play a very powerful role in how we see the world. They influence what we see as possible, and how we act. It is therefore crucial to challenge not only the practice but the ideas that lie behind practices that oppress women. Citizenship struggles are about pushing the boundaries and about challenging the very basis of social membership, the rules that decide resource allocation and the systems which lead to inequality. It is therefore not simply about women and marginalised people entering an unequal system that remains unchanged.

Re-framing citizenship from a gender perspective has enabled a variety of different actors to address key development concerns such as poverty and inequality. Their success has varied according to context.

The case studies in section 5 provide further practical, context-specific examples of such reformulations. Illustrating citizenship struggles through case studies emphasises the importance of historical, social and political factors in the understanding of community membership and what such a status means in reality.

## 5. Case Studies

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The case studies in this section explore how citizenship is being used to advance different agendas such as gender equity and social justice. The individuals in each of these case studies occupy different positions, marginalised on the basis of gender, race, ethnic, or class inequalities; and their struggles are often about double exclusions.

As Chantal Mouffe (1992) notes, full inclusion is a process, something on the horizon that we are continually moving towards. The case studies highlight, in different contexts, spaces within which citizenship struggles take place – struggles that are supported by a range of development actors. Understanding different forms of gender-based exclusion allows policy-makers and planners to search for and find ways to address unequal access to power and resources.

### **5.1 Challenging exclusion from full national citizenship: Women in the Arab World<sup>2</sup>**

#### *5.1.1 Exclusion from full national citizenship*

As we discussed in section 2, citizenship of the nation is the originally conceived definition of citizenship in western political theory. It is also the basis for protection under national legislation. In many Arab countries in North Africa and the Middle East the right to pass on national citizenship is something that only applies to men. Women who are national citizens cannot pass on their citizenship to a “foreign” husband or to children born of marriages to foreign nationals. In such cases husbands continue to be foreign citizens and since children are required to take on their father’s citizenship, they become foreigners in their mother’s country.

The Women’s Right to Nationality Campaign, organised by the Machreq/Maghreb Gender Linking and Information Project (MacMag GLIP), brought women together across countries to challenge their exclusion from full citizenship. Research was conducted on the effects on families of women’s lack of rights to pass on their citizenship to husbands and children, with the aim of using the information to put pressure on states to grant women these rights.

#### *5.1.2 Including women as full national citizens*

Research conducted during the campaign highlighted the fact that preventing women from passing on citizenship to husbands or children means that:

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<sup>2</sup> Case study from Machreq/Maghreb Gender Linking and Information Project 2003.

- The legal status of children as “foreigners” in their mother’s country leads to difficulties with registering births and in arranging children’s travel documents, which have to be applied for by the father at his embassy.
- Foreign husbands and children are denied rights to health insurance, to state welfare benefits, and in some countries to inheritance. Foreign husbands may be denied the right to work in the public sector. They often have difficulties finding work in the private sector and are not allowed to own property.
- When fathers are no longer legally entitled to remain in the mother’s country, children are forced to leave with them. In some cases where fathers are expelled from the mother’s country as a result of political turmoil, mothers and children are separated. Women often live in fear that husbands will leave with their children, and at times remain in unhappy and abusive marriages in order not to lose them.

MacMag GLIP drew on CEDAW as a lever to push government to take action. They pointed out that denying women full citizenship rights contradicts rights enshrined in the convention.

### 5.1.3 Outcomes

The denial of civil and political rights has consequences for social and economic entitlements. Access to resources and protection is affected by ideas of who is a legitimate and full national citizen. Under current political systems it is essential for women to have full legal citizenship as a prerequisite for all other areas of rights and entitlements.

The campaign activities demonstrated that changes in the relationship between women and the state are possible. Women involved in the campaign gained new awareness of their rights and became political actors with experience in campaigning for legal change. The initiative has led to a shift in the activities of many grassroots organisations from local concerns to taking on a formal political profile in relation to national matters.



*‘My Mother is Egyptian... The Nationality is my Right’*

Front cover of Egyptian Association for the Development and Enhancement of Women (ADEW) Annual Report, 2001.

## **5.2 Reformulating rights to redress disadvantage: Sister Namibia and the Namibian Women's Manifesto Network<sup>3</sup>**

### *5.2.1 Women's exclusion from formal political participation*

Barriers to women's participation in formal politics lie in societal and cultural ideas and practices relating to appropriate gender roles and relations. Women therefore stand little chance of getting into key political institutions. In some cases exceptional individual women have served as Prime Minister – Margaret Thatcher in the UK or Indira Gandhi in India. Yet such progress was to a great extent “hollow” since their cabinets and parliaments did not include significant numbers of women.

Women's collective action can shift public perceptions, increase the visibility of women as a political constituency and demonstrate that women have a public role. Sister Namibia, a women's NGO, led a coalition of grassroots organisations and NGOs – the Namibian Women's Manifesto Network (NWMN) – in a campaign to increase women's participation in formal politics.

### *5.2.2 Strategies*

The first stage of the campaign by Sister Namibia involved mobilising women nationally in the run-up to the 1999 election. This election was conducted within a proportional representation system where political parties draw up lists of candidates and the voting electorate votes for the party and not for an individual. The campaign called for political parties to increase the numbers of women on their candidate lists. Political parties responded positively and women's representation in parliament ultimately increased from 19 per cent to 26 per cent.

This success spurred on the next phase of the campaign. The NWMN decided that leaving women's representation in the hands of party whims would not sustain or increase women's participation in formal politics. They therefore launched a campaign for equal representation at all three levels of government to be enshrined in Namibian electoral law. This campaign involved engaging women across Namibia in developing and lobbying for a bill to provide for 50 per cent representation of women in local, provincial and national government. It involved 3,500 people in 105 local workshops in 55 towns and villages. The campaign:

- built women's organisational capacity;
- developed women's consciousness as citizens and political actors;
- developed legal literacy among women activists;
- politicised the issue of women's participation in formal politics among the Namibian public.

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<sup>3</sup> Case study from Mukhopadhyay 2003 and Mukhopadhyay, Meer and Appel 2003.

### 5.2.3 Outcomes

Under colonial and apartheid rule black Namibians were denied citizenship rights, and civil liberties for the majority black population were thus relatively new. The Sister Namibia campaign created new awareness civil and political rights in general and of women's rights in particular. The campaign challenged ideas that women are not political actors and that women's concerns are neither public nor political. Following the campaign the NWMN became a nucleus for national and local organisation and women gained a new understanding of politics, as well as a sense of political agency. In the words of one woman, 'Women in our town first thought that participation in politics was only for men and not for women. Now that they have seen that they can participate in any political activity, they believe that they can become councillors and governors' (Mukhopadhyay 2003: 47).

For a toolkit on achieving 50 per cent of women in national government see section 4.2 of the Supporting Resources Collection which accompanies this pack.

## **5.3 Bringing the private into the public arena: Sex worker rights in India<sup>4</sup>**

### 5.3.1 Social exclusion

While women are excluded from citizenship as a result of the public/private divide which identifies certain issues like sex and sexuality as "outside" the realms of the political, the problem is even more complicated for women who are sex workers. With sex work, sexual relations are removed from their "normal" place in the privacy of the family/marriage, and become a market relation as sex is bought and sold. Women sex workers are excluded both from what is considered "normal" society, and from access to state welfare and legal protection. Moral and legal restrictions ostracise and outlaw the sex worker as someone without rights, and indeed, as someone who should not even exist.

Durbar is an affiliation of autonomous sex workers' organisations with a membership of about 60,000 in West Bengal, India. Given the social exclusion of sex workers, the organisation has had to fight a huge battle for the right to exist, and to campaign against the flagrant denial of workers' rights to social and political participation.

One of Durbar's concerns was that the needs and interests of trafficked people were ignored in international trafficking debates, which were limited in both understandings and solutions. This resulted, for example, in police, social workers and NGOs embarking on "rescue" operations where sex workers were imprisoned in remand homes, in situations outside their control and not dissimilar to the trafficked situation. While under supposed state protection sex workers frequently experienced sexual abuse. In addition the state often released sex workers into the custody of "guardians", which infantilised them and sometimes led to further exploitation when brothel keepers posed as guardians.

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<sup>4</sup> Case study from Mukhopadhyay 2003 and Mukhopadhyay, Meer and Appel 2003.

### *5.3.2. Including sex workers as legitimate members of society*

The Durbar initiative involved conducting interviews and focus group discussions for and by sex workers - a process that produced new definitions of work, rights and personhood. They concluded that if sex work was seen as work and given the same social and legal recognition as any other work, this would inhibit the exploitation and harassment of sex workers.

Durbar then entered into alliances with the police and local officials in attempts to make state institutions more responsive to the needs of sex workers. In 1999 it set up Self-Regulatory Boards to promote the rights of sex workers, and to include them in local community development schemes. Sex workers and Durbar activists constitute 60 per cent of these boards, with the remaining 40 per cent made up of local elected representatives, state representatives, legal professionals and doctors. To open up spaces for sex workers to exchange views with other civil society organisations, Durbar also organised workshops, seminars, state and national conferences, and a *mela* or fair. These activities were widely covered by the print and electronic media, which for the first time presented sex workers as “normal” human beings engaged in discussion.

### *5.3.3 Outcomes*

Durbar’s survey provided insights that outsiders would have found difficult to unearth, such as the views that sex workers are workers and as such should have the right to organisation. Durbar’s proposed solution to trafficking lay in de-stigmatising sex work and in regulating labour conditions. Durbar challenged both ideas and practice relating to the marginalisation and exclusion of sex workers and questioned both the distinction between public and private and definitions of politics and who engages in it.

## **5.4 Challenging women’s gender roles: Rural women’s rights in Brazil<sup>5</sup>**

### *5.4.1 Women’s exclusion from recognition as workers and from rights to land*

In Brazil up to the 1980s female agricultural workers were not recognised as workers by trade unions or the state. Their work in agriculture was seen as family work, an extension of unpaid work in the home. Not only were women agricultural workers not entitled to social security rights, but they were prevented from joining trade unions since this was limited to only one member per household, i.e. the male head. Ideas in law and culture that only a husband represents the household and manages assets meant that the Movement for the Landless (MST) in its early years also failed to recognise women’s rights to land. The MST considered gender issues as divisive and incompatible with class issues and female MST members who tried to raise their concerns were advised by MST leadership to join the autonomous women’s movement. Women’s rights as workers were therefore ignored by state, trade unions and by social movements.

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<sup>5</sup> Case study from Deere 2003.

#### *5.4.2 Including women workers' rights and in land reform*

In the 1980s Brazil underwent a transition from military rule to a democracy. Women countrywide seized this moment to organise under the banner of an autonomous (civil society) rural women's movement – the MMTR (Movimento das Mulheres Trabalhadoras Rurais do Nordeste). Women workers, unhappy that the trade union federations were not addressing their concerns, joined the autonomous rural women's movement, which provided a platform for their campaigns to get the unions to be more responsive to their interests. In 1988, campaigns by the MMTR led to women's rights to land being included in the new Brazilian constitution. Formal equality in land rights, however, did not lead to increases in women actually gaining land. Although joint titling was a legal possibility, it was not mandatory and was therefore not implemented. Further, the law discriminated against female household heads, assuming that women could not manage a farm without a man.

It was not until the exclusion of women began to have practical consequences for the consolidation of agrarian reform settlements that women's land rights became an issue within the MST, and for the state. Women had made themselves indispensable to land reform through their increasing involvement in the settlements that were set up on the land, and in struggles alongside landless men. In 2001 the state responded to pressure from the trade unions and social movements and adopted specific mechanisms to enable women to take up rights to land, and be fully included in agrarian reform.

#### *5.4.3 Conclusions*

This case study demonstrates the failure of both state and non-state decision-makers to acknowledge women's multiple roles in society, and those not restricted to that of mothers and carers. Rural women challenged legal, social and cultural constructions which defined them in relation to male family members and not as autonomous beings able to enter into work contracts, join trade unions, or own land. They used the space opened up by the emerging democracy in Brazil, including opportunities presented in the process of drawing up the country's constitution. They also linked with other women's organisations and entered into partnership with a state agency as part of their campaigns. They drew on their autonomous organisation to strengthen their position within trade unions and the landless movement.

While organised rural women engaged in constitutional processes and saw the importance of legal rights, they also noted limitations to formal equality. They were able to challenge the state to revise regulations that stood in the way of women's land rights, once they had the support of the major movements. They gained actual land rights on efficiency grounds, through making it evident that in order for agrarian reform to work women were needed as valued and equal participants.



## **5.5 Reformulating citizenship: Challenging the exclusion of indigenous women in Chiapas, Mexico<sup>6</sup>**

### *5.5.1 Indigenous women's exclusion from both mainstream and indigenous cultures*

Since the 1970s the empowerment of indigenous women in Mexico has been supported by NGOs, political parties, academics and religious activists, who have supported reproductive rights, women's civil and human rights, and campaigns against violence. However, these struggles took on new meaning in the context of the Zapatista political struggle to ensure the recognition of indigenous cultural and political rights in the national constitution.

The Zapatista movement in Mexico has worked towards the recognition of indigenous cultural and political rights in the national constitution. Within indigenous groups, not all are equal and often women are treated as subordinates, with less access than men to resources, power and authority. Women within the Zapatista movement find themselves in a situation where they take on two struggles: one alongside men of their group, against the state for respect of their ethnic culture; and a second where they fight against their subordination as women.

### *5.5.2 Strategies*

The Zapatista movement allowed space for a Zapatista women's movement, which opened up discussion on indigenous women's rights and their particular gendered discriminations and inequalities. Mobilising in co-operatives, regional organisations and the Zapatista autonomous municipalities, women adopted the so-called "Women's Revolutionary Laws", which questioned women's traditional roles and oppression within their communities. Their demands related to education, domestic violence, exclusion from community assemblies and land rights. They questioned government, society and the economic models that held indigenous people in poverty and also called for the transformation of gendered power relations within the family. This meant both making demands on the state and challenging traditional practices within indigenous groups.

### *5.5.3 Conclusions*

While men are beginning to accept women's right to participate in organisations, and while there have been advances and gains, there has also been resistance from the family and community, and from elements within the Zapatista movement. For women to challenge family and community-based relations of oppression, without losing the financial and emotional support they need from male family and community members, they need to have sufficient bargaining power and relative autonomy from male family and community members.

The case of the Zapatista women's movement is a struggle within a struggle. It demonstrates different levels of inclusion and exclusion from different groups. While both indigenous women and men were

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<sup>6</sup> Case Study from Cortez Ruiz 2004. See also Dominguez 2001.

fighting for inclusion in the rights of citizenship, many of the women's gender interests and their gender-based subordination, particularly in the private sphere, remained outside the campaigns. Working within the Zapatista movement provided the springboard from which women could raise awareness of their rights and begin to develop a political constituency *as women*. There is now a greater awareness among indigenous women of their rights, even in remote communities. This includes rights to political participation and different forms of citizenship that recognise their particular gendered issues.

## **5.6 Defining rights as based on needs: Reforming customary marriage law in South Africa<sup>7</sup>**

### *5.6.1 Inequality within customary marriage*

Under customary law in South Africa, women's position as minors has limited their ability to enter contracts or own property and has made them dependants of their husbands. This inhibits their effective rights as full and equal citizens. The way customary law functions is a product of a long history of collaboration between colonial administrators and indigenous elites that resulted in one set of laws for the colonised and another for the white colonial elites. Customary law has therefore limited the rights of black South African women, most of whom live in the former rural homelands, in situations of poverty. This situation conflicted with the country's new post-1994 constitution, which guaranteed gender equality.

### *5.6.2 Strategies*

In South Africa the end of apartheid opened up new political spaces for legal reform. A critical area of reform according to the South African Rural Women's Movement (RWM) was that of customary marriage. A Gender Research Project conducted by the RWM and the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALs) sought to intervene in the law reform process to bring customary marriage law in line with the equality clause of the constitution. To do this they had to work out women's needs in relation to customary law as the basis for establishing their rights. They had to familiarise themselves with the law reform process and key institutions – the South African Law Reform Commission and the National Parliament. While the overall climate within government was conducive to meeting gender equality goals, the RWM and CALs also had to take into account that implementation of the law would depend on chiefs, officials, and cultural practices within communities and families that continued to view women as subordinates of men.

RWM and CALs found that a particularly contentious issue was how to deal with polygyny (the practice whereby a man can take more than one wife). Feminist activists and the RWM believed that polygyny stood in the way of women's equality in the family and society and should therefore be outlawed. However, at one meeting a researcher noted that a section of women sat silently watching the mass of dancing members chanting 'one man one woman'. She asked these women why they were silent. They

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<sup>7</sup> Case study from Mukhopadhyay 2003 and Mukhopadhyay, Meer and Appel 2003.

replied that they lived in polygynous marriages and that their livelihoods would be threatened if polygyny was not recognised. RWM and CALS became aware that to outlaw this practice would leave women in such marriages with no legal protection. The key issue for reform was therefore not whether to outlaw polygyny, but rather to find ways to address the key concerns of women living in polygynous marriages – their rights to property and custody of children.

This was achieved through framing the law in a way that would make polygyny expensive, and eventually lead to its disappearance, while safeguarding women's rights to marital property. The RWM/CALS proposal was that each time a man married, existing marital property had to be shared equally with the existing wife or wives. CALS participated in the drafting of the regulations for the law, and monitored its implementation in order to assess whether the law addressed women's minority legal status, their access to property during marriage and their lack of decision-making power.

### *5.6.3 Conclusions*

Rights and the law can and should be framed on the basis of women's needs, rather than on universal ideas of rights. Starting from women's experiences and needs allowed CALS and RWM to move away from a universalistic idea of women and women's interests, and to explore ways of addressing the interests of women living under polygyny. The case study shows the importance of engaging with state institutions, from a position of legitimacy and from an understanding of key processes and institutions.

This case study illustrates that while legal changes are necessary, the limits of legal solutions are clear. CALS realised that no matter how progressive a law, implementation will depend on whether the public at large and law administration officers recognised women's rights as human rights. Continued monitoring and intervention in implementation processes was one component necessary to ensure the law would be implemented; the second was to find ways for women's organisations to play an ongoing role in shifting attitudes relating to women's rights.

## ***5.7 Including women's interests in national policy: Engendering the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) in Rwanda<sup>8</sup>***

### *5.7.1 Women's exclusion from policy processes*

Traditional development approaches see policy formulation as an area for experts, and have seldom engaged civil society organisations that represent the poor and marginalised in policy formulation. When participation of the poor has been championed, this has often been done without consideration of gender disparities between women and men in access to resources, in the division of labour, and in power and authority.

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<sup>8</sup> Case study from Zuckerman 2001 and Zuckerman 2002.

Since 1999 the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have introduced Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) as the basis for their assistance to Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). Key principles are that PRSPs should: be country-owned and -authored; be developed through consultative processes that involve civil society; have a long-term perspective on poverty; and emphasise monitoring and evaluation. Despite the fact that the World Bank is also concerned that PRSPs should pay attention to reducing gender disparities, efforts to “engender” the process have been limited.

### *5.7.2 Strategies*

The Rwandan Ministry of Gender and Women in Development (MIGEPROFE) was charged with the task of engendering the PRSP in Rwanda. MIGEPROFE drew support from the UK Department for International Development (DFID) to contract an external gender expert. Firstly, given the failure of participatory consultation processes to take into account gender relations that may inhibit women’s participation and the incorporation of their perspectives, MIGEPROFE and other stakeholders put pressure on the facilitators of the participatory consultations to ensure women’s voices were included.

Secondly, a training workshop was held for the PRSP drafting team which presented gender concerns as an integral part of poverty reduction and came up with recommendations on how to engender the PRSP. Facilitated by two civil society activists, the workshop was attended by representatives from relevant ministries and parliament, NGO representatives, donor staff and consultants, and academics.

Finally, noting that by itself a workshop cannot result in an engendered PRSP, an Inter-Agency PRSP Engendering Committee was set up to track gender equality concerns through each draft of the policy. Members of this committee included the director of the office that leads the drafting of the PRSP and a representative from Pro Femmes, a group of women’s NGOs active in policy and advocacy work. The Rwandan PRSP is now considered to be a valuable example of successful integration of a gender perspective into the process.

### *5.7.3 Conclusions*

The Rwandan experience shows how deliberate steps and mechanisms need to be considered in order to mainstream gender concerns. The process opened up space for “legitimate” discussion and gender training for policy-makers in ways of addressing gender disparities. Participatory consultations with women’s and civil society organisations provided an important space for interaction between state and citizens. In fact, a key strength of the process was that MIGEPROFE was able to draw on an existing partnership with key civil society groups in the PRSP process as it had previously established an activist role through partnership with Pro Femmes. The process also served to expand definitions of who makes policy to include women’s and civil society organisations through the inclusion of civil society participants on drafting teams.

While the impact of PRSPs and the broader framework of World Bank policy on poverty is debatable, and one might therefore question the usefulness of bringing gender equality concerns to flawed processes,

the case study nonetheless illustrates that partnerships between government departments, donors and civil society can introduce the voices and active participation of the excluded to key policy processes.

## **6. Conclusions and recommendations: Linking development, gender and citizenship**

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Looking at citizenship in the context of development practice can initiate an approach that starts by looking at people and their interactions in the social world. It can expose gendered and other inequalities, point to ways of expanding rights agendas, and promote women's participation in decision-making. The meanings and the practice of citizenship shift through historical processes and according to geo-political context. Citizenship as membership of the nation state may not be relevant to some people, who may express membership, power and decision-making in other spheres. It is important to understand and work with the different ways in which people view their citizenship or membership of their communities.

This report has shown how feminist theory and activism have re-framed citizenship by challenging the public/private divide, including those excluded from politics and society, and by promoting active engagement with institutions. This work has been seen and encouraged by gender and development practitioners and policy makers. Rethinking development along the lines of citizenship rights and participation is a new and exciting area of theory and practice in mainstream development. However, rights and participation that do not acknowledge gender as an important relationship of unequal power will remain incomplete and exclusionary.

How we think about or define situations has a direct bearing on what we think must be done to rectify them. Gendered citizenship as described in section 4 can explain why gender equality is central to all development goals. It can be instrumental in mobilising allies and developing a shared vision on gender concerns within development institutions (Hunt 2003). For those working both "inside" and "outside" institutions it can provide a rationale and a strategy for addressing discrimination and exclusion.

Gendered citizenship in practice can suggest solutions through a wide range of measures from legal reform of women's rights to gender mainstreaming in policy; from better, gendered needs assessments to education and awareness-raising amongst the general public. Above all, such measures must be geared towards combating the social and political exclusion of women and others marginalised on the basis of gender.

Citizenship is not just about a position inside or outside society. It also implies action – participation in the life, development and decisions of the community. The shifts in meanings and practice of citizenship along the lines outlined above imply an improved and more dynamic interaction between people, citizens' organisations and governance institutions. Activism promoting the interests of marginalised groups such as women has for many years challenged unequal and oppressive power relations that limit rights to full citizenship. Mobilising in civil society demonstrates the involvement of groups in decisions that affect their lives and the lives of others in their communities. Social movements, activists and other civil society

organisations are therefore important actors in development. Utilising the energies, focus and experiences of such movements can lead to positive changes in development practice.

However, a note of caution must be made at this point. Civil society must not end up bearing the full responsibility for drawing people out of disadvantaged situations. Firstly, there are women who may feel unable to participate in activism, or make important decisions in other spheres and want alternative forms of power to be acknowledged as playing an important role in society. Others may in fact be involved in formal politics, and need support and recognition of the problems this entails. Secondly, institutions must seek, listen to and act upon the voices of civil society groups to ensure that citizenship is indeed “active”.

New spaces for interaction are opened up through opportunities like the establishment of new democracies where new constitutions and laws are being formulated. Elsewhere, broader political struggles such as land rights serve as the launch pad for campaigns around women’s rights. The examples in this report have shown a number of areas where opportunities for change have been seized by policy makers, activists, researchers and other actors. Here we draw together a number of recommendations based on these examples. The recommendations are aimed at policy-makers and practitioners and can indicate potential directions for future campaigning by civil society groups and women’s organisations.

**Efforts must be made by policy-makers to more effectively include women and their issues in the policy and practice of development.**

- Women’s issues and gendered interests must be treated as important citizenship rights and valued as such by policy-makers. Issues that are “left out” of citizenship rights – such as safety in the home, childcare and sexuality – need to be addressed and given public and/or institutional solutions.
- Including these issues in policy must not limit or stereotype women’s roles and ghettoise development assistance to women in sectors such as health and education. Women’s roles in all areas of life must be acknowledged in all policies. This will involve acknowledging non-typical and changing gender roles and questioning cultural norms regarding families and households.
- Gender mainstreaming can promote the rights of women in all areas of policy, even in those that are supposedly “gender neutral”. Gender mainstreaming requires resources, institutional commitment and cross-institutional training. Gender budgeting can provide the tools by which women’s concerns and a commitment to gender equality can be made concrete in all areas of policy.
- In addition to mainstreaming, specific targeted interventions to address women’s empowerment and rights are needed. Women must be given access to earmarked policies and resources where they are disadvantaged, in order to redress situations of exclusion and discrimination.
- Affirmative action to increase numbers of women in formal political structures and other decision-making bodies is an effective way to kick-start processes of change towards gender equality.

**Policy-makers and practitioners must ensure that difference (both between women and men and within these groups) is taken into account in the planning, implementation and evaluation of policies and interventions.**

- Needs assessments are crucial to enable development initiatives to be based on the experiences of real people. Processes such as participatory assessments and consultations have the potential to put gender-differentiated needs on the policy agenda. Such processes require time, resources and commitment.
- Policy-makers must be trained in the technical skills of gender analysis and planning in order to adequately understand the roles, responsibilities, priorities and activities of men and women. Gender analysis must be modified according to its aims and objectives; analysing household economics for financial policy, for example, differs from looking at broad cultural issues for an awareness-raising campaign.
- Both gendered needs assessment and analysis will be made more effective by using local gender expertise. This may also initiate greater interaction between policy-makers, women's groups, local activists and researchers.

**Processes of change often occur by bringing the voices of citizens to institutions through civil society organising. Resources must be provided for activities that expand the participation and capacity of women in these organisations.**

- Policy-makers and project implementers should help build social movements, including human rights and gender equality NGOs, through capacity-building and provision of training in advocacy and lobbying skills. These organisations play an important role in shaping, implementing and monitoring development initiatives.
- Spaces must therefore be created and utilised for dialogue between civil society organisations and government. Governance institutions need to listen to such organisations and allow them to wield influence.
- Relationships between civil society groups and state bodies are valuable and must be fostered. Policy-makers and project planners should seize opportunities within change processes brought about by social movements and use expertise and experience within civil society to develop better gender-sensitive policies.
- The creation of networks among those working on similar issues must be supported in order to foster dialogue, gain information and develop strategies. Networks can bring together civil society organisations, researchers and policy-makers within donor and recipient countries. They can help prevent agendas being donor-driven and can facilitate the inclusion of women's needs and voices in development policies.

**Specific recommendations for women's civil society organisations.**

- Civil society organisations are well placed to launch campaigns demonstrating that exclusion and denial of rights is an injustice and can be redressed. Women and other excluded groups



have a role in struggles that force policy-makers and institutions to undertake the activities outlined above.

- Civil society groups can also be instrumental in providing information on women's needs, gender discrimination and possible strategies to policy-makers.
- Groups need to be aware of entry points into decision-making and policy dialogues – such as processes of law reform, new governments and administrations, or important local, national and international events. It is important to capitalise on public consultations and existing campaigns that may be introduced as part of these processes.
- Groups need to invest time and resources in skills training, particularly in advocacy and lobbying. There are many resources and manuals available that teach the skills needed to make effective interventions into policy and other formal and informal decision-making processes.
- Getting the “ear” of sympathetic decision-makers is crucial. Developing links with policy-makers through networking will give voices within the organisation a far greater chance of being heard.

Gendered reformulations of citizenship can promote an approach to development that begins from women's and men's needs and experiences – and that involves populations as central actors in the development of their communities. Support from and for the struggles of marginalised groups such as women to extend, defend and reformulate rights has the power to shift their position from that of beneficiaries to that of empowered, active citizens. Citizenship is not inherently “good” or “bad”. It is a way of articulating where we are in the world, and the power we have over our environment. Thinking through and understanding citizenship from a gender perspective will therefore not immediately “include” all those who are marginalised by societies and cultures. Nonetheless it can provide a pathway for negotiating processes of change that can work to improve the lives of women and men.

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