



**GENDER
AND
SOCIETY**

Working Paper #3

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

**"WID, WAD, GAD"
Integration of Gender in
Development
*Valentine M. Moghadam***

**"Women and the Informal
Economy in Palestine:
A Feminist Critique"
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***Commentary: "Fixed Paradigms,
Changing Realities: Gender and
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***Commentary: "International Aid,
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**Women's Studies Program
Birzeit University**

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and Gender Issues in the Development Process"**
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Introduction

The Women's Studies Program at Birzeit University is publishing the "Gender and Society" working paper series in order to begin a discussion on critical issues in the study of gender relations in Palestinian and Arab society. The Program is also interested in contributing to the on-going debate on how to develop strategies, policies and practices to build a democratic Palestinian society of equal citizens whose political, social and economic rights are recognized and secured.

Valentine Moghadam's paper, "WID, WAD, GAD: Integration of Women, Women's Concerns, and Gender issues in the Development Process; A Review of the Literature and Policy Debates" and Nahla Abdo's paper "Women and the Informal Economy in Palestine: A Feminist Critique" were originally delivered during a 25 November-2 December 1994 workshop on "Palestinian Women in Society: State of Research and New Directions," held by the Women's Studies Program at Birzeit University. The commentaries by Eileen Kuttab and Rita Giacaman are based on commentaries also delivered during the workshop. The structure of the working paper reflects the Program's objective of interacting with, and contributing to, international feminist scholarship on the one hand, and scholarship on Palestinian society on the other, in a serious and sustained manner. Thus, this third working paper published by the Program, begins with a review of global debates on gender and development policy frameworks; the subsequent paper and commentaries attempts to critically link these debates to the current context of Palestine. The aim is on the one hand, to promote a debate about how gender might be integrated and transform the dominant development strategies currently being articulated in Palestine and on the other, to propose how the specific experience of women and development in Palestine can contribute towards these global debates. Ultimately, we believe it is only through this type of dynamic interaction, avoiding both parochialism and mechanical applications of paradigms developed in other contexts, that it is possible to generate more inclusive and equitable frameworks for development.

The present working paper is one of a number of working papers emerging from an on-going research project on "Palestinian Women in Society (PWIS)," undertaken by the Women's Studies Program in collaboration with other local researchers. The PWIS project is a gender-informed assessment of existing literature and research on post-1967 Palestinian society in four areas we consider relevant to women: economy, education, social entitlements and support, and

culture and society. The recognition of gender as a basis for social organization and a category of analysis has opened up important new avenues for scholarly research and for equitable and effective policy formulation. The Women's Studies Program hopes to make a contribution to such gender-informed research and policy formulation in Palestine.

**WID, WAD, GAD:
INTEGRATION OF WOMEN, WOMEN'S CONCERNS,
AND GENDER ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS:
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND POLICY DEBATES**

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Introduction

The field of Women in Development (WID) has grown considerably since its beginnings in the early 1970s. It has also gone through changes in its intellectual and policy focus. Proponents of WID include advocates, practitioners, and scholars (Tinker 1990), feminists and non-feminists, those inspired by Marxist thought and those trained in neoclassical economics. The issues have included welfare, equality, education, employment, poverty-alleviation, efficiency, and empowerment. In general, the field in its various permutations (WID, WAD, GAD), arose from and remains situated in the modernization/modernity/development paradigm, as is suggested by its main conceptual tools and policy foci. WID proponents, and especially the feminist or Marxist inspired advocates/scholars, do not reject "development" per se (or today's term "sustainable human development"), but they tend to be very critical of specific economic policies and they advocate better terms for women in their various productive and reproductive activities.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the evolution of women-and-development, or gender-and-development (WID/GAD), since its beginnings in the 1970s through the present period. This will entail an intellectual history, a differentiation of those who "do" WID/GAD, a delineation of the various policy approaches, and an assessment of various feminist critiques, including those that interrogate and reconceptualize "development" itself.

An Intellectual Overview

In this section I survey the making of the field of women-in-development, with an emphasis on the major contributions and some of the current orientations in GAD research. It should be noted that the pre-WID approach to women in development and donor circles was a welfare-oriented one, an approach that took as its point of departure women's roles as mothers. It should be further noted that the three approaches of WID, WAD, and GAD should not be regarded as mutually exclusive or as strictly chronological.

Women in Economic Development

The Women in Development approach to the study of women in the Third World has dominated the field since the early 1970s. The term WID was coined by development practitioners in Washington D.C. who had been inspired by Ester Boserup's now classic book, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, published in 1970. USAID, with its Office of Women in Development, became one of the most resolute advocates of the WID approach. Together with the Harvard Institute of International Development they produced a case study-based methodology to identify how women have been left out of development on the grounds that "women are key actors in the economic system, yet their neglect in development plans has left untapped a potentially large contribution" (Overhalt et al., 1984, p. 3).

Boserup's pioneering contribution, and the research it inspired, viewed inequality between men and women as the effect of women's displacement from productive work caused by imperfections in the modernization process. According to Boserup, colonialism first, and then industrialization, had exacerbated women's subordination and distorted pre-existing patterns of reciprocity and complementarity between men and women. The solution to women's marginalization and inequality lay in birth control programmes, the incorporation of women into the paid labour force, and an improvement of educational levels. Irene Tinker (1990) points out that economic development was the original primary focus of WID. In the United Nations,

the motivation to integrate women into development programming arose from the gender bias that had characterized previous attempts at economic development and so had ignored or undercut women's economic activities. The growing number of women who headed households were particularly disadvantaged, a trend encapsulated in the phrase "the feminization of poverty." National planners may have seen women as an unused labour force, but the thrust of the WID argument was that women were overworked and underproductive in their economic activities. Before being available for alternative work, women needed to be relieved of much of the drudgery characterizing their daily struggle to supply basic necessities to their families.

The 1975 UN World Decade for Women spurred the growth of the field, and many books and articles came to be published at this time, largely with a focus on women and economic development. One such book, *Women and World Development*, with contributions by Fatima Mernissi, Deniz Kandiyoti, Hanna Papanek, Marie-Angelique Savané, and others, became very influential.

While calling for greater equity between women and men, particularly in regard to education, employment and other material benefits, many WID advocates tend to assume that women will continue to be responsible for reproductive labour. As such, their policies and prescriptions have sought to increase women's access to social benefits such as education, employment, property, and credit without challenging basic gender stereotypes. The double and triple day, in which women struggle under the burden of both reproductive and productive labour, is thus seen as an inevitable part of women's lives, rather than something requiring the reassessment of societal assumptions about the responsibilities, rights, and relations between men and women.

Women and Capitalist Development

In the 1970s, critiques of both mainstream development and liberal feminist assumptions began to emerge. Dependency theory and Marxist political economy became fairly influential, the "Third World" was a serious category of analysis, and calls for a New International Economic Order were widespread. UNCTAD and the

South Commission were established as Third World institutions. Some theorists, such as Samir Amin, called for a "delinking" from the capitalist world market and the establishment of self-reliant, internally-oriented, diversified economies. Multinational corporations were the bogeyman, and foreign investment was considered detrimental to self-reliance (what would now be called sustainability). In the same period, radical feminists began to openly question the possibility that women's lives could be improved within patriarchal and capitalist structures of power, and they too called for delinking from male-dominated institutions. Some writings pointed out that Boserup's perspective did not analyze the effects of capitalist investments on women of different classes, nor did it examine processes of capital accumulation and the consequences of these processes on technical change and women's work (Beneresa and Sen 1986). Marxist-feminist research on women in the informal economy, urbanization, and rural-urban migration contributed to this emerging perspective (Deere and León de Leal, 1981), as did studies on women and the new international division of labour (Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983), on working women in southeast Asia (Heyzer 1986), and on export-led industrialization and female labour (Elson and Pearson 1981). Also part of this body of literature is the analysis by Maria Mies (1986) of the links between capitalist accumulation and the patriarchal subordination of women. In the Netherlands, action-oriented research studies both reflected the influence of WAD and contributed to its growth, for example, through the creation of the Research and Documentation Centre for Women and Development.

These new perspectives inspired a new policy approach to women's development, one that focussed on small-scale, women-only projects designed to circumvent male domination, both from the North and the South. The WAD approach influenced the policy and programmes of many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and became the basis of many NGO activities. WID policy-makers responded to these critiques by modifying mainstream development policy for women. In the place of concern with equality between women and men, they now emphasized basic human needs, particularly for health, education and training. WID specialists argued

that this approach would increase women's effectiveness and efficiency at work, as well as reduce fertility, thus assisting both economic development and women's lives. Planners also called for more credit, greater access to land, legal reform and greater female involvement in development planning. Income-generating projects for women and "microenterprises" were (and remain) operational expressions of this approach. This policy orientation has given rise to a plethora of WID-oriented studies on credit for rural women (e.g., Fong and Perrett 1991) and on overcoming sex inequalities in the labour market in the Third World (Anker and Hein 1986).

The Turn to Efficiency

Parallel to the equity discourse there emerged an argument that the solution to weaknesses or failures in development projects or in programming for the poor was to design development programmes so that women were integrated into them. The growing power of multilateral organizations such as the World Bank may have contributed to the conceptual shift in WID discourse towards the efficiency argument. In addition, the trend in development circles towards alleviation of poverty and meeting basic human needs facilitated the efficiency argument. Characteristic of this trend was the ILO's World Employment Conference in 1976 which, among other things, sought to link the basic-needs and poverty-alleviation strategy with increased employment opportunities, particularly in small enterprises and microenterprises in both rural and urban areas. One of the best-known and most successful WID projects that combines the efficiency and poverty-alleviation approaches for micro-entrepreneurship is the Grameen Bank. Now that the evidence shows that women have been borrowing and repaying loans from the Grameen Bank and similar institutions at rates far above male borrowers at any level of enterprise (Tinker 1990, p. 39), their resourcefulness and usefulness in development terms has become more widely appreciated.

Another contribution to the efficiency approach was through the work of Caroline Moser. Rural development has always preoccupied development agencies,

based on the assumption that cities are populated by the middle class, and that the urban poor are better off than their rural cousins. The rapid growth of squatter settlements, however, forced agencies to begin to look at issues of housing and community development. Moser traced the critical role women play in these urban settlements and observed that the management role of women -- which consumes a vast amount of time -- remained unrecognized.

The WID approach sought to emphasize how a focus on women could contribute to the implementation of dominant development strategies. For example, its focus on poor women in the 1970s was complementary to the dominant World Bank strategy of redistribution with growth. In the 1980s, the World Bank's structural adjustment strategy forced WID proponents to switch to showing how returns on investments could be raised and balance of payments improved through investing in women. Ingrid Palmer's work on gender and adjustment in Africa is an attempt to argue that gender discrimination in society and gender-blind economic policies "send ripples of inefficiencies throughout the economy" (Palmer 1991, p. 163). The efficiency approach is also dominant among practitioners of reproductive health, family planning, population and development, and education. The essential argument is that having resources allocated to women will raise women's productivity levels; there may or may not be a subtext that reallocating resources to women will lead to women's equality, autonomy, or empowerment. The utility of this approach is that it is more amenable to dialogues with policy-makers who invariably come from a neoclassical economic background, and more effective in winning over policy-makers and bureaucrats. It may be especially useful in the Middle East, where feminist theorizing or even equity arguments may be more counter-productive than effective. Some feminist researchers, however, are skeptical about this approach, finding that it assumes a benign set of institutional arrangements -- and of male policy-makers -- that can be easily persuaded to alter public policies in favour of women; and that it ignores the role of conflict, social movements, and political action in bringing about the fundamental changes that are called for.

Feminist Influences and the Experience of Structural Adjustment

In the 1980s, some scholars and activists from both the North and the South began to argue for a new approach to women's development. Influences came from the international political economy literature with its concern about widespread poverty and the internationalization of capitalism, radical-feminist ideas about global patriarchy, and socialist-feminist writings, including analyses by feminists in the South. The 1985 Nairobi Conference encouraged contacts and better understanding between feminists worldwide. It provided a springboard for South-South linkages among women, including the creation of an international organization, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), which grew out of discussions among Third World feminists before the conference. DAWN has continued to organize and deliberate about development issues of concern to women in the South. The group has published a book which emphasizes the importance of listening to and learning from women's diverse experiences and knowledge, and to maintaining a commitment to long-range strategies dedicated to breaking down the structures of inequality between genders, classes and nations. (See Sen and Grown 1987.)

Contributing to the emerging GAD approach were feminists at The Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) in The Hague (where Maria Mies, Kumari Jayawardena, and others were based), and at Sussex University. The latter sponsored a conference and then produced what became an influential book called *Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination in International Perspective* (Young, Walkowitz and McCullough 1981). This perspective, with its commitment to understanding class, race and gender inequalities in a global context, provided an intellectual meeting point for some like-minded feminists from around the world (Parpart 1994).

The resulting dialogue, increasingly known as Gender and Development (GAD), rejects the liberal and radical emphasis on *women*, and focusses on *gender* instead, particularly the social construction of gender roles, relations, and hierarchies. In the GAD perspective, gender is seen as the process by which individuals who are

born into biological categories of male or female become the social categories of men and women through the acquisition of locally- or culturally-defined attributes of masculinity and femininity. Among other things, the shift from biology to social construction thus establishes the possibility of transforming gender roles. This approach also emphasizes the importance of examining the gender division of labour in specific societies (e.g., Stichter and Parpart 1990; Ward 1990; Benerç̇a and Feldman 1992), particularly the more invisible aspects of women's work (Benerç̇a and Roldan 1987), their spatial arrangements and the relation between these labour patterns and other aspects of gender inequality (Chafetz 1990). It looks at the issue of power as it relates to gender and at strategies for empowering women and challenging the structures and ideas maintaining gender hierarchies (Kabeer 1994). Increasingly, it examines built-in gender bias in the development process (e.g., Elson 1991), and connections between gender, family, and economy (Blumberg 1991; Moghadam 1993).

A parallel development during this period that also greatly influenced the thinking of women in development, was the experience of structural adjustment and the expansion of neoliberal economic policies. The period of economic difficulties and of adjustment showed that the benefits of targeted projects, and even of long-lasting policies to advance women, could be swept away by macro-level changes and policies. Until the 1980s, WID proponents had mainly viewed development as "something done by development agencies", and "women were in it insofar as they were recipients of projects and programmes" (Elson 1991, p. 13). Prior to the 1980s, the WID policy approach had deliberately avoided questioning the dominant concepts of development. It sought acceptance by mainstream economists in order to emerge from the social welfare category in which the issue of women had been kept and to obtain more funds for the advancement of women. Nuket Kardam (1991) writes that as a result, it consciously accepted compromises about some of the goals WID activists had originally pursued such as empowering women through a process of in-depth social, economic and political change.

Structural adjustment, in that it was broadly challenged and criticized for its impact on the poorer countries, on the most vulnerable sections of the population, and on progress towards gender equality, played a key role in initiating a new, more ambitious approach to women and development. The WID movement started to reflect on the type of development in which women were "to be integrated". A gender perspective and a clear will to achieve gender equality had to be part of the overall debate on goals and means of development. There is now a large and growing literature on gender and development (e.g., Commonwealth Secretariat 1989; Elson 1992; Afshar and Dennis 1992; Blumberg 1991; Fernandez-Kelly 1989; Moser 1989.) Sophisticated theoretical work by GAD scholars on gender and macroeconomics, gender and social transformations, gender and industrialization, gender and labour markets, gender and technology, gender and the world-economy.

Among the initiators of this new, alternative WID approach have been committed activists from the South. Some are grouped in international networks such as DAWN. Many of the members are researchers involved in NGO work. This approach, called by some "global feminism"; by others the "empowerment approach" sees gender inequality as part of a continuum of inequalities between countries, social class and ethnic groups. It stresses the capacity of people, and poor women in particular, to promote their own development, if proper support and a conducive environment are provided. (Some call this "women's self-empowerment".)

The new GAD approach has had considerable influence in academia, but reactions on the part of the large donor agencies have been mixed, particularly because of its fundamental criticisms and its consideration of the need for more profound social transformation (rather than merely new policies). On the other hand, some of the bilateral donor agencies (most notably the Scandinavians, Dutch and Canadians) and some non-governmental organizations have adopted a more gender-oriented approach to women's development, including the addition of gender-analysis training to established WID training programmes. Within the UN system, the most

enthusiastic supporters include UNIFEM and the Division for the Advancement of Women -- in addition to the WID specialists and researchers in other agencies.

Proponents of WID/WAD/GAD

Irene Tinker has identified "WID proponents" as: (a) advocates (who include feminists), (b) practitioners (mainly from the multilateral and bilateral donor agencies), and (c) scholars (who are usually feminists). These three have not, and do not, always agree on the issues; their respective approaches and prescriptions on particular issues may be quite different, sometimes irreconcilably. Practitioners have tended to selectively and sometimes simplistically adapt some of the ideas and concepts of the scholars, and try to "bring them down to earth" in policy and programme terms. This is, in one sense, a laudable effort, because it is salutary to operationalize abstractions, especially when they pertain to the well-being, equality, and empowerment of disadvantaged people, in our case, women. But in another sense, the final produce is somewhat different from the original conceptualization. For example, "gender" and "gender analysis" may mean something different to a typical World Bank functionary than it does to a feminist scholar. Certainly the dimension of differential power relations and the need for transformation is absent in the former's understanding, which will emphasize market forces instead. (The term "empowerment" has also now been appropriated by non-feminists and even by right-wing pundits in the United States.)

The figure below illustrates the different approaches to the issues by the various groups of WID practitioners.

Viewpoints of Women in Development Proponents: Issues and Responses

Issues	Proponents		
	Advocates	Practitioners	Scholars
Economic development	Adverse impact Integrate women	Efficiency	Count women's economic activities Class/gender
Equality	Legal rights	Income as liberating	Patriarchy major constraint
Empowerment	Form women's organizations	Women-only projects	Global feminism Distinct values
Education	Access to professional schools	Nonformal education	Scientific and technical Revise content for sex bias
Employment	Affirmative action Basis for status	Microenterprise	Sexual division of labour
Welfare	Seen as dependency creating	Participation in health, population and housing programmes	Dual roles Female sphere
Efficiency	Integration	Sectoral programmes	Not feminist

Source: Tinker (1990), p. 36.

In contrast to the efficiency approach which sees women, and gender, as instrumental in the realization of development objectives, the GAD approach sees gender as a powerful social force, or as a variable, that influences the operations of labour markets and other social institutions. Fernandez-Kelly (1989: 623-624) writes:

The need to support families has led [women] to become wage earners. However, caring for families often prevents them from holding jobs. That tension, resulting from a systematic requirement to maintain a devalued reproductive sphere outside the realm of paid employment, has been tenuously resolved in three complementary ways. First, women have clustered in a few niches of the occupational structure where jobs are seen as an extension of their domestic responsibilities. Second, those jobs have been assigned low productivity and wages... . Finally, the two phenomena have been captured in ideological constructions that define women's paid employment as a supplement to that of men. ... Gender acts as an independent variable affecting alternatives in the labour market. Women earn lower wages than men simply because they are female.

Recognizing Common and Divergent Needs and Interests Among Women

The WID, WAD, and GAD approaches all recognize differentiation among women: principally North-South differences and social differences, and in many societies racial and ethnic differences as well. These differences are not, however, adequately theorized. "Class" is not a term widely used among development practitioners; the gender-class dialectic is rarely elaborated in GAD research, and the focus remains on "empowering women" (including elite women in decision-making positions). Many feminist scholars, however, continue to emphasize social relations, social hierarchies, class structure, and ethnic divisions. Among such thinkers, there is consensus that although gender is a central source of inequality and of people's differential access to resources and power, gender intersects with class and ethnicity in the determination of such access (Moghadam 1990, 1993; Benerç̇a and Roldan 1987). A corollary is that while most women around the world engage in reproductive and productive activities alike, class and ethnicity again shape the kinds of work women do and their reproductive patterns, including fertility and health.

The earlier arguments between Third World feminists concerned about poor women and basic needs and First World feminists concerned with gender equality at all levels, and arguments regarding the uniform versus divergent nature of women's interests and needs seem to have been overcome by innovative conceptual work and development planning designs. Caroline Moser introduced a framework for planning for low-income women in the Third World that was based on women's interests, or what she calls their prioritized concerns. Drawing from earlier conceptual work by Maxine Molyneux, Moser identifies women's needs, strategic gender needs, and practical gender needs. As she points out, the concept of women's interests assumes compatibility of interest based on biological similarities: "In fact the position of women in society depends on a variety of different criteria, such as class and ethnicity as well as gender, and consequently the interests they have in common may be

determined as much by their class position or their ethnic identity as by their biological similarity as women" (Moser 1989:1803). "Women's interests" are specific to particular class, ethnic, or age groups within a given society. "Practical gender interests" are inductive and usually formulated by women (or men) in concrete positions within the gendered division of labour; these do not challenge the division of labour itself or gender inequality more broadly. For example, if within a given division of labour women are responsible for childcare including nutrition and health, then they may articulate concerns with food subsidies, prenatal care or immunizations. Policies aimed at these interests will alleviate some of the burden while not questioning the gendered basis of the division of labour. By contrast, "strategic gender interests", according to Molyneux (1986:284) "are derived ... deductively ... from an analysis of women's subordination and from the formulation of an alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements". Thus, strategic gender interests often take the form of broad reforms which question the structural basis of gender inequality: suffrage, legal reform of family law, freedom of choice over childbearing, overcoming the sexual division of labour.

Moser adopted Molyneux's analytical distinction to a gender-and-development framework for planning purposes which usefully identifies and distinguishes practical and strategic gender needs in various areas, including gender needs in employment, gender needs in human settlement and housing, and gender needs in basic services.

Evolution of WID Policy Approaches

The proliferation of WID, WAD, and GAD research and advocacy has forced policy-makers to shift their focus from a concern with welfare-oriented, family-centered programmes which assumed motherhood as the most important role for women in the development process, to a diversity of approaches emphasizing the productive role of women. Buvinic (1983) and Moser (1989) have identified a number of policy approaches to women in the Third World: welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency, and empowerment.

Different policy approaches to Third World Women

← "Women in Development" (WID) →

Issues	Welfare	Equity	Anti-poverty	Efficiency	Empowerment
Origins	<p>Earliest approach: - residual model of social welfare under colonial administration - modernization/ accelerated growth economic development model.</p>	<p>Original WID approach: - failure of modernization development policy - influence of Boserup and First World feminists on Percy Amendment - declaration of UN Decade for Women.</p>	<p>Second WID approach: - toned down equity because of criticism - linked to Redistribution with Growth and Basic Needs.</p>	<p>3rd and now predominant WID approach: - deterioration in world economy - policies of economic stabilization and adjustment rely on women's economic contribution to development.</p>	<p>Most recent approach: - arose out of failure of equity approach - Third World Women's feminist writing and grassroots organizations.</p>
Period most popular	1950-70: but still widely used.	1975-85: attempts to adopt it during and since Women's Decade.	1970s onward: still limited popularity.	Post 1980s: now most popular approach.	1975 onward: accelerated during 1980s, still limited popularity.
Purpose	To bring women into development as better mothers: this is seen as their most important role in development.	To gain equity for women in the development process: women seen as active participants in development.	To ensure poor women increase their productivity: women's poverty seen as problem of underdevelopment not of subordination.	To ensure development is more efficient and more effective: women's economic participation seen as associated with equity.	To empower women through greater self-reliance: women's subordination seen not only as problem of men but also of colonial and neocolonial oppression.
Needs of women met and roles recognized	To meet PGN* in reproductive role, relating particularly to food aid, malnutrition and family planning.	To meet SGN** in terms of triple role - directly through state top-down intervention, giving political and economic autonomy by reducing inequality with men.	To meet PGN* in productive role, to earn an income, particularly in small-scale income generating projects.	To meet PGN* in context of declining social services by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time.	To reach SGN** in terms of triple role - indirectly through bottom-up mobilization around PGN* as means to confront oppression.
Comment	Women seen as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on reproductive role. Nonchallenging therefore still widely popular especially with government and traditional NGOs.	In identifying subordinate position of women in terms of relationship to men, challenging, criticized as Western feminism, considered threatening and not popular with government.	Poor women isolated as separate category with tendency only to recognize productive role; reluctance of government to give limited aid to women means popularity still at small-scale NGO level.	Women seen entirely in terms of delivery capital and ability to extend working day. Most popular approach both with governments and multilateral agencies.	Potentially challenging with emphasis on Third World and women's self-reliance. Largely unsupported by governments and agencies. Avoidance of Western feminism criticism, means slow significant growth of underfinanced voluntary organizations.

* PGN - Practical gender needs.

** SGN - Strategic gender needs.

Source: Moser (1989), p. 1808.

I have appended Moser's own tabular summary of the different approaches, which includes information on the origins of each approach, the period during which they were most popular, the stated purpose or goal of each approach, the needs of women that are met and the roles that are recognized, and Moser's commentary. Again, these approaches should not be seen as mutually exclusive or necessarily chronological; there is some overlap and crisscrossing. However, they can be distinguished from one another -- as Moser has usefully done -- and also identified with various international organizations:

Welfare	UNICEF
Equity	<i>DAW and WID focal points in various UN agencies</i>
Anti-poverty	World Bank in 1970s; ILO
Efficiency	World Bank 1980s/90s
Empowerment	UNIFEM, UNDP/HDR Office, UNFPA, NGOs, some bilaterals

As can be seen, the WID policy approach has evolved from an earlier emphasis on women's role as mothers to one that stresses the resource that women represent for economic and social development, and the positive link between economic participation and women's emancipation. WID sub-approaches have included one which favoured the achievement of equity of rights between men and women, another which was mainly concerned with the fate of poor women, and a later one which, against the background of adjustment programmes of the 1980s, stressed that maximizing female paid or unpaid contribution ensured more efficient investments and balance of payments equilibrium. The pertinent policy strategies have evolved from the implementation of small-scale income generating programmes to the objective of mainstreaming women in all policies, that is, ensuring that all policies, including sector-focussed programmes and policies aiming at influencing the functioning of the entire economy, be gender-aware.

Integrating and Mainstreaming WID/Gender in the UN

It should be noted that the GAD approach is being adopted in the United Nations system, at least in principle, and that "mainstreaming" is the official objective. The Division for the Advancement of Women -- the secretariat of the world conferences on women and the host of the annual inter-agency consultations and expert-group meetings -- has been advocating a gender analysis to issues of poverty, housing, health, education, employment, conflict, and so on. The 1994 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development is expressly based on a gender approach:

One of the most important steps for researchers and activists in the field of Women in Development has been the recognition that so called "women's issues" cannot be resolved in isolation from a broader reflection on the socially constructed relationships between men and women and more generally on social and economic structures and trends. In the 1990s, changing the status of women appears impossible in the absence of a rethinking by the whole society, and the type of development it pursues.

This has reinforced the conclusion that advancing women cannot be a marginal exercise of micro level projects. Nor will gender aware sectorial or macro-level plans be sufficient. The entire range of social and economic relations and policies needs to be reviewed from a gender perspective and the concern for gender has to permeate the process of defining the goals pursued through development. It should be a category of analysis against which to evaluate the risks associated with current trends, the success or failure of development strategies and State policies, in particular in the field of education, employment, family law, population policy as well as national development plans generally.

In 1992 the WID Division of UNDP was renamed the Gender in Development Programme (GIDP), which reflects both the influence of the GAD approach and UNDP's new emphasis on human-centred development. The UNDP has produced an

information package entitled "Programming Through the Lens of Gender" (UNDP 1994) which describes the steps taken by UNDP in developing its strategy for mainstreaming women's issues into the priority thematic areas of its programming work: poverty alleviation, environment, management development, transfer of technology, and technical cooperation among developing countries. As the Administrator writes: "UNDP is committed to a gender approach as an alternative and a complement to women-specific programming approach because we believe that increasing the participation of women in the decisions, events and processes which shape their lives is central to bringing about sustainable human development." The overview booklet states:

Gender is the social construction of men's and women's roles in a given culture or location. Gender roles are distinguished from sex roles, which are biologically determined. ... Mainstreaming women and women's issues is a strategic planning process to incorporate the specific and complementary roles of men and women into development. The goal is to ensure equal access for women to decision-making, productive resources and development benefits. ... The gender approach consists of a set of tools and processes for understanding how relationships between men and women influence development. The gender approach involves analysis and planning procedures that take gender issues into account, and that aim to create more equitable gender relations. ... Gender-specific data and statistics are facts about women and men that can be analysed to reveal important information about gender roles. Gender statistics are the basis upon which gender sound policies and programmes are formulated. (UNDP 1994.)

The UN Regional Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), commissioned a significant book entitled *Integration of Women's Concerns into Development Planning in Asia and the Pacific* (UN 1992), with contributions by well-known male and female economists from the region. Although the approach taken is

neoclassical, the various chapters do a solid job of integrating women into the analysis of the allocation of resources from the household, market, and government. The opening chapter by Amartya Sen addresses the question of what "women's concerns" are, and distinguishes between well-being and agency. It also emphasizes the interdependence of the market, the government, and the household for determining policy priorities to integrate women's concerns into development efforts.

Nirmala Banerjee's chapter focuses on household-oriented barriers and constraints on advancement of women, such as the anti-female child bias in households which adversely affects the nutritional status and life expectancy of women; educational deprivation of women as a result of parental perceptions of the importance of education vis-a-vis the imperative of girls' family responsibilities from an early age; family ideology in some societies restricting women's physical mobility, confining them to home-based work; and consideration of household tasks in all societies as the exclusive domain of women. Noting that "for a very large number of women of this region, development so far has not provided even the minimum requirements of human life", Banerjee calls for immediate public action on their behalf, the most basic of which is education for girls, as well as provision of water and fuel to ease the burden of household work.

Frances Perkins examines women's market-oriented work and patterns of women's employment, with a view towards recommending strategies to increase the participation of women in economic development. She deals with the effects of policies pertaining to trade, the macro economy, structural adjustment, taxation, and the financial sector on the advancement of women. Her chapter attempts to test whether there is a relationship between the pursuit of outward-oriented economic policies and an improvement in the economic position of women. In comparing the relatively closed economies of south Asia (now opening up) and the export-led economies of southeast and east Asia, she finds that women's employment levels, income, and educational attainment are higher in the latter than in the former.

The chapter by Rehman Sobhan examines gender bias in allocation of resources by Government and criticizes the current approaches to integrating women's concerns into development planning in selected countries. It examines women's participation in politics and government administration, and shows that while women have been the head of Government in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines (and more recently in Bangladesh), there were no significant breakthroughs in the circumstances of women during their tenure; neither did women's representation in parliament or government administration increase sufficiently. Sobhan proposes far-reaching recommendations to improve gender equality, such as inducting women into government administration by placing five to six women in key ministries over the next five years as secretaries (or similar positions) of ministries of planning, agriculture, industry, labour, and finance; adopting a system of separate electorates for an interim period, say 10 years, where women would vote separately from men to elect women to the legislatures. Under such a system a certain number (say one-third to one-fourth) of the seats would be assigned in the legislature exclusively to women. Under that system women would have two votes whereby they would vote ordinarily as well as only for women in order to give rise to a new breed of women who would not necessarily be elected under the normal system.

The World Bank continues its work on women's health (including the Safe Motherhood initiative) and its research and policy work on the importance of women's education to national development. However, the World Bank has been criticized for the adverse social effects that its stabilization and adjustment policies have had, in precisely the areas of health, education, and welfare (e.g., Commonwealth Secretariat 1989; Cornia, Jolly, and Stewart 1987). As mentioned above, much current GAD research critically examines macroeconomic policies from a gender perspective and finds World Bank policy prescriptions gender-biased and even inefficient (e.g., Elson 1991; Joekes 1989).

The assessment and evaluation of mainstreaming or of integrating women's concerns into development planning and specific projects is beyond the scope of this

paper. This issue is, however, the subject of considerable discussion and many workshops and policy papers at the present time. Perhaps it is because of awareness of the difficulty of integrating women into development projects -- or the resistance to it -- that calls have been made for "gender conditionality" (see, e.g., Moghadam 1994) to be added to the growing list of "social conditionalities" that many European donor countries have established (which are at the present time human rights, good governance, democracy, and the environment).

What Are We Integrating Women Into?: New Critiques and Alternatives

A more fundamental concern is that current world-market and political realities militate against the investments in women that WID, WAD, and GAD proponents call for; that NGOs are being asked to take on too much responsibility for the advancement of women, perhaps as a way of relieving states of the financial and moral responsibility to do so; and that global economic restructuring and the trend towards flexible labour markets, informalization, casualization, and so on are inimical to the objectives of equality and empowerment. Persistent inequalities -- social and gender alike -- are thus seen as systemic rather than the result of misguided policies (Moghadam 1994).

In a recent paper, Jane Parpart (1994) notes that although GAD proponents rarely reject or question modernist assumptions, the GAD perspective provides the possible discursive space to do so. She observes that most development practitioners are situated squarely in the modernization paradigm, but that new thinking is questioning the validity of this assumption. She writes:

Drawing on the postmodern critique of the modern and the crucial relationship between power and language, some scholars are questioning the underlying assumptions of development with its uncritical identification with westernization/modernization. This critique of the modern, concern with difference and focus on the power of language has influenced the thinking of some

feminists concerned with women's development in the Third World. It has led to new questions, particularly a critique of development specialists' representation of the Third World as the vulnerable "other", and an awareness that these representations have often undermined indigenous women's knowledge and self-confidence. It overestimates the knowledge of Western "experts" and devalues developmental solutions coming out of the South. This approach argues for a more careful attention to language and to the specific contexts and locales in which peoples lives are played out. It rejects analysis that draws primarily on macro-economic data and broad generalizations, and urges scholars to investigate the interstices of daily life, the small exchanges between women and men, which reveal changes in gender relations that cannot be seen at the macro-level (Parpart, forthcoming).

Although in one respect I agree with Parpart's critique of the dominant modernization paradigm -- especially the current one associated with the international financial institutions, neoliberal economics, and the notion of the inevitability and desirability of free markets -- I do not agree that the postmodern approach can be fruitfully applied towards an analysis of or resolution to the socio-economic and political problems of our times. (The most blatantly irrelevant and morally outrageous application was Baudrillard's depiction of the Gulf War as mere text.) Nor do I think that the objectives of modernization or development should be abandoned, although it is important to define these concepts and objectives in a way that is compatible with feminist and progressive agendas.

The critique of structural adjustment and the "50 Years Are Enough" campaign have put the World Bank on the defensive, and have emboldened the UNDP to elaborate its "people-first" notion of development -- "human development" or "sustainable human development". The authors of the *Human Development Report* (UNDP, 1990-1994) argue that to live a long and healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living are the most critical of

human capabilities and choices. Additional choices include political freedom, guaranteed human rights and personal self-respect. Development enables people to have these choices, by creating a conducive environment for people, individually and collectively, to develop their full potential and to have a reasonable chance of leading productive and creative lives in accordance with their needs and interests. In this definition, genuine human development encompasses more than GNP growth, more than income and wealth and more than producing commodities, accumulating capital and balancing budgets. Development is about people and societies, about quality of life and the enlargement of human capabilities and people's choices. Or as Kari Polanyi Levitt has put it, "Development is ultimately . . . [a matter] of the capacity of a society to tap the root of popular creativity, to free up and empower people' (Levitt, 1990: 1594).

Thus, parallel to the market dogma of economists and politicians, there is also the revival of interest in poverty alleviation and productive employment. These are, in fact, two of the three priority themes of the UN World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 6-12 March 1995), the third theme being social integration. The main UN agencies behind this are the UNDP and ILO, with research work also carried out by UNU/WIDER and by UNRISD. The Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 9-16 September 1995) will also take a decidedly radical approach, a gender-informed interrogation of neoliberal policies, flexibilization and casualization of labour markets. At present, therefore, we may identify two, somewhat opposing development camps. On the one side are advocates of a people-first approach, with their concern for the social ramifications of economic policies and restructuring. On the other side are advocates of the market-first approach, with their emphasis on economic growth. The GAD specialists are almost entirely in the first camp.

Macro and Micro Linkages in Gender and Development:

Key Propositions

GAD researchers and feminist social scientists have contributed in important ways to the critique of (mal)development, to the refinement and elaboration of concepts (especially those of production, reproduction, division of labour, allocation of resources, and gender bias), and to the integration of women's concerns in development thinking, development policies, and development cooperation. They have shown not only how economic policies have gender-specific effects, but how gender itself shapes attitudes, policies, and outcomes, at both macro and micro levels. Below I list some of the key propositions in the GAD literature linking women, family, and the economy. As will be seen, these propositions combine the equity, efficiency, and empowerment approaches.

- Access to and control over productive resources are the most important sources of the relative power and well-being of men and women (Blumberg 1991: 100-101).
- When women are in the main "only" wives and mothers, and not seen as economically active, they are so short-changed in the allocation of resources that their chances for survival are reduced.
- The greater women's relative economic power, the greater their self-esteem and control over their own lives.
- The greater a woman's relative economic power, the greater her control over a variety of "life options", including marriage, divorce, fertility, overall household authority, and various types of household decisions.
- There is a negative relation between a woman's education and income, on the one hand, and fertility on the other. The greater a woman's access to economic resources, the greater the likelihood that her fertility pattern will reflect her own perceived utilities and preferences (rather than those of her mate, family, or the state). Conversely, where women do not have adequate access to the means of

production, and where men and women see children as unsubstitutable sources of labour, future crisis aid, old-age security, and so forth, they may want more.

- Where women have access to the means of production and income under their own control, household welfare increases, child well-being improves, and household decision-making become more participatory and equitable.
- Men and women have different patterns of expenditure and consumption. Women tend to spend income that flows through their hands differently than men, holding back less for personal use and devoting more to children's nutrition and family welfare.
- As women tend to be the primary cultivators of food crops in most of the developing world (especially sub-Saharan Africa), the neglect of female farmers (and their income incentives) may contribute to outcomes ranging from failed development projects to famines.
- National development is limited or is adversely affected when: female human capital is under-developed, female labour is under-utilized, and women are deliberately marginalized or excluded from the development process.
- Household welfare (and the well-being of children) is limited or is adversely affected when: women have no access to the means of production; they have no control over their income; they are denied literacy, education, or healthcare.
- Male bias in the development process -- the absence of a gender analysis in programme and project formulation, and the concomitant marginalization or devaluation of women producers -- could lead to outcomes such as failed development projects, household poverty, increased workloads for women, or labour migration.
- Although the supply of female labour may be affected by variables associated with class, caste, ethnicity, race, and age (social and gender variables), women's ability and willingness to enter and remain within the labour force depends upon the availability of institutional supports with respect to reproductive activities and childcare, as well as wage rates and income levels.

- Women's practical gender needs and strategic gender interests are highly influenced by economic conditions and by economic policy (fashioned by states and international agents like). The more gender-sensitive the economic (and social) policy, the greater the likelihood that gender relations could become more equitable.
- Change in the structure of labour force opportunities and rewards is key to gender equity.
- Productive employment generation along with enhanced access to the means of production are prerequisites for social and gender equity, and for the goal of sustainable development.
- Planning for and meeting women's practical and strategic gender needs may be incumbent upon a socially necessary rate of growth which in turn requires a resource shift from North to South as well as redistribution and a reallocation of resources within developing countries.

Conclusions

Since the political and social status of women is secondary to that of men in most societies, proposing an improvement in their status could similarly be viewed as a threat to the status quo. But women -- as women and as workers -- have demonstrated a capacity for collective action through their participation in movements and organizations for change. Women are not only victims of bad policies but are actors in their own right and agents of social change. Moreover, as a result of WID/WAD/GAD research and advocacy, of women's movements and of the efforts of various UN agencies, élites are beginning to recognize the practical benefits of gender awareness and of increased attention to women's work and women's lives. They are more cognizant that women tend to spend a high proportion of earnings to improve family well-being, and that development programmes or changes in laws, regulations and customs to build women's economic productivity and improve their earning capacity will have direct benefits for families as well. Using the efficiency language, it

is clear that both the imperatives of distributive justice and concerns about societal development call for women's access to productive resources (employment, training, credit, land, extension services, legal reform), access to basic goods and services (household needs, education, health, childcare services) and external resource flows (such as debt reduction and gender-aware development cooperation). In turn, these contribute to the long-term goals of gender equality and the empowerment of women.

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**Women and the Informal Economy in Palestine:
A Feminist Critique¹**

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Introduction

In this paper I hope to contribute to the ongoing process of defining and articulating a feminist approach to Palestinian women in society. I will do so by first outlining some of the characteristic features of the feminist debates on women in developing economies. Then I examine the relevance of theory to the Palestinian experience. To elaborate on the process of gender construction and gender relations in Palestine I will focus on the concept of the gendered informal economy, particularly the phenomenon of income generating projects (IGPs).

While this paper does not claim to provide a comprehensive analysis of all forms and structures of gender oppression, it does attempt to provide a theoretical framework for contextualizing gender relations and comprehending gender construction. Gender relations will be analyzed within the framework of the social, economic, political and ideological forces which shape and reshape these relations. I will begin with a gender critique of development approaches employed in the Occupied Territories. I will argue that the liberal (WID) approach to development currently in place is flawed and poses more problems than solutions to women's development.

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Women and Development: Aspects of the Debate

The feminist literature on development highlights three major approaches to dealing with women in developing economies: WID (women-in-development), WAD (women and development) and GAD (gender and development). These are three relatively new approaches which derive their wider theoretical contexts from three existing feminist approaches; liberal, Marxist and socialist feminist.

It is widely acknowledged that Ester Boserup's seminal work, **Women's Role in Economic Development** (1970) was the impetus for the emergence and development of the WID approach. Following criticisms directed at development projects carried out in the developing countries, most international agencies began to adopt the slogan of the WID approach which equates women's integration in the economy with socio-economic development (according to the WID approach, to attain development women have to be integrated in the economy). Since the 1970s concerted efforts on the part of private, UN and NGO bodies were focused on devising plans, projects and schemes to integrate women in their respective economies.

The WID approach has adopted the modernization theory notion of "incremental growth" which seeks to encourage capitalist investment in the Third World as the only means for the latter's development and integration into the world (capitalist) market economy. As WID programs began to proliferate but with little or no results, planners and programmers began to change their strategy and call for women's participation/integration in other aspects of social life. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, WID planners began to identify other social and cultural obstacles to women's fuller integration. As a result, the call for institutional reforms began to accompany most WID projects.

The range of programs targeted by WID have since expanded to include almost all areas of social life including education, nutrition, family planning, income generation, training and employment. Recently, some WID programs have begun to adopt the "basic needs" approach targeting poor women. The UNDP, for example, argued that "development will be slowed down unless there is a greater participation by women in all areas at all levels..." (in Maguire, 1984:21) Similar arguments were made by other UN agencies including UNCTAD (Vickers, 1991).

Nonetheless, as critics have pointed out, the WID approach suffers from fundamental lacunae. Most notably is WID's ideological or theoretical framework.

WID derives its ideological framework from liberal feminism. Traditional liberalism or the theory of "equilibrium" conceives of the capitalist market economy as a sound and in fact ideal system for human development. For developing nations to follow the West, it is argued, they need to emulate the capitalist path of development. The liberal ideology perceives problems or conflicts which may arise in the system as aberrations or deviations from the norm. Fixing these problems through ameliorative measures will restore the system to its normal state of equilibrium.

Because of its ideological stand, liberal feminism fails to see contradictions as inherent to the capitalist system. It fails to see conflictual structures of gender, class, race and nationality as endemic to the market economy; therefore, as most critics have observed, this approach is incapable of conceptualising structures of oppression. (Stamp, 1989; Sen and Grown, 1987; Worldwatch, 1992).

Despite their attempts at integrating women in different sectors of the society, and their diversified approach to women's roles, WID efforts are largely hampered by the very premise of their own theoretical approach. This is exemplified in the philosophy of most international agencies: the multilateral conglomerates (e.g., IMF, World Bank); bilateral corporations (e.g., CIDA of Canada, SIDA of Sweden, NOVIB of the Netherlands), and U.N bodies (e.g., UNDP, UNCTAD). They all continue to conceive of development in terms of returns on investment, cost-effectiveness and openness to the world market. Commenting on changes in WID strategies, The World Bank noted (1979a) "...leaving questions of justice and fairness aside, women's disproportionate lack of education, with its consequences in low productivity, as well as for the nutrition and health of their families, has adverse effects on the economy at large." Similar reasons for diversifying women's activities were reiterated four years later in a 1983 USAID report which prophesied that securing women's presence in a range of human resource development programs would "ultimately result in the critical national benefit of a healthy, well trained productive workforce." (cited in Maguire, 1984:22).

Liberalism, which focuses on the individual and sees society as an aggregate of atomized subjects, is incapable of providing solutions to problems which are structural in essence. As the above reports suggest, the interest of capital outweighs any considerations for genuine change and development.

Realizing the inherent problems of WID and in an attempt to provide alternative approaches to dealing with women in development, two approaches emerged: WAD

and GAD. WAD, also known as "Third Women's perspectives on development," is associated with the DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) group. The principles of this approach are laid down in Sen and Grown's (1987) **Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions**. In this work, the authors criticise the liberal theory of development for ignoring the main victims, namely the poor and particularly women. WID's failure to do that, Sen and Grown argue, lies in the former's inability to see exploitation and inequality as a global phenomenon. WAD adherents see local and national inequalities as integral parts of the international system of market economy in which the First World dominates and subordinates the Third World. Equality and social justice is possible, they argue, when the global system of exploitation is altered.

The WAD approach focuses on changing international relations as a condition for attaining gender equality. Sen and Grown speak of two strategies for changing women's conditions: a long-term strategy and a short-term strategy. The long-term strategy is concerned with "control of multinationals... which have been instrumental in diverting resources from basic needs towards commercialization, exports, and militarization." (Sen and Grown, 1987:84) They call for the need to reorient economic planning to meet the needs of the poor. This must be accompanied by national "liberation from colonial and neocolonial domination, and national self-reliance, at least in basic requirements such as food and energy sources, health care and water provision, and education." (Sen and Grown, 1987: 83).

For the WAD approach, demilitarization is an essential requirement to alleviate the fiscal burden and indebtedness of most Third World countries. Its adherents emphasise the links between militarization, dictatorial regimes, the suppression of civil freedoms, and the further subordination of women.

As for short-term strategies, WAD adopts the approach recognized by WID adherents advocating changes in "laws, civil codes, systems of property rights, control over our bodies, labour codes, and the social and legal institutions that underwrite male control and privilege..." (Sen and Grown, 1987:81).

The WAD approach bases its theoretical foundations on a variety of Marxist approaches. An element of traditional Marxism is visible in their emphasis on class analysis. In a piece by Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen (1982) the authors criticise Boserup and international WID agencies for the latter's modernization approach which masks class differences between women. Alternatively, Beneria and Sen emphasise

taking poor women as a vantage point particularly for organizational purposes.

Yet, unlike traditional Marxism, WAD adherents recognize the roles different cultures and national concerns play in shaping gender inequalities. WAD proponents also draw special attention to the role of reproduction in directly and indirectly contributing to the production process (see Beneria and Sen, 1982). The WAD approach also draws on dependency theory and the world system approach. In fact, a close examination of the WAD conception of change recalls Samir Amin's development strategies in *Delinking* (1985). Nonetheless, WAD's overriding concern with the international sphere overshadows the internal dynamics of social contradictions, particularly around issue of the sex-gender division of labour and its role in shaping women's lives.

The WAD approach is problematic on two fronts: first, by claiming to present a "Third World perspective", WAD claims a number of generalizations which expose it to the pitfalls of WID's Eurocentrism, replacing the latter with some form of Third World essentialism; second, WAD proponents locate themselves more at the practical organizational level of the poor sectors, leaving little if any efforts to developing a coherent conceptual framework. Their position on major issues such as patriarchy, capitalism, and feminism is expressed in terms of a political-ideological stand rather than in analytical-conceptual terms.

Similar to WAD, the GAD approach has also emerged as a critique of and response to the WID approach. The conceptual framework of the GAD approach is articulated by Kate Young in the following propositions: (i) "that women are incorporated into the development process but in very specific ways; (ii) that a focus on women alone is inadequate to understand the opportunities for women or agency or change; (iii) that women are not a homogeneous category but divided by class, colour and creed; (iv) that any analysis of social organisation and social process has to take into account the structure and dynamic of gender relations; (v) that the totality of women's and men's lives has to be the focus of analysis, not merely their productive, or their reproductive activities; and (vi) that women are not passive, nor marginal, but active subjects of social process." (Young, 1993:134)

While assuming gender relations--in their hierarchical structure--as an impediment to women's development, the relationship between men and women are seen as only one set of power relations (Young,1993:135). Similar to WAD proponents, GAD feminists refuse the liberal ideology on which current development

plans and projects are premised. Commenting on the concept of development currently in circulation, Young observes: "we understood the term development to be a shorthand for the process of social and economic change involved in the creation of a (global) market economy and a class society." (Young, 1993: 135).

"True development", Young adds, is

a complex process involving the social, economic, political and cultural betterment of individuals and of society itself... Betterment...mean[s] the ability of the society to meet the physical, emotional and creative needs of the population at an historically acceptable level, and to free human labour time from the incessant treadmill of basic needs production... Within this process, women and men [are] viewed as active agents in and not passive recipients of development... (p. 136).

Despite the claim for GAD's "holistic approach" to social development, Young leaves a number of issues unanswered. For example, she defines gender as a social construction based on two components, ideology and material practices. Yet, at the same time she contends that "central to [social relations of gender] are culturally specific notions of masculinity and femininity, and around these notions appropriate behaviours for each of the genders are socially constructed." (Young, 1993:138). Young does not explain what she means by culture nor does she explain the relationship between ideology and culture. Moreover, the GAD approach pays lip service to the geo-political context at both the regional and international levels. This is particularly relevant to the Middle East, the economy and polity of which is heavily dependent on the US.

Although I have presented the three movements as separate approaches, these are not necessarily mutually exclusive modes of strategies. There is, rather, an overlap between WAD and GAD at least in terms of their political stance and overall vision of social change. Moreover, despite the political ideological difference between these two on the one hand and WID on the other, WAD and GAD proponents accept WID initiatives, especially the more recent ones which associate institutional reforms with an emphasis on gender training and awareness. They both see these efforts as a useful step in overall structural change at the societal level.

The Feminist Debates: Relevance to the Palestinian Context

In the following discussion I will try to assess the relevance of the above debates to the Palestinian context, and will focus on Palestinian women's integration in economic development through their participation in income generating projects.

Women's involvement in WID economic projects is quite widespread in Palestine. Almost all women's organizations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, whether the grassroots *utur* (women's committees affiliated with political parties and movements), the "independent" women's research centres, and other women's charitable organizations, have in one form or the other taken part in WID programs contracted by various multinational, state, or UN agencies including UNRWA, UNDP, USAID, NOVIB, and Save the Children. Although their involvement has been varied, a major part has revolved around income generating projects (IGPs) and other related economic projects, such as establishing business credit centres (e.g., UNRWA projects) or "credit and loan centres" (e.g, NOVIB and Canada Fund projects). Comprehensive research is undoubtedly needed to assess these phenomena. For the purposes of this paper, I will use available data to shed some light onto the workings of these projects.

By the term IGP I refer to women's involvement in a particular form of productive activity. As a phenomenon, these activities mushroomed during the Intifada, particularly during the first two to three years. These include women's cooperatives (operated inside or outside the household), home economy projects, and individual/group/neighbourhood business projects. All of these productive activities are classified as part of the informal economic sector. Excluded from my discussion in this paper are productive projects conducted by long-time existing charitable organizations operating on traditional lines. A comprehensive feminist analysis of the workings and dynamics of the latter, while very crucial, is not directly relevant to this paper. Instead, my analysis will focus on projects initiated, run, and managed primarily by the progressive women's movement through the *utur* and centres.

For the illustration of my critical appraisal of Palestinian women's IGPs I will use the study prepared by Save the Children and Shu'un il-Mar'a, Gaza (July, 1992) entitled **Evaluation of Women's Income-Generating Projects in the Gaza Strip**, which is an appraisal of fifteen IGPs in the area of Nablus and Tulkarem conducted by Nadia Hamdan from Shu'un al-Mar'a, Gaza (1993); and **The Intifada and Popular**

Development by Izzat Abdul-Hadi, the director of the Bisan Centre for Research and Development (1992). To these I will add my own research findings, which were submitted in a report to the International Development Research Centre (IDRC, along with some unpublished evaluative reports prepared by Bisan and the Women's Studies Centre-Jerusalem.

All available information seems to be unequivocal on the weakness or rather the failure of these activities. The study conducted by Hamdan has in fact suggested that over 80% of all IGPs have failed to survive, often shutting down operations not long long after their establishment. A similar conclusion was reached by most other reports. *Notwithstanding this, a thorough social-gender analysis of the phenomenon is still pertinent, particularly now as Palestine's informal sector appears to attract various kinds of investments by donor agencies, notably UN and other national and international NGOs, as well as private investment such as Israel's subcontracting industry.*

Except for Hamdan's very brief study on the social impact of IGPs on women, most studies which aimed at reassessing and reevaluating IGPs were themselves conducted from the WID approach. As a result, they all tended to adopt a micro-level analysis focusing on the detailed and technical aspects of the projects. Moreover, as those studies/reports were conducted with a WID eye to revamp, at least in principle, the idea of IGPs, they tended to focus on the economic and technical aspects such as training, marketing, managing and financing, overlooking, and in fact ignoring, the wider gender, social, and political context. It is not surprising therefore that most reports/studies have reached similar conclusions, and have consequently proposed similar recommendations.

Among the conclusions and recommendations reached by most reports/studies, the following needs were often highlighted: (a) better coordination of objectives between the donor agency and IGP managers; (b) further skilling and training for women; (c) more efficient planning and management; (d) proper production and quality control; (e) better supervision and monitoring; and (f) the need to expand the market. These recommendations correspond directly to what the assessors see as areas of trouble and weakness in these projects. Most reports and studies of IGPs have largely been *technical in character and descriptive in approach*; when gender-social issues are mentioned, mere lip service is paid to these dimensions.

The micro-level approach taken by most studies/reports makes the phenomenon

of IGPs look like it is operating in a social vacuum. Nowhere has there been a discussion, not to mention analysis of, the socio-economic and political context within which these projects operate. An exception here is Abdul-Hadi's work (1992) which examined IGPs from a wider perspective, placing them within the context of the Intifada. His study, like those of Kuttab (1989;1990) and Johnson and Giacaman (1990) have highlighted the role of political-ideological factors which made these projects recruiting grounds for political groups. These studies have also identified the role of these activities in promoting nationalism, the national economy, national self-reliance and national resistance. The prioritization of the national over the gender characterises most of these studies.

Abdul-Hadi's extensive study is useful in its descriptive account of the various forms of IGPs, their rural-urban characteristics, male-female membership, and how labour is divided on gender lines, particularly in the village. However, the descriptive nature of this study and the static approach used to describe gender differences make it difficult to understand why, for example, the gender division of labour has not changed, and what are the forces which contribute to the maintenance or even reproduction of structures of gender oppression in the village, camp or town. This study, in other words, provides no conceptual framework for understanding gender relations and gender inequalities.

Hamdan's (1993) brief analytical account of why most IGPs have failed socially and from a gender perspective is a step in the right direction. Yet this piece which surveys 15 women's IGPs, six of which belong to charitable organizations, has also failed to identify the relationship between structures of oppression in general and forms of oppression related to these undertakings. In none of the above mentioned studies, for example, has there been a definition of the concept of "work." All of these studies use the term work to refer to wage labour, to what women do outside of the reproductive sphere.

The lack of gender analysis in studies and reports prepared on women in the informal economy does not represent women's lack of interest or awareness in gender issues as some reports claim (see **Street Peddlers** July,1992: Women's Studies Centre). In fact, by 1992, rank and file women as well as leaders in the women's movement had already begun re-evaluating their social gender priorities in the struggle for equality. Gender consciousness was among the most hotly debated issues discussed in a workshop on "Gender and the Economy" conducted in the summer of

1993. In 1992, the UNDP, for example, stopped supporting IGPs in general and began to reorient its research projects towards gender issues. Hence the emphasis on new approaches promoting gender-sensitive methods such as "consulting with the women in the field," emphasising participatory research and shifting research emphasis towards social policy.

Despite this, as we shall see shortly, the approach of most funding agencies (UNRWA, UNDP, NOVIB, Canada Fund, etc.) remains flawed for the very same reasons the WID approach has not been successful. Before elaborating further, I would like first to reiterate a point mentioned earlier, that is, that women who were involved in various income-generating projects were not necessarily incapable of articulating the social and gender problems they faced when taking up another working load. Quite to the contrary, these women, as the following two examples demonstrate, are well aware of the presence of oppressive structures impeding their movement. In a workshop sponsored by UNRWA and designed to discuss the establishment of women's business centres for women involved in IGPs in the Nablus area, I noticed that the local coordinators-organizers were basically promoting the idea of the "centre" with little attention paid to anything else.

Women's concerns, raised during many hours of discussion, were varied and most enlightening to hear. Yet, the report which came out of the workshop (June 12 1993) has basically confirmed the WID approach which sees these centres as an enhancement to women's productivity and their integration in the economy. As the report of the workshop failed to address women's concerns, I thought to myself: what a waste of time! The report could have been written without even bothering to consult women and, at the time, also risking Israeli harassment.

But that is only one aspect of my experience. In fact, I came to learn that these workshops can provide the bases for the development of the movement's conceptual and theoretical framework. For example, when one woman complained about men's attitudes, saying, "even if I go to the market the businessman does not take me seriously nor will I be able to obtain material at competitive prices like he does," she was raising an important conceptual issue. This woman was questioning WID's liberal wisdom, or in fact lack of it, which conceives of women as the sole agents of their destiny and considers gender as an individual instead of a relational concept. And, when another woman asked, "I find it difficult to go to the market and leave my children even when my husband is at home not working!," she was also raising a

theoretical question. This woman was challenging the WID emphasis on the public realm and its neglect of the domestic or family sphere.

Women's research centres which try to implement projects designed by donor agencies, UN-affiliated or otherwise, do not only sidestep gender and social issues. In some cases, they actually fail to comprehend the politics behind such projects. For example, in a workshop sponsored by UNRWA to study the possibility of a women's business centre in Askar Refugee Camp, the camp women were adamantly against such a project. They questioned UNRWA's motives in shifting emphasis from "aiding" camp refugees to being involved in commercial centres outside the camp. For this and other reasons, Askar women responded negatively to establishing such a centre and decided not to vote or take part in any preparatory committee to oversee such a centre. Ironically, however, the organizers, instead of respecting the women's decision, decided to go ahead with the designed project, despite the fact that the majority of women voted that there should not be a centre. In a move to justify their decision, the organizers wrote: "It was pointed out to the meeting that they [the women] had simply voted on their own involvement/representation in the centre and that the centre would be progressing in any event." (Women's Business Centre-Nablus Askar Camp- June 12th 1993, a report prepared by Bisan Centre). The subjects of IGPs, namely, the women for whom these projects are to be established, are not only not consulted, they are not even taken seriously and in fact some of these activities are more disempowering to women than anything else.

There is another problem associated with IGPs, particularly concerning the cooperative movement which mushroomed in the first years of the Intifada. This concerns the tendency to romanticize these cooperatives. Cooperatives were described as the means for women's social, economic and political liberation. This romanticization, however, fails to place IGPs within the informal sector as the most exploitative sector of the economy. Moreover, a romanticized vision of the cooperatives fails to situate the Palestinian dependent economy within the wider context of the world capitalist market economy. As this sector of the economy depends on unorganized cheap labour power, it exposes its employees/workers to overexploitation, while guaranteeing investors, private or UN affiliates, superprofits.

An historic and dynamic approach to gender and development ensures the lifting of the limited micro-level analysis of women and labour in general, and their involvement in IGPs in particular into the macro level. It also ensures that the colonial

history and its lingering effects on different aspects of development are highlighted. Such an approach is crucial to the Palestinian case. For, after many years of Jordanian, Egyptian and most painfully Israeli colonization--to mention Palestine's recent history alone-- the Occupied Territories have become depleted of their basic natural resources including land, water and energy. The socio-economic status of the Occupied Territories was further ruined as a result of the Israeli occupation which has turned the the West Bank and Gaza into a pool of cheap labour power, transforming the Palestinian society into Israel's major consumer market. (Hilal, 1975; Tamari, 1980; Samara, 1989).

Emphasizing the historic dimension is all the more important as the impact of colonialism is never over with the official termination of colonial rule. In Palestine, the colonial legacy lingers on in terms of more than just a past history. The very forces and conditions which have led to the Oslo Agreement, producing an entity which lacks the very basic components of a sovereign nation, carry with it the seeds for Palestine's further dependency and underdevelopment. The legacy of the past is most likely to be reproduced, albeit in different forms.

Finally, a historic dynamic analysis of gender and development needs to account for the regional inequalities which are also characteristic of Palestine's dependent and underdeveloped economy. For example, the total dependency of the refugee camps on UNRWA services and the absence of employment sources there are different than, say, the relative availability of agricultural work in the village or the relative availability of employment in the town. Regional differences are also present at other levels, such as cultural and social-familial structures which may impede women's employment. (Geir Ovansen: FAFO, pp. 186-187) As the example of Askar Camp mentioned above shows, a project which may work, say in Nablus, may not be perceived as necessary in the neighbouring area of Askar. Local and regional variations must be taken into consideration whenever we study women's involvement in the informal economy.

The above discussion has focused on a very small section of the economic sector. In this sector, defined by the state as informal so that capital could exploit labour power without having to recognize its existence, rural women in particular are integrated and take part in multiple forms of productive activities. One such form on which further research is needed is the area of subcontracting, as the latter places very specific forms of oppression on the women women involved in it (on the special

problems of women working in the subcontracting sector, see Siniora, 1989; Rockwell, 1985).

Although a comprehensive study of the different forms of women's labour/work, particularly in rural areas, is yet to be conducted, available data strongly suggest that women are involved in different forms of productive activities. The key issue, therefore, is not integrating women to equalize them in the exploitative system, but rather asking why, how, and under what conditions structures of oppression are maintained and reproduced. What we need to do is try to find alternative means to the existing structures which devalue women's work, deny them recognition and impede the realization of their full potential.

In conclusion, I would like to assert that the above critique of gender approaches to development in Palestine should not be construed as an outright rejection of all ongoing development projects. Keeping in mind the descriptive nature and technical character of most assessment/evaluative reports which, consequently, inhibit a meaningful analysis of women's conditions, some WID reports can be of significant value. Three development projects in particular come to mind; the first refers to the work initiated by the Women's Affairs Technical Committee, which later appeared in the form of a UNDP Proposal for funding entitled "Promotion of the Role of Women in the Palestinian Society and Economy" (Jerusalem, 1993); the second refers to Marianne Heiberg and Geir Ovensen's (1993) edited book, **Palestinian Society in Gaza, West Bank and Arab Jerusalem: A Survey of Living Conditions**, known otherwise as the FAFO Report; and the third is the most recent comprehensive report entitled **At the Crossroads: Challenges and Choices for Palestinian Women in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip** (UNDP, 1994).

Here and despite the absence of a conceptual analytical framework, all three undertakings have proved extremely useful in the area of data collection, the collection of statistics on fields of women's involvement otherwise totally neglected, and in terms of providing basic knowledge on untapped research areas. As reports on women's legal status prepared by the Women's Centre for Counselling and Legal Aid demonstrate, research in this area is indispensable for any consideration of reforms or changes in women's legal status. Similarly, the FAFO and the UNDP reports can serve as background information for further analytical work. To put it differently, while we do need basic data on all aspects of gender relations and women's involvement in the wider society--a task performed by commissioned reports

and surveys--we equally need a comprehensive understanding and a theoretical framework to place these data in their socio-economic, political and ideological context.

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Commentary: Fixed Paradigms, Changing Realities
Gender and Development in Palestine

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Valentine Moghadam and Nahla Abdo's papers are very useful in summarizing and critiquing dominant approaches in the field of gender and development. It was clear from the review that the impetus for the emergence of these approaches has been global economic crises, and especially those experienced by the South in the late 1970s and 1980s. Development literature indicates that these crises had a negative impact on women in Southern countries, in part due to the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank begun in 1979. In this context, linking international and regional political economies becomes of great importance in order to discuss and analyze first the adaptability of global development approaches in regional contexts, and second, to evaluate the dynamism of change that such international approaches induce in regional economic settings.

It is obvious that when we are dealing with the global economic crisis and its relationship to women, we are particularly eager to understand the impact and effect of this crisis on Third World countries and its consequences for ordinary people, especially women.

Women as wage-earners or small-scale entrepreneurs are also mothers and homeworkers, migrants or citizens of a state. There are also poor women, refugee and stateless women, all of whom have multiple roles and are not a homogenous group. How the different development approaches relate to each sector of women and what is the impact on women of the inter-relationship between national and international policies are crucial issues to discuss and explore.

The developing countries' economies are organically tied to the international economy and are governed by its conditions of economic growth and development. Hence, this dependency on the international market economy becomes the reference point, and development becomes a hostage to this process. Based on available research, surveys and reports within and outside the United Nations system, Women in Development (WID) specialists have agreed that the poor have been hurt the most by the crisis and by structural adjustment programs. Women have been particularly affected, as many of the poor are women who were already

faced with socio-economic bias, which has made them even more vulnerable. (Vickers: 1991, p.x).

The contextual analysis is important to diagnose the basic problematics of the different developmental approaches. Hence, the basic problematic is not simply women's integration into development or their invisibility or their lack of training and education, but the structures and processes that give rise to women's disadvantage and subordination, structures of inequality and dependency.

Furthermore, the economic dependency of the South on the North has on one hand distorted the definition of economic activity from its cultural and regional context and adopted the conventional statistical and methodological discourse which complicates the analysis further. This cultural alienation has resulted in the invisibility of women in economic and productive life. This difficulty arises from the fact that women of the South, and especially in agricultural settings, undertake multiple activities in the production and reproduction sphere, activities that are classified in market economy discourse as non-economic. This failure to develop appropriate measurements for women's economic activity can be either conceptual, as international definitions of economic activity depend on the production of a good or service which is exchanged in the market, or practical, resulting from problems encountered while attempting to measure activities which *do not occur within the context of the market.* (Papp, 1992, p. 597)

After marginalizing women's economic activity conceptually, mainstream development initiatives, through introducing technologies primarily to males, have frequently displaced women from traditional roles in subsistence agricultural activities, causing economic opportunities available to them to become more restricted (Papp, 1992, p. 599)

Hence, the different approaches (WID, WAD, GAD) which emphasized the integration of women in economic activity can become misleading in the complex situation of women in the Third World. Development projects cannot serve as alternative tools for national struggle, independence, and sovereignty, on the one hand, and promoting equality on the other.

In addition to the conceptual complexity of the definition of work which further complicates the situation of women in the South, another important factor is the class dimension. The contradiction lies between what is called the "seamless web" of women's lives and the compartmentalized and gendered mode of conventional thinking about society and social processes in general. Thus the conceptual separation between the public and private, productive and unproductive activity, work and home, does not accurately reflect women's reality (Young,

1993, p. 125). Although GAD linked women, family and the economy in a way that other approaches did not, there was no elaboration on how to deal with class differences and their impact on the set of problems, issues and priorities which vary among women as a heterogeneous sector.

In fact, building alternative development strategies that do not question or challenge the existing structures in practice can be an exercise in futility. In Palestine, as elsewhere in the Third World, international agencies' support for the integration of women in development has rarely touched upon the implications of women's unequal access to productive resources, credit, marketing advice and technical assistance. Instead, preference is given to short-term measures and small-scale income generating projects; hence, micro-economics is the sole framework offered women, as if a hidden assumption is to propose modest projects for presumed modest capacities.

WID/WAD/GAD and Palestine

Reviewing the different development approaches and relating them to the Palestinian context becomes problematic if not linked to a historical and contextual analysis. The prevailing approaches have assumed an important prerequisite to development being national independence and political stability. In the case of Palestine, which is still under Israeli occupation, such approaches fail to see the national dimension and its impact on formulating the different feasible economic options. Through the Palestinian Women in Society research project, we have begun to realize that the different political periods in the Palestinian national struggle shaped different developmental discourses. In fact, all economic and developmental frameworks that emerged after 1967 were largely political, rather than economic. Taking this into consideration, even GAD, which links the different dimensions of economic and social life in its analysis, has either failed or not attempted to present an in-depth analysis of settings and has not evaluated its implications for human daily life and societal development. Hence, economic analyses, which evaluate women's income-generating projects in the Occupied Territories purely in the World Bank language of efficiency, are not adequate in the Palestinian setting.

Furthermore, as Nahla Abdo pointed out, most of the Palestinian women's income-generating projects emerged in the Intifada period, which clearly exemplified the interrelationship between the national setting and the development option. Most of these projects responded to the political and national discourse,

which mainly emphasized the boycotting of the Israeli market and self-reliance as an alternative strategy to dependence on Israel. Hence, the women's income-generating projects continued to be governed by such rhetoric, and even more so, by the political programs of the different political factions, rather than women's needs and interests.

In addition, the Palestinian women's movement, like similar movements in the Third World, is an organic and integral part of the national movement at large. As Jayawardena has observed (Jayawardena, 19??, p. 10), women's movements do not occur in a vacuum, but correspond to, and to some extent are determined by, the wider social movements of which they are a part. The general consciousness of society about itself and its future, its social structures, and the roles of men and women in society entail limitations for the women's movement and its goals and methodology of struggle are generally determined by these limits.

Taking this analysis into consideration, economic projects for Palestinian women were utilized as tools for political and social mobilization. So although these projects were economic in nature, raising political, social and gender consciousness became their main objective. For example, the self-stated objectives of the Production is Our Pride women's cooperative included:

- a) the provision of the opportunity for making a respectable livelihood in order to encourage steadfastness in the Occupied Territories.
- b) The conservation of traditional Palestinian means of food preservation.
- c) The transformation of women's traditional role in the domestic economy into a positive role in the national economy.
- d) the provision of opportunities for the participation of women in economic enterprises as a basis for economic independence and social emancipation.
- e) the establishment and development of a democratic and cooperative model of economic organization that can be replicated in others parts of the Occupied Territories. (Kuttab: 1992, p. 135)

There were some achievements of the different women's economic projects in the context of women's perception of themselves and their status in the household and the community, as well as a positive effect on village women participants' social and political awareness. Although they commoditized their domestic labor and maintained their traditional roles, they were perceived and

perceived themselves as productive individuals who had a role to play in the wider social and political context. Hence, the failure of the income-generating projects to which Nahla Abdo referred is, in several senses, irrelevant as the failure is evaluated purely in an economic sense. Economic indicators are obviously important for evaluating economic projects, but they are not sufficient.

Furthermore, women's income-generating projects in Palestine cannot be analyzed if they are not classified. The women's movement has itself taken different approaches to development: some sections of it have chosen the household economy as a site of empowerment, others have taken the cooperative as a model, and still others have focused on centralized productive centers as the preferred option. All three cannot be treated as one category; classification can determine the success and failure of types of projects, as well as evaluate projects within their own framework. For instance, women who participated in cooperatives have acquired new skills in administration, new understanding of concepts like democracy, division of labor, ownership as related to work, and development versus welfare. In this context, the cooperative movement succeeded in transforming attitudes, in addition to deepening participants' understanding of their situation and ways to challenge it.

The last point I want to make is regards decision-making at the national level. GAD as an approach has placed great importance on the state as a locus of support for women and on ideology as a tool to promote women's consciousness. As Palestinians with no sovereign state and with a dominant ideology being a combination of feudal patriarchy and deformed capitalism, women's access to power becomes questionable. At no stage of the formulation and implementation of national development plans for Palestine were women's interests taken into consideration ; no development plan as yet has gender equality as a central objective. Although there are strong indicators that several aspects of the economic crisis could be confronted more successfully if women were an integral part of the solution, it is difficult to advance this debate in the current Palestinian context, where limited Palestinian authority, highly constrained by Israeli power and international imperatives, has itself little ability to defend the interests of the population, let alone the interests of women.

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Commentary
**International Aid, Women's Interests, and the
Depoliticization of Women**

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In Eileen Kuttab's commentary, she notes the importance of nationalism in determining specific types of discourses on gender and development. One of the main points of her presentation pertains to the limitation of the WID/WAD/GAD theoretical constructs in bringing about an understanding of gender in situations of political conflict and war. The GAD (Gender and Development) framework is certainly an improvement over the earlier WID and WAD approaches, offering the possibility to incorporate issues such as North-South relations, ethnicity and class into the wider debate. Moreover, it provides potentially useful tools for analysis, including such key concepts as strategic/practical gender interests and women's triple role, and the market/household/state matrix. However, GAD does not adequately deal with women in situations of war or national struggle, and, as suggested in Valentine Moghadam's paper, it also lacks an adequate theorization of class when in fact, gender intersects with class and ethnicity to determine access to resources and power. At the more practical level, Palestinian women at the receiving end of these discourses seem to have accessed a giant tool box of concepts. While some concepts seem appropriate and others not, what is really needed is an overall conceptual construct linking gender relations to the national struggle.

In fact, the GAD framework has not as yet been applied by international aid agencies in the Palestinian context. Instead, we appear to lag behind the world, with international aid agencies generally continuing to use the older policy approaches to gender and development. On the whole, the agencies use either the welfare or equity approaches, and to a lesser extent, the empowerment approach which has been adopted by European NGOs working in this area, such as NOVIB and OXFAM. With the recent and increasing involvement of the World Bank in the area, the anti-poverty and efficiency approaches have emerged as major policy frameworks of development in the area. However, the World Bank does not seem to have developed a policy approach to gender in the local context. Even worse, judging from its recently published reports on Palestine, its policies appear to be completely gender blind.

Although WID/WAD/GAD models are preferable to these older approaches, they still remain gravely deficient in addressing the specificities of the Palestinian context. The national struggle has had an important impact on the women's movement as well as on gender relations in both positive and negative ways. Because of the national struggle, women were prompted and received social sanction to move beyond the domestic sphere and participate actively in the political struggle. The move of women into public political life often occurred in ways understood as an extension of their domestic responsibilities: assisting men, husbands and sons in fulfilling political agendas primarily determined by males. However, many women went beyond the assigned boundaries, ultimately producing what is now recognized as a Palestinian feminist consciousness.

The main tenets of this consciousness rest on an embryonic analysis of power relations in politics and in society, and in particular a growing refusal to accept gender hierarchies as natural and given. This refusal has been deeply influenced by political activism. Women political activists gradually developed an awareness of entrenched gender bias within the nationalist movement by virtue of their experience within organizations dominated by men. At the same time, they gradually accepted the need to include discussions of "social issues" (or gender inequities and discrimination in society) within the nationalist discourse, by virtue of a long and protracted debate among activists, Palestinian nationalist feminist scholars, professionals, and advocates. This consciousness offers the needed space for discussions of key issues such as the way in which society is organized in determining gender relations in Palestinian society today. The terms of this discussion are rooted in what is called "distributive justice," and locally includes such factors as the inseparability and articulation of the national struggle; the globalization and entry of Palestine into the world market; and the analysis of development strategies within the framework of this globalization and their impact on women. While such constructions are far from adequately theorized, they nevertheless offer the necessary space to further develop crucial issues that the WID/WAD/GAD frameworks have not adequately addressed.

As has been noted, proponents of WID/WAD/GAD include advocates (feminists), practitioners (international aid agencies), and scholars. Since international aid today is unfortunately one of the main determinants of the nature and course of the Palestinian path to "development" and sets the terms of the policy-making discourse, the following analysis will focus on it, rather than on the local practitioners. More important, it is becoming clear that neither GAD, nor even WID and WAD, are being employed by these agencies as principal theoretical

constructs informing the conceptualization or implementation of projects. Indeed, there is an urgent need for increasing the active involvement of scholars and advocates in critically assessing present international aid development policies and practices at the local level. It is crucial that we develop conceptual frameworks and analyses in order to address fundamental issues raised by the current approaches of these aid agencies in the local context. One such critical issue is the way in which their policies for women tend to ignore the larger context of power relations within which social relations operate-- a phenomenon that has been called "the de-politicization of women's experience". Also, in urgent need of attention is the wide range of social and political problems which will inevitably arise as a result of the process of Palestine's integration into the global market.

A principal concern here is that international practitioners de-politicize women's experience of development and politics, through focusing on women in isolation from their relationship with men, by excluding the social context of women's reproductive responsibilities, and finally by ignoring women's positions in class and other hierarchies. And this tendency to de-politicize women's experience seems to exist regardless of the theoretical model that is utilized to develop policies. The Occupied Territories continue to lag behind the world in terms of international aid approaches to development and women, with the welfare policy model still widely used in this country today. It was only recently (perhaps within the last three to four years) that the equity approach was introduced in the local context, despite the fact that globally it predominated from 1975 to 1985 due to the ascendancy of WAD in that period. In fact, it was only within the last four years that academics and practitioners in the local context even became aware of the theoretical debates around WID or WAD or GAD.

Another example of the time lag between ongoing global development debates and the context of the Occupied Territories was the experience of the anti-poverty approach to development. This approach, which held sway globally in the 1970s as part of WID, was only programmatically adopted in the latter 1980s by aid agencies operating locally who made "small productive projects for women" a principal domain of their activities. As elsewhere in the developing world, and with a few exceptions, such projects were supported in terms of their "usefulness" for development, understood in male terms rather than being conceived in terms of women's empowerment. Such projects were generally developed in a political vacuum; as such they failed to recognize the fact that women's work outside the home is under-valued, simply because they are women. As Eileen Kuttab's presentation makes clear, they failed to recognize the pivotally important notion

that women within these projects were responding to national political agendas and not solely to women's needs and interests, precisely because activist women were enmeshed in a specific power relation with men. The international agencies' exclusion of this political context--in which men dictate action and women execute--assured the failure of such projects from the outset.

Following the period of micro-level income generating projects, there were the subsequent waves of varying strategies and priorities identified by international aid for Palestinian women and Palestinian development. This was partly a manifestation of the recent globalization of the area, but was predominantly propelled by the peace negotiations. The dominant assumption was that the military occupation and Israel's economic and political control over the area (the two faces of control) was ending. In contrast, Palestinian lived experience thus far indicates that military occupation and Israel's control over the area continues and will continue for a while to come--despite peace negotiations and despite the gradual handing over of very limited authority to the Palestinians. This effectively means the incorporation of the area into the global economy in a subservient position. That is to say, this is a secondary or sub-incorporation in which Israel is the direct global partner and its political and economic interests in the area shape the form of the relationship. Thus, while women's experience is largely depoliticized in the programmatic agendas of international aid, these same agencies direct and implement policies which contain within them larger geo-political agendas, though often hidden, that have an important bearing on gender relations in Palestinian society. For example, in 1994 the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) allotted \$23 million (US) towards the "rehabilitation" of the health care system in the occupied territories, a system which plays a crucial role in fulfilling the practical as well as the strategic needs of women. Recently USAID decided unilaterally that the grant would no longer be used to support the health sector. Instead, the funding has now been channeled towards building industrial border zones--a means, among other purposes, to ensure Israel's economic interests. These industrial zones allow Israel to continue employing low-paid Palestinian wage labor under subhuman conditions, while minimizing the political risk of violence against Israelis entailed in the movement of Palestinian labor into Israeli territory. Moreover, while such an arrangement ensures the interests of Israeli capital, it simultaneously offers a palliative solution to the severe unemployment crisis that has hit the West Bank and Gaza Strip and that threatens to undermine the "political stability" of the area.

Within the same period that aid was being directed away from health and into industrial zones, we find that "gender consciousness raising" suddenly became the main strategy aimed at liberating poor peasant women, urban women, women in politics and women from different classes. How gender is conceptualized in these awareness raising models is extremely problematic. In the current approach of these programs, the focus is on changing "women," rather than understanding and changing the context within which women can change. Moreover, a variety of key issues are fundamentally excluded from the overall conceptualization such as the meaning of consciousness in gender relational terms; whether gender consciousness is autonomous or embedded in a material context; and which structures and institutions determine how consciousness is structured. Moreover, issues of how to apply these gender awareness approaches to the local context seem to have been deferred. Thus questions such as *who should be the target of this sensitization, in what particular context, and what are the structural changes needed to assist in creating change of consciousness* have not been raised.

As a result of this de-politicization and de-contextualization of issues, donor-led programs to "sensitize poor rural women" were launched, without awareness of the futility of raising this consciousness out of context, and also without allowing women the means through which to exercise this consciousness for their own benefit. Simply stated, what good is it to raise the consciousness of poor rural women in order to encourage them to claim their rightful inheritance under Islamic *shari'a* laws if every structure, custom, and norm of behavior and control dictates that by doing so they would lose their entire network of social and familial support, and indeed, livelihood? In such a context, to unproblematically promote the idea that rural women should demand what has been denied them through the exercise of power relations within the household, the community, and society, is farcical. The problem here is not gender sensitization per se; if applied properly and directed at specific groups, such as policy-makers, the approach can be very useful. In other words, the approach is useful but only if those who are the target of sensitization **have the power to change**.

Thus the problem here lies in the application of a strategy out of context and without regard to the constraints of power relations. The fact is that women act within the context of serious gender inequalities. The various formal and informal social and economic structures which maintain these inequalities result in making it impossible, as in the preceding example, for rural women to claim inheritance in the face of communal isolation and the loss of support from the family.

Another recent wave of donor-led, and at best mis-applied, policy

approaches to women's liberation comes in the form of so-called "family planning" programs. Here, the approaches range between "family planning to reduce maternal death and contribute to family well being" to more radical approaches of the right of women to control their own bodies and the improvement of reproductive health for women. Although these programs come couched in different types of terminologies, like sugar coating a bitter pill, they all share the same hidden agenda. Simply stated, the basic aim of every single family planning program (regardless of its packaging) is "population control" as a means to assist in solving the developmental problems of the area. Thus, uncontrolled population growth is identified as the key cause of underdevelopment and of all the environmental and ecological problems that the world faces today. Once again, the theoretical underpinnings of such policies appear to partially stem from the efficiency approach, where, as Valentine Moghadam made clear, "stabilization and adjustment rely on women's economic contributions to development," and where fertility control becomes an essential ingredient in the recipe of incorporating women into the labor market and reducing developmental problems emanating out of over-population. As others have noted before, this approach fails to challenge the fundamental traditional role of women as being primarily responsible for reproductive labor. It also fails to recognize the context in which fertility decisions are made, as well as gender inequality and the various social and economic structures which maintain it. The failure of such approaches have been the subject of myriad critiques internationally, which however, seem to have been largely ignored by the policy makers.

In the Palestinian context an additional bitter experience unfolds with the introduction of contraceptive devices such as Depo Provera, which have been the subject of critical international inquiries regarding their safety for wide use, especially in countries where the very notion of informed consent is still virtually unknown for men, let alone women. In our context, as in others, the large majority of clinics have yet to develop protocols for risk factor identification or even patient files adequate enough to allow for rational and professional judgement of whether it is suitable for a woman to take such a contraceptive with minimal risk to her health and life. The bitterness of this experience is compounded by the fact that those in charge of these programs, unwilling to accommodate the critical questions raised by some Palestinian women, relegate such inquiries to the realm of the "extreme," thus isolating what are actually informed concerns from the "mainstream" pre-determined process of agency agendas. Ironically, this is happening at a time where, increasingly, family planning is becoming a priority

issue for the Palestinian women's movement--albeit from a totally different perspective. Valentine Moghadam calls such a perspective one of "control over life's options," while in local discourse it is understood as the right to choose one's family size based on the socio-economic realities within which individual families live.

In the current context, Palestinians are largely experiencing international aid as a crushing wheel rather than an enabling gateway to development. Huge amounts of aid are being poured into an extremely resource-constrained environment, and in a situation where local forces find themselves unable to develop a strategy in response. Neither the PNA nor the democratic NGO movement (the main political framework of the women's movement) have developed a vision of what kind of society Palestinians should build for themselves. In the absence of an indigenous vision and a national resource base, it becomes clear why various ministries easily succumb to both aid money, and with it, aid agency agendas. Aid-propelled projects which are currently being swallowed whole will in the near future come to distort our society and its gender relations further, and women most likely will bear the brunt.

WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAM AT BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY

*Teaching * Research * Community Outreach*

The launching of Women's Studies at Birzeit University comes at a critical time, as Palestinian women, as well as Palestinian society as a whole, seek to address a complex range of social, economic and political issues. Understanding gender relations in Palestinian society, analyzing and debating key social issues facing society, and developing effective gender-aware policies require a comprehensive and sustained initiative. The Women's Studies Program at Birzeit University aims to contribute to this effort through an innovative teaching program, systematic and directed research on gender relations in Palestinian and Arab society, and an active community outreach program.

Teaching: Women's Studies is a Program within Birzeit University's Faculty of Arts; the Program currently offers a minor in Women's Studies. Teaching began in the 1994-1995 academic year. The Program has developed an interdisciplinary core curriculum of eleven courses, among them *Introduction to Women's Studies, Women and Development, Women and the Law, Women in Arab Society, the History of Women's Movements, Gender and Discourse, and Women and the Family.*

Research: The Women's Studies Program aims to facilitate research on Palestinian women, both through instituting its own research projects and through collecting archival materials and offering services to other researchers. In September 1994, the Program launched an extensive collaborative research project on "Palestinian Women in Society," which aims to produce a gender-informed assessment of the existing state of research in four areas of Palestinian society and social policy relevant to women: education, social entitlements, economy and culture and society. The research project aims to develop research and action strategies that reflect and promote women's needs, interests and rights in the emerging public debate on the future of Palestinian society.

Community Outreach: In addition to its scholarly and academic objectives, the Women's Studies Program aims to develop avenues to empower Palestinian women through a community outreach program in conjunction with the expanding network of Palestinian women's institutions, as well as to contribute to gender-informed public and institutional policies that recognize and secure the economic, social and political rights of all citizens. Current plans include a systematic assessment, from a gender perspective, of training programs in Palestine, and groundwork for gender planning training in selected key institutions and locales.

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