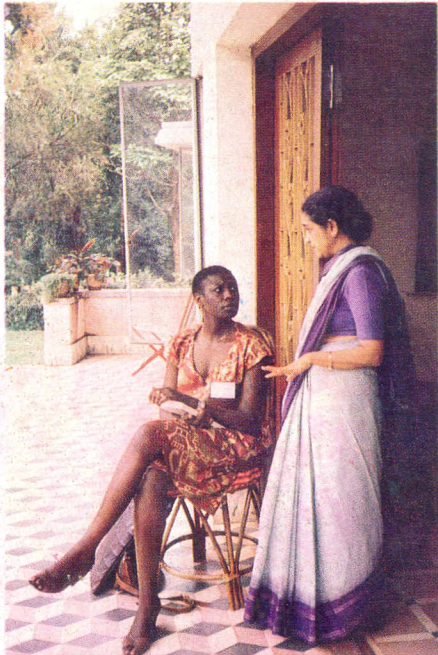


THE BANGALORE REPORT

A Process for Nairobi



Development
Alternatives with
Women for a
New Era



Institute of Social Studies Trust, India

Document on Women's Decade being prepared

1 E 30th Aug 1987 4

Express News Service
NEW DELHI, Aug 29.
 Has the UN Decade for Women succeeded in any measure in introducing issues important for women within the whole development process? Conversely, has it been able

to identify a "bad development package," that is development strategies and implementation approaches which are detrimental to women?

A document that addresses itself to questions such as these is being prepared by a Delhi-based organization—the Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST), for next July at the third session on Women to

Fair Deal For Fair Sex

And now UNICEF has introduced its policy document aimed at improving the condition of women. It focusses on co-operation in five allied areas: first, to gather information on women's status as a basis for preparing relevant and viable programmes for them. Second, studies concerning women's problems, their existing status in society and the role they would like to play in spite of a host of impediments in their way. An ILO study some months ago sounded a note of warning for policy makers and planners on the woes of abandoned wives, widows and divorcees struggling against overwhelming odds in Third World countries.

A Soviet feminist, who was expelled from the Soviet Union for publishing an underground feminist journal, recently exploded the myth of equality of sexes in the Communist bloc, particularly in the Soviet Union. "It is still male-dominated... women face the double burden of work and having all the responsibilities in the home." A Delhi-based organization, the Institute of Social Studies Trust, is engaged in preparing a document on whether the "UN Decade" has succeeded in any measure.

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Women chalk out draft for Nairobi meet

In India, the feminist movement, mostly dominated by urban educated middle and upper-class women, is burdened with such issues as dowry, abortion, marriage laws, rape and discrimination in wages. Very little is heard of the problems faced by illiterate rural women. At least the UNICEF has made a concerted effort to come to grips with the problems of womenfolk in rural areas, constituting "the poorest of the poor."

Express News Service
BANGALORE, Aug. 24.
 A five-day international conference of women experts was organised by the Institute of Social Studies Trust to chalk out a common statement on women's experience in development. She is not a feminist, but a woman, and her experience in development. She is not a feminist, but a woman, and her experience in development. She is not a feminist, but a woman, and her experience in development.

Mrs Devaki Jain of the ISST, which is co-ordinating the preparation of this document, said it would examine such issues as the disenchantment of women from

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The Institute of Social Studies Trust: Introducing Ourselves

Background

The Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST) founded in 1964 as a non-profit, private research organisation was registered as a Trust in 1980. Its trustees are drawn from the fields of social action, health and publishing. During the first ten years since its inception, ISST conducted studies and surveys on cooperative development, planning and rural development oriented towards development with equity and the elimination of poverty.

Address by Devaki Jain at the Bangalore meeting on August 21, 1984.

We are a small registered society devoted to research as well as activism. We started in Delhi but we have a branch in Bangalore and a much smaller informal unit in Calcutta. We have no endowment grant and therefore do not claim to be an establishment — that means we finance ourselves with a flow of contracts or grants to implement certain projects. Therefore again we have what is called informal employment, not all the benefits of social security.

This is not unusual in India where we all the time see groups emerging because of some commitment, surviving with this kind of ad hoc funding, and even dissolving if, either they find that they are not able to raise the resources or the individuals separate for professional or ideological reasons. We have often discussed this issue amongst ourselves and we tend to hold the opinion that we would not like to become an establishment. Many of us are in situations where we cannot commit to work for one institution for a long time (for example,

the unmarried women may move when married, married women may move with their husbands, the women with new born babies may like to choose their hours of work). We have provided all these forms of flexibility to ourselves. As of today we are 25 about 9 men and 16 women of which one might say — 19 are professional and 6 are administrative. Even these lines are not formal — many of our clerical staff are assigned to field work and do household survey, or project visits along with our professional staff.

Apart from this kind of style of individual autonomy we also enjoy a certain type of group autonomy by not becoming an establishment. We are able to take quick decisions because there is no decision making régime — finances, allowances, are decided by the coordinates for each project.

Our experience in working in this style has been quiet pleasant so far because we have limited ourselves to a few areas of research and activism, mainly consisting of women workers from the poorest social and economic classes — basically statistical work on enumeration, design of survey as well as the setting up of at least four mass based Worker's Associations. This apart from the continuous work we do in evaluating projects convened with women labourers, with workshops and conferences for changing policy. By and large we can say that our work has, therefore, been more on the side of economic research and economic organisation.

We have hardly done any work on sociological, anthropological or political or cultural aspects of women's condition in India.

In a natural kind of way other Indian Institutions

have done work in these fields and we continue to compliment each other. I would mention here specifically the Centre for Women's Development Studies associated with Dr. Vina Mazumdar and the SNTD Women's Studies Unit, associated with Dr. Neera Desai. The former has a special interest in political as well as developmental issues, the latter in sociological and also developmental issues.

We are now being called Intermediate organisations, Research organisations which moderate between grass roots activists or implementors and the policy programme fund raising — or political formations. We are not usually national organisations though we may be the members of many such organisations e.g.

ISSST is a member of the

- (a) All India Women's Conference
- (b) Family Planning Association of India
- (c) Indian Association of Women's Studies
- (d) Indian Adult Education Association

We are members of International and National Women's networks such as

- IWY Tribune
- P.A.W.F. (Pacific and Asian Women's Forum)
- E.L.W.I.G. (Economists interested in Women's groups)
- Gandhian Women's Groups
- S.E.W.A. Self Employed Women's Association

We are providing umbrella services to about 20 local women's groups and are continuously widening that net.

Our Delhi Office is more equally divided between documentation and dissemination, development of projects and women's organisations and writing more review papers using secondary as well as primary data. We have a collection in Delhi which is now a free public library. Friends and colleagues in women's research have told us that this is the best collection in India of economic aspects of Indian women's conditions.

We are trying to prepare a full list of our catalogue to supply a bibliography on women's work

collected both from our library which is the predominant collection and other libraries and centres of research and publications, Government and Non-Governmental agencies in India.

We have also tried to collect reports, papers, self description of other Indian Centres of women's research and action.

Other Institutions

I must mention here the other Institutions which have made this meeting possible:

1. M.A. Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation — this building and 1.5 acres of land belong to this Foundation. It was started by my parents, who wish to legate their house to a public purpose, which includes the advancement of women.

2. Christian Michelsen Institute in Bergen, Norway. All of you know from the Project Document that the first initiative to move along this project was taken by the C.M.I. even though I had written about the idea both to the United Nations, as well as to the Ford Foundation as far back as in 1983 January.

3. Another participating Institution is the Ford Foundation. They have co-opted this project as one of their activities for 1985 preparation, helped us to mobilize a wide range of institutions, in the United Nations as well as regional and national as well as the expenses for this meeting.

4. The fourth collaborating Institution is the Government of India.

The Women's Bureau of the Government of India has taken an initiative which I think is innovative by inviting many of us women researchers to write specific chapters of India's country paper for the Nairobi Conference. I have not heard before of an official country paper being written by a group of non-officials.

In a way India is doing at the National level what we, as a group, are trying to do at the International level. The Women's Bureau has allotted funds for gathering these chapters and we as an Institute, have been asked to do two chapters, one on women's employment and one on the institutional

basis for the promotion of women's development.

Panels at Nairobi

This meeting proposes:

- (a) To chalk out the next few months of work
- (b) To identify writers for the final paper and prepare budget proposals for panels.

During my visit to New York, I met amongst others, Christine Timothy who is Liaison Officer in ECOSOC in New York, Incharge of Women's affairs. In a discussion with her, she expressed the view that UN documents evaluate UN experiences, country documents usually evaluate Government efforts. She felt there was still a need to bring together a collection of other material, which analyses the totality of women's experience of development. Totally in the sense that it is not only economic, not only Government or United Nations but the whole political, cultural, historical experiences. It seems, therefore, that there is a gap which we can fill.

While I have presented this project for your consideration and cooperation I must share with you my deep sense of concern at political developments in India even as we gather here today. There is violence and disturbance on our borders — as for example, with Sri Lanka. The scene at the international level is not less distressing. Regions are no more than geographical boundaries, i.e. they are not politically, socially or even culturally homogeneous any more. Take the example of India — today there is tension in its relations with Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Similarly take Vietnam and China.

Thus the concept of Regions being representative begins to crack. Yet regions have some cultural

homogeneity which needs to be strengthened for peace and unity.

Within and outside of all this, it seems to me there is something called women's culture and women's experiences. I see an identity between Saira, a woman worker from Ahmedabad and another like her from Latin America or North Africa. It is this women's culture that can perhaps provide the healing touch, the hand that binds today's divided almost fragmented globe, to work for a new peaceful equitable order.

I have developed some of my hopes in the OECD/DAO (given in Paris in 1983 by me) lecture which we circulated to all of you. Many persons have responded to this paper with warmth and ideological identity.

I would like to recall here that one of the aims of our meeting is that after we make a review of the little chair that is already available on Women (as for example reviewed in the Land/Bleie bibliography) we try to provide a framework for the final paper. We then share parts of this framework amongst ourselves for writing.

Given that this is the aim of this gathering or meeting, I propose the following four heads.

1. The political frame and development experience.
2. Macro policies & development experience
3. Systems — includes the household.
4. Traditions and culture.

I find that by reviewing the comments by several friends, one can group together under these four heads.

But I am sure that we will come to better categorisation at the end of the Workshop.

Why Dawn?

There have been two world conferences on women — 1975 in Mexico and 1980 in Copenhagen. Each of these has been a milestone not only in creating amongst women an awareness about women, but also in creating interventions in the economic and political systems. There is an increasing trend to insist that impact on women be examined or concerns of women be considered in policies, programmes and projects. These concerns and many others like them at sub-global levels have also begun to create a certain unity amongst women. Being formations on behalf of women, there is certain homogeneity, a sense of feminist consciousness.

However, it is also a fact that the conferences continue to break into what could be called conventional formations. For example, the inter-governmental official conference tends to reflect the kind of political divisions which can be anticipated in any global conference — capitalist and socialist; white and coloured; the division in the Gulf; the group of 77 and the rest and so on. This is not surprising because issues which divide the globe in this way also concern women. Women are also part of the societies which articulate the kind of opinions or belief system or value system which creates these separations.

At the non-governmental conferences, called the Tribune in Mexico and the Forum in Copenhagen, other forms of mobilization take place. There are the groups around women's studies, around blackness, around development sectors such as health, employment, education and so many other issues. These groups express women's interest sometimes as a class, a race or a political align-

ment. Here too, the politics of the world find their way, and while many steps forward are taken, the hard lines of division persist and separate women.

Both at Mexico and Copenhagen women have come together as an identifiable legitimate globally dispersed category, desiring attention and a platform, but have gone away leaving a doubt about the depth of this identity, its legitimacy for survival across the usual stratifications.

How to bring about the kind of increased consciousness and solidarity of formation? It would require solidarity that goes beyond the inherited bases of formation and division. It would have to provide a theory which cuts across other stratifications. It would, at one and the same time, have to see the problem of gender and of other categories used in analysis of inequality.

The price of development

One way of cutting across and looking for this "common fur" is to look at "development" or what is even called "progress." There has been a large volume of documentation that has emerged especially in the last decade which tries to examine the impact of development on women. There are many forms in which this body of documentation can be classified.

There can be the historical trend analysis, showing, for example, that certain types of technological or legislative change have drastically affected women. There are plans which are project-specific such as an area development or product development programmes which unintentionally worsen the situation of women and other less empowered

groups. Then there are overall policies such as export promotion or provision of army bases which have their own impact on the situation of women. Many of these policies or programmes affect men, women and children across class.

In other words, there is a maze of issues and differential impacts. It is important to cut through this maze and see what kinds of philosophies, of development strategies, of implementation approaches appear explicitly detrimental to (a) the poor, (b) the poor and women, and (c) women alone. Are there a few specific identifiable items which could be called "the bad development package?" Analyzing the process, is it possible to identify philosophies, processes, strategies, policies, programmes, even projects, their organization and style which seem to create the kind of equality that would lead to harmony and justice? If it were possible to go beyond the usual technique of putting the blame on capitalism or socialism but rather on resource transfers and strategies which keep women in certain unequal positions, this type of analysis might provide a less confined base for interest formation and solidarity at the Nairobi meeting and beyond. This should be the object of the synthesis and analysis exercise proposed herein.

Several agencies and academics have been talked to:

- Scholars and Institutions in India.
- Scholars and Institutions overseas.
- U.N. Agencies and individuals in New York.
- Indian Government officials and the committee for preparing India's Country paper for 1985.

Responses of all these persons have been that such a synthesis paper will be valuable.

The idea is that at the beginning of the decade Ester Boserup and Lillienratz did a small book called Integrating Women in Development which towards the end had some guidelines on how to integrate women in development.

At the end of the decade in 1985 it seems important to ask, "integrate women, but in to what kind of development? and with what innovations or philosophy or strategy?"

The modalities

The Institute of Social Studies Trust will take responsibility for steering the project and providing overall coordination. The project's first stage involves assembling and categorizing available

documentation concerning the gender and class consequences of different development strategies. This process will begin with a review of extensive annotated bibliographies of the material available from different sources, in the form of case studies, project reports, studies and academic research, etc., striving to assess the material's quality in terms of analytical strength and reliability of information. These materials and the first rough assessment would then provide the base for the subsequent more detailed classification of the "knowledge base" and analysis of alternative development strategies and trends.

The Christian Michelsen Institute in Bergen, Norway has generously provided the human and institutional resources for preparing this first scan. Ms. Ragnhild Lund and Miss Toni-Bleie and two other researchers have prepared a monograph — "Gender relations; the Missing Link in the Development Puzzle" over the months January to May 1984. Ms. Lund had a meeting with the Indian core group which ISST convened to coordinate the project from India in Bangalore on June 13-14 to discuss her preparatory work.

The second step would be to sort out the assembled documentation into categories, so it could be desegregated and made available for analysis by those individuals and institutions working on various aspects of the overall project. Individuals have been identified for an Advisory Committee as well as supporting resource personnel (See List 5). These persons represent between themselves the requisite disciplinary, geographic, and experiential range as well as institutional affiliations for a project of this scope.

The Advisory Committee would identify a small drafting committee of "writers" to take responsibility for preparing working drafts of the overview paper. The successive drafts would be reviewed by Advisory Committee members, and would also be circulated more widely for comment, to ensure that the 30-40 page document adequately reflects differing perspectives, bases of prevailing differences in political ideology, religion, colour and economic interest. These drafts would provide the basis for discussions aimed at identifying both "bad" and "good" development packages or strategies. The writing team would weave these comments into a final draft of the working paper which would be printed in a compact and attractive format and circulated very widely before and at the official conference as well as at the NGO conference.

A Tremendous Response

Dr (Mrs) Zubeida M. Ahmad,
Rural Employment Policies Branch,
Employment and Development Department,
ILO — GENEVA

"The meeting should discuss the need for poor rural women to form their own solidarity groups and for outside aid to be given through such bodies — other issue is that of income generating projects — do they have an economic basis or do they result in further marginalizing women? Finally, the issue of women's rights in land, as related to women's status, production, credit, improved inputs, family welfare, level of nutrition, etc."

Dorienne Wilson-Smillie,
Director,
Women & Development Programme
Human Resources Development Group
Commonwealth Secretariat,
LONDON

"I am very interested in your idea of a resource team to pull together platforms and overview papers on development for women, for presentation or at least to influence the world conference — it would be most useful if we could work together on bibliographic reference review and synthesis of existing materials — we can also feed in some of the concerns and priorities and strategies that we hope to begin to develop at our October meeting. I have therefore, reserved some funds for an analysis of the U.N. questionnaire at national level so that Governments can begin to discuss which strategies have worked, where the gaps are, and

come together to agree on commonwealth platforms and to suggest some positive strategies towards 2000."

Office of the Commonwealth Secretary General
Marlborough House, Pall Mall — LONDON
Ministers responsible for women's affairs should meet in Nairobi on the eve of the 1985 World Conference to review and appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for women — development of requisite documentation — Violence against women — The problems of young women particularly relating to employment — Women and Credit".

Lourdes Arizpe
EL COLEJO DE MEXICO, A.C.
Camino Al Ajusco No. 20
Cadigo Postal 01-000
Mexico. D.F.

"I give you some idea of what I, and others in Latin America, have thinking about women and development. I found your paper very rich in strands that must be followed up; you touch on all basic points about what we have learned about women and development in the past ten years. And I was interested in your statement that we must create a capability in an alternative paradigm, since so much of our effort of the past years has not in its end result, much improved poor women's life conditions. Would not call it a paradigm, since this implies a that we need formulate alternative policies of development, and a strong opposition to on going wars threats of war, issues, although I agree

that the issues, rather the specific immediate goals of women's mobilisations in different countries, are different, it is not only in the methodologies where we can agree on common strategies, but also in evolving a model of society towards which all these different strategies are pointing, it should be possible to state a few principles and institutions that would ensure compatible yet equal partnerships between men and women within a macro-scale social system, and which could be agreed on by different cultures. The immediate task, should be to identify such universal principles. The paper very well brings out, this cannot be done outside the context of the macro issues of the present international order. What we oppose the utopic points in the horizon towards which we want to move must be specified — we have left out of our analysis on women one basic component, that is, power. How are we as women, going to confront such adamant structures? How can we as women, gain more than the token position if we don't tackle the mainstream problems confronting our societies? So I agree with you, develop alternative models at same time, strategies, which are not only micro, fragmented, and only for women."

Neuma Aguiar
Rio De Janeiro
R.I. Brasil

"I believe this can be a most important initiative since it may conduct discussions in a profitable manner, avoiding a danger that is always latent in any world conference, when issues can always become oriented to world conflicting views instead of being focused on common problems that unite women, not clearly assess women and development projects or assessing developing projects and their consequences for low income women, — many nations generally have wide development projects or policies which affect low income women. This is the case of an area in Brazil a sugar producing area begins to manufacture alcohol, women contingent who are having their working hours highly intensified. Another example Angola emphasis on large scale production by men — re-

lative to women in wage generating again in the urban areas, while the fields are left with more women than men, take cases that can serve to analyse the effect of development on women of both capitalist and socialist countries, another major area of analysis is social security."

Peggy Antrobus
Tutor/Co-ordinator
Women & Development Unit
Extra Mural Department
St. Michael, Barbados

"Your paper 'Development as if Women Mattered...' has held my attention as no other document on the subject has ever done except for the work of your group to Forum '85 Caroline Pezzullo when Caroline invited me to prepare the papers that it should be co-authored by members of your group I would therefore like to invite you to be a co-author of the NGO paper with them, — a visit to the islands of Antigua and Nevis. Your address read against this back-ground underlines the contradictions and incongruities of my situation here in Nevis. The descendant of slaves a guest in the great House build with the blood, sweat and tears of my ancestors sign of progress? There is now also a new enslavement to be resisted — that of the few who have 'made it' through education and training (the new elite), who are in danger of being seduced by the privileges that go with our status — your Address confronts me with the truth these efforts will most likely be meaningless — unless we get to the ideological, philosophical basis for our work. I find myself wishing that I had the time and words to challenge their thinking in the way that Charlotte Bunch and the Bangkok Meeting in 1978 did mine. It represents the beginning of my own reassessment of the goals of Equality Development and Peace and traces the shifts in my understanding of the issues. Pat Ellis' paper on the Rose Hall project and to follow later my paper on how his type of project might link the micro to macro levels — directly (through interaction between community, programme managers/community workers and policy makers). My reflection

'Ashes' (very incomplete, a first cut, tentative, a working draft, a work in progress...) written in the immediate aftermath of the US intervention/invasion of Grenada when the search for 'lessons' seemed urgent and imperative. It reflects your conclusion that the answer lies in part in a better understanding of our history."

Robin Morgan
New York NY 10018

"Women-defined Global Strategy but a developing and networking of ideas and tactics, Sisterhood is Global Contributors, "think tank" seminar to take place in 1984, consisting primarily of twenty-five of the women who already share a context and "sense of family" via their involvement as contributors to the anthology. The Strategy Meeting could issue a Position Paper containing concrete, proposals which respect the myriad differences in women's status worldwide but gain effectiveness through sensitivity to the similarities in women's global conditions. November 10/11, the disbursement of the Position of women paper through already expressedly receptive channels in the United Nations System, through Women's Bureaus of the Participants' organisations, or other channels to be mutually agreed upon, a permanent institute of International Women's Affairs, Pursue formal classification Non Government Organization."

A.K. Sen
All Souls
Oxford

"Conflicts of interest between men and women are very unlike other conflicts such as class conflicts. A worker and a capitalist do not typically live together under the same roof sharing concerns and experiences and acting jointly. This aspect of "togetherness" gives the sex conflict some very special characteristics."

"While serious conflicts of interest may, in fact, be involved, the nature of the family organization requires these conflicts to be moulded in a general format of co-operation, with conflicts treated as aberrations and deviant behaviour."

"There are, as may well be expected, quite different trends in different parts of the world and also differences between the sectors."

"However, there are certain distinct patterns that can be observed over broad regions, and of the patterns that seem to involve a considerable displacement of women with technological/modernisation in many parts of the developing world. Ester Boseup's (1970) pioneering study had drawn attention to the effects of economic development and modernisation on the economic position of women, and recently more cause for concern have been found in observed patterns of displacement of women from very many different parts of the developing world."

The Bangalore Group: The Genesis

The Bangalore Branch of the Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST), in collaboration with the M.A. Sengamma Sreenivasan Foundation, hosted the first meeting of the Advisory Committee, (between 19th and 24th August, 1984) on the preparation of an overview for a 'Platform' paper on development, to mark the end of the Decade.

This Advisory Committee was formed by Devaki Jain, Director of ISST in consultation with several individuals, Institutions and Agencies both in India and in International networks. The members of the Committee were chosen from the point of view of being well-established and recognised writers with a research base, if possible linked to Institutions, though not necessarily so. The other criterion used for selection was specialization in particular fields, geographical location such as representation from every continent.

The purpose of the meeting, in fact of the whole project, was to see if women from diverse perspectives can find a unifying platform. The final objective of the process being to produce or write a paper/monograph/track book/statement which could not only be circulated widely during the UN and NGO networks before and at the World Conference to be held in Nairobi in July 1985, to mark the end of the decade; but also to provide a basis for women to speak with a unified voice on at least some issues in the decade to follow, and more ambitiously for women to change the world for the better.

The project is meant to be global in its scope and to focus on development experience in the broadest sense. It also intends to cover the experience not merely in the decade but across a broad-

er span of relevant history.

The project is intended to use a process of consultation and dialogue and search for unity. Thus it is designed to adopt a methodology which would allow different perspectives to be debated, differences to be stated and worked on, such that when the paper is finally written it has already addressed itself to what would normally be expressed in a global meeting of women representing diversity of every kind.

In order to check out on the interest in and the validity of such a process with such an objective, letters were written to the committee members. Two documents were also circulated in advance so that invitees give a considered reaction on how far they would be committed to such a project.

The two documents were:

1. "Development as if women mattered" or "Can women build a new paradigm?" (1) A lecture given by Devaki Jain at the OECD/DAC Women's Correspondence group on January 26, 1983. This paper attempted to synthesise documents available in India on both general development projects and specific women's projects; as well as documents generated by the expert-group meeting held in Vienna in 1982, (2) as well as evaluation/impact studies prepared by every donor country from the North including Japan, Australia and World Bank.
2. Gender Relation: "The Missing link in the Development Puzzle" — A selected and annotated Bibliographic Guide to Theoretical

efforts and South Asian Experiences, by Tone Bleie and Ragnhild Lund — Christian Michelsen Institute, Fantoftveren 38, N-5036 Fantoft, Norway.

This bibliographic review was also circulated to show that there was much more literature that need to be examined and reviewed. It was felt that if a group of women writers/researchers could review this material they could further expand on the kind of exercise that was contained in the Paris lecture, draw out the inferences both for the negative analysis as well as creating a positive outlook.

Those to whom these letters and papers were sent responded with great sincerity and enthusiasm. Everyone of the recipients of these letters not only agreed to serve on the Committee but also mentioned that this kind of exercise is what they felt was necessary and important before, at and beyond Nairobi. Many of them had already worked on similar papers with very similar premises.

Thus all the twelve invitees agreed to serve on the Committee. An Indian Steering Committee was formed in order both to assist the ISST in preparing for and conducting the meeting as well as the project, as well as to give the global advisory committee an opportunity to meet a wider network of persons in India.

Another process that was followed was to discuss the project with several groups, institutions and agencies both in India and abroad all of whom endorsed the activity as one of great urgency and importance.

Thus in the first meeting in Bangalore eight members of the Advisory Committee were present and there were seven special invitees representing both the Indian Steering Committee as well as activists.

The meeting started with the arrival of participants and a dinner on August 19th and ended with the departure of participants on the August 24th evening.

Some participants stayed on for a few more days both to visit projects as well as to help in the preparation of follow up papers and projects.

A meeting with a difference

The time table of the meeting and the Format were designed in order to facilitate conversation and discussion in depth. Thus an environment was chosen, namely, M.A. Singammal Sreenivasan Foundation premises which has a spacious set of rooms, opening into a large garden of trees with a lake at the end of the garden.

Participants were seated in a circular formation as in a drawing room without any table, microphone or name-tags. There was a display of relevant documentation in an adjoining room with additional tables arranged for display materials that were brought by the participants. Another adjoining room was a lounge for persons to rest or relax during the meeting. The front verandah also became a space for communication and the garden attracted walks.

There was no allocation of Chairpersons or allocation of roles such as discussant. The discussion went on and on through lunch and other breaks with different individuals playing leadership roles often by request from others, or through a natural process.

From the very first day, leisure activities were organised, a folk play built around a woman, shopping and sight seeing. Thus within the first one and a half days most of the persons who had come from outside Bangalore and outside India had a sense of peace that they had seen some of the city, the shops, the culture of Bangalore.

By Tuesday morning there was so much zest within the meeting, to make it significant and productive that no breaks were possible almost to the very end. Many of the sight-seeing ideas and visit ideas were voluntarily rejected by the participants.

A new spirit of unity

Every member of the group mentioned the significance of the Format and the environment in developing a sense of uninhibited and affectionate communication at the meeting. In spite of differences in race, in religion, in politics, in culture and in experience, the group became totally united with

thin the first two days. United in its determination to share this kind of possibility with other women of the world. In other words, to carry through the aims of this project as a collective effort. Coming together then without hierarchy, without host and guest, without a sense that the Project belonged to an individual or an Institution created a spirit where each member of the group worked on the process with total commitment and genuine collectivity was born.

The ISST shared all details of the Project including the budget, the availability of the resources, as well as its desire to have the Project adopted by others and carried through to Nairobi.

Extracts were made of all the letters and responses received from invitees and these were circulated. So also, certain relevant papers which were brought into a volume.

The meeting in Bangalore further affirmed the need for such a process to work out the modality for continuing the Project. It set for itself the task of identifying areas of interest which needed to be referred to in the paper. The main headings being:

- Women's Experience of Development (The Past)
- The Global Crisis (The Present)
- The Vision (The Future)

The group also developed the idea of generating a series of Panels at Nairobi one following the other on the same theme, the sequence meant to reflect the process followed in Bangalore; namely to develop a particular design after four days of dialogue.

The Panels and Convenors were:

- Dr. Zubeida Ahmed (Pakistan) — Women's Experience of Development (The Past)
- Dr. Neuma Aguiar (Brazil) — The Crisis (The Present)
- Dr. Fatima Mernissi (Morocco) — The Vision (The Future)

Since the meeting endorsed the activity and the

activity was adopted by the group, the Advisory Committee as such was dissolved and the process has started of affirming the group composed of those persons at Bangalore, as well as some additions, who would now be responsible for this work programme.

The group nominated an organising committee (to continue and further strengthen its work programme) of the following persons:

- Gita Sen
- Peggy Antrobus
- Achola Pala Okeyo
- Devaki Jain

It also nominated Dr. Gita Sen to be the main writer and focal point in New York for the project till January 1985.

The group also selected ISST to be the Secretariat for its activities. The Secretariat would —

- Circulate a News letter on the progress of the Project
- develop a broad-based documentation centre to all the information that would be collected in this process, and
- be the implementing agency for a global project that the group would propose which would include the various items for the work programme.

Work Programme

The group decided that the entire group need not meet again till March 1985. The date that was most suitable to the participants present was March 25, 26, 27 and 28. This meeting would be held in Bergen, to be hosted by Christian Michelsen Institute which had already agreed to do so.

An interim meeting would be held in New York as a few of the group's members will be in New York for another activity during November 12-20, 1984.

At the moment the funding for the Project, especially for the Bangalore meeting has been done by the Ford Foundation, New York. The budget does not include Panels at Nairobi or a global secretariat

or preparation of further documentation and the establishment of the documentation centre especially for this Project. Nor are there enough funds to cover tickets for Bergen, as we had hoped. Funds have been kept aside for Gita Sen's New York cell.

This is one of the reasons why it was decided that the group itself will propose a new project with a new budget and individual members of the group would work towards support for the expenditure. They would report to ISST Delhi and Gita Sen as the project advances.

Dr. Zubeida Ahmed and Dr. Geertje Llycklama were nominated to work on the global project.

After the meeting concluded in Bangalore, a few of the participants and invitees visited Delhi and a Concluding Session was held at the ISST's Delhi Office. The purpose was to finalise the framework for the presentation to be made at the NQO forum at Nairobi and to chalk out the organisational process and details necessary between now and the next meeting at Bergen in March for the coordination of the different sections panels of the paper.

At the outset, Dr. Savane said that she just had to come back to India and would make a proposal to the Canadian CIDA to enable her to stay in India for 3-4 weeks before the Nairobi conference to visit projects and learn lessons for Africa. She would like to establish a 'Solidarity with India' group.

The meeting then took up the following aspects:

Organisation and Secretariat

In view of the difficulties faced by the organisers in Bangalore conference with regard to ticketing and travel arrangements, Mary Angelique Savane offered the services of AAWORD to share the Secretariat work, particularly the ticketing and travel as they had a good travel agent in Dakar, and no clearance problems. ISST would also continue to provide other secretariat facilities.

Regarding the next meeting at Bergen in March the CMI would provide boarding and lodging facilities

and the per diem could be decided on the basis of suitability for Norway, in consultation with the two representatives from Bergen. This could be \$ 20.00 per day for out of pocket expenses. Some funding was necessary for Bergen meeting as well as for a similar meeting for Marie and Gita to meet.

The group unanimously agreed that it was most important to maintain the continuity of the process which had been begun in Bangalore, and to ensure a continuing commitment from the participants to the activities of the group. Ms. Savane mentioned the importance of the Bangalore meeting and felt that the manifesto which emerged out of it would influence the whole debate at the Nairobi Conference.

The Advisory Committee could be enlarged into a third-world 'group', to foster the growth of collective leadership and consciousness and co-opt other strong women and organisations into it.

The names of various feminists were recommended by the participants who could join the group and provide a strong representation from their own countries. These were, eg., Lourdes Arizpe, Magdalena Leon.

Representatives would be sought from China, Phillipines and other South East Asian countries also. Devaki Jain said that in the Phillipines as the student groups were radical but the women's representatives were fairly conservative, it was important to get the right kind of representation.

Regarding the participation of women from the West, Ms. Savane felt that after all it was difficult for them to overcome their Western bias and identifying with the Third World feminists. The initiative must remain with the Third World group.

Devaki Jain also suggested that each member of the Committee should write up her own experience of the Bangalore Conference and send it back to ISST and all the different views could be a part of Gita Sen's report. Rajani Alexander and Zubeida Ahmed had taken good notes of the plenary session.

Discovering New Directions

In Bangalore, the panels had broadly been divided into three crisis. The Past: The present, The Future. The Second Panel would also include the cultural dimension of the crisis i.e., a sub-panel on revivalism as a consequence of the economic and political crisis which could be done by Vina Das. Dr. Mernissi felt that the — 'The past' could also have a section on culture and the effect of the crisis on culture (eg. revivalism). Neuma Aguiar had agreed to coordinate this the Second panel, Zubeida Ahmed the first.

Devaki Jain expressed her fear that if the panels classified as 'social', 'cultural', 'political' were kept too separately, the impact and 'links' would be lost. Dr. Mernissi on the other hand felt that having all the debate as part of one session would create confusion, although she felt that there was no much interlinkage between what Devaki Jain called the 'cultural element of Politics and the Political elements of Culture'.

People should not have the option to select panels as it usually happens at conferences but feel a commitment to participate equally in the full debate across all the three panels and not separately. The three panels could be all in the same day in the same room, and be processed to link with each other. The paper writers should also be 'clued in' to this perspective. Dr. Mernissi especially felt that the panel on 'culture' should be as strong as that on economics and this should be strongly brought out in the later.

Devaki Jain pointed out that feminist economists had broken away from 'male' compartmentalisation and this ability to break out itself could be a definition of feminism. The panel could be re-

named "The cultural effects of the Economic Crisis", or "Cultural effects of Growth Oriented Development", and the alternative cultural vision would have to be worked out.

The scope of the social panel on Vision generated much discussion as to what should be the vision of a new society for a new woman and how this could be promoted while Devaki Jain stressed the importance of economic relationships and the serious problems that development brought for women, Dr. Mernissi felt that in order to make the vision most radical and creative it would need the co-option of a writer well versed in history, philosophy, electronics, and at the same time a visionary above all these disciplines.

Various names were suggested: Peggy Antrobus for 'Development', Urusula Loya for her experience in science fiction. (Institution of Social Change, New York which had computed data which could be profitably used). While a 'Vision' could not provide a conclusive discussion, a debate could be introduced with ideas such as 'why family should be destroyed', why centralism should be destroyed, why violence should be destroyed etc.

Dr. Mernissi suggested conducting a survey to prepare profiles of women in various representative occupations such as typists, bureaucrats, upper class women, to get their views on an ideal future. Questions could be on housing, food, employment and all significant issues. Thus the opinion of 1000 women could be used to initiate a debate on a future vision. Teenagers could be used for conducting the surveys.

The other participants, however, felt that this

would require too much time and effort and instead Dr. Savane suggested indepth interviews with women (Dr. Mernissi suggested doing 10 interviews for the vision paper).

Dr. Mernissi suggested interviewing women who had achieved rebellion in their own lives at their own levels and created the future that they wanted. The interviews should cover subjects which would bring out all invisible forms of oppression of women. Devaki Jain however, felt that this material was already available in the Harvard seminar on "Women, Religion and Social Change" (1983 June) papers and Kali had already been given the idea of publishing this material to present the lives of such women. Kali is a feminist publishing house established in New Delhi.

Each Convenor should write a paper introducing the paper and giving guidelines for each paper. Funds had to be raised and the people to write identified.

The participants then discussed the nature of cooperation and solidarity which the Third World could have with the First World feminists. They felt that the latter should also be more concerned not only with the development of the Third World, but also what was happening in their own world, and equally with feminism as well as development.

A panel on a North-South dialogue was suggested with representation by an American feminist like Charlotte Bunch. ISS Hague could con-

vene this panel and Toni Bleie could do the research as part of her Ph.D studies.

Aruna Roy suggested that the Asian Vision could be coordinated by Kamla Bhasin who could get someone to write it.

Considering the importance of media, a separate panel on media was suggested. Finally there would be five panels as follows:

- Cultural effects of the Economic Crisis — coordinated by Neuma Aguiar
- Cultural effects of Growth Oriented Development — Zubeida Ahmed
- Art/Cultural Vision — Marie Angelique Savane
- Media for the New woman — Kali, Fatima Mernissi, Kamla Bhasin
- Dialogue: Developing Feminism — Bergen, ISS Hague, Ford Foundation.

This discussion ended with a consensus that song and dance would be a joyful important part of the conference and every participant should learn a national dance and bring recorded music.

Fatima Mernissi and Devaki Jain met Vina Das, Department of Sociology, Delhi University who is well known for her work on culture.

What follows is a flow report of the 4 day Bangalore Workshop (August 20-24), prepared by Rajani Alexander.

The Bangalore Workshop

In her opening remarks, Devaki Jain said, "This is not a Conference of 'Women Leaders'. Many talented women researchers, groups and institutions are not attending this meeting, but we hope for their collaboration as we go further. We are a discussion group, "advisers to ourselves", as we explore the purpose and vision of our intended project. There is no rigid structure to our meeting; its form can suggest itself and evolve as the need arises.

This project aims to produce a paper/monograph/tract/book to be circulated widely through official and non-governmental networks. It shall determine whether women from different regions/cultures/political frames can find a uniting platform by focussing on development experience. Its scope is global and its span could be historical, besides concentrating on the decade 1975-85.

A continuous process

Our method must be a process. First its aspect is continuous consultation with available literature, and with the perspectives of various groups and categories of women. We must thrash out differences and conflicts before the birth of the paper. The paper must thus be a nurtured document, not one to be negotiated with different groups. We do not seek the lowest common denominator; we must be aware there can be both commonalities and differences. Otherwise our paper will remain a colourless document, "all things to all people but nothing to anybody."

The second aspect of the process is the preparation of chapters, and the third, the planning of panels for the Nairobi Conference. The meeting must

allocate the preparation of chapters and panels, it must identify writers for the final paper and prepare budget proposals. It must draw up the **framework** for the document, both theoretical and subject/experience specific. Certain parts of our exercise lend themselves to region based analysis, whereas others might be approached as issues. A few possible categorizations are:

- the political frame of the developmental experience for women
- macro policies
- systems: centralisation and decentralisation of economic power and organisation; work organisation home-based, factory-based and women's autonomy in both; subsistence production and production for exchange
- tradition
- intra-household factors

Not all members of the Advisory Committee are attending the Bangalore meeting, but they will of course be kept abreast of our progress. Some individuals, such as Ester Boserup, have agreed to contribute to the production of this document without being officially on the Committee. I should mention that serious lacunae exist in that the Advisory Committee has no socialist representation, and we must rectify this by identifying a Chinese or Vietnamese member. Also this meeting does not have a S.E. Asian representative and S. Asia is inadequately represented. Others present here are Indian invitees (including both professionals working in areas concerning women and activists at the grass roots level) and researchers from

various disciplines.

Certain institutions are backing our endeavour. These are:

- (a) Institute of Social Studies Trust.
- (b) M.A. Singammal Sreenivasan Foundation, the building and premises at which this meeting is taking place.
- (c) Christian-Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway. The initiative for this project came from CMI, with the exhaustive bibliography compiled by Toni Bleie and Ragnhild Lund. Many participants have examined this compilation and offered comments prior to this meeting. CMI has also offered to host the next meeting of the Advisory Committee.
- (d) Ford Foundation: They have coopted this project as one of their preparatory activities for 1985, and helped with the organisation and funding for this meeting.
- (e) Government of India: The Women's Bureau of the Indian Government took the initiative to invite various women's organisations and researchers to write specific chapters of India's country paper for Nairobi.

The Indian Steering Committee mentioned in the project proposal will contribute an Indian case study to this project: "Indian Women's Experience of Development". This is funded by the Indian Council for Social Science Research. Its focus will be historical whereas the country paper chapters deal with the decade 1975-85.

A growing platform

The group discussion began by addressing the question of how the Nairobi Conference would be penetrated. Neuma Aguiar asked if the paper's role would be at the official conference or at the NGO meeting, and said that the possibility that Nairobi might witness the type of polarisation that took place at Copenhagen was cause for concern. Devaki Jain described the contact with the NGO meeting as important. However, she said, there is no final or end user for our product as such, because we hope to coopt as many contributions as possible as our paper evolves. This is the core of

our work as a 'growing' platform.

Gita Sen pointed out that Nairobi would repeat Copenhagen type polarisation if Third World representatives did not take on issues, and if the official line was allowed to remain "all things to every body and nothing to anybody". Her personal enthusiasm for the document came from the desire to see if this group could work at moving beyond some of the problems by delineating common perceptions, and by taking on issues 'head on'.

Peggy Antrobus spoke of this group as meeting at a particularly timely point. Both this project and the Nairobi Conference give us an opportunity to reflect on our own growth through involvement and in terms of our own regions, and on the need to communicate and understand women from other regions. However, the contribution of this project would not really be the governmental conference at Nairobi; this members could do in an individual capacity as regional representatives. The NGO Forum would be much more important for this group.

The current literature points out many possible demarcations: Marxist-Capitalist, feminist-developmental, family-centred or women centred, women-only projects or integrated projects. It is very important for a group such as this to begin to clarify what some of these mean in terms of ACTION.

Zubeida Ahmed said that in many respects, preparations for the Nairobi Conference seem to be on a smaller scale than even those for Copenhagen. The Indian government was rather unique in trying to merge governmental and NGO efforts. Yet, otherwise, the question of how to establish linkages and to avoid parallel conferences was a major one.

Beyond Nairobi

Peggy Antrobus stressed that linkages and clarifications must be worked out before Nairobi. Some from this group might be advisers or delegates for their respective governments. Such overlapping would facilitate this. Devaki Jain reminded members that Nairobi was not the end, goal or final point of this project. We are concerned with alternative

strategies for development and we are looking beyond Nairobi.

Marie Angelique Savane expressed much pessimism regarding the Nairobi Conference as an event. Due to Kenya's internal political problems, preparations for it were suffering. The African regional meeting had not been organised and the expert group meeting was scheduled to convene just a week before the Nairobi Conference. She tended to agree with Peggy Antrobus that we will not influence Nairobi as a group. But we should try to organise in different ways and with new ideas for Nairobi and beyond.

Conflicts within the group were good and we must realise there will be commonalities and differences — this is being realistic. Our approach must be theoretical and practical. We must reconcile feminism and development. In terms of exposure for our project, penetration of the media in the West and in our own countries could prove more effective than working through UN channels.

CONGO (Committee on Non-Government Organisations) participants were usually persons living and meeting in North countries. As ours is a Third World initiative, we must address ourselves to ourselves and not limit our project's direction only to Nairobi.

Zubeida Ahmed endorsed this adding that CONGO's were willing to accept new ideas but that many developing countries could not supply satisfactory inputs, e.g., the All Pakistan Women's Association, could not represent women's actual status in that country. Thus our group has a very useful role.

Devaki Jain questioned M.A. Savane seeing a contradiction between interacting with CONGO but not with Nairobi on the official level. She described some NGO directives as 'naïve and pathetic' and asked why we should penetrate these. Our goal should be our own platform not only CONGO, Vienna or Nairobi.

Savane replied that our project needs a forum because Mexico and Copenhagen had proven that the real debates took place in the NGO with grass root workers but they had no critical appreciation of the situation. She was not advocating

lobbying at the CONGO but rather sending papers. Also we need some affiliation or else we cannot penetrate Nairobi.

Creating Public Awareness

Devaki Jain reiterated that this could be tremendously unproductive, and that we should try to generate panels for Nairobi on common issues. Geertje Llycklama seconded this as Nairobi would have strong media coverage. Panels on specific issues could be very effective if we also approached the media before hand for preparation, as is being done in the Netherlands for example. Savane described AAWORD's concern regarding the media and that there was a meeting in October to prepare women journalists. Public awareness and information could also be built up through such measures. Aruna Roy raised a query at this point. Feminist issues are of vital concern but fundamentally, how do these positions link up with grass-roots situations? What links, if any, are there between the experience of poverty and the dialogue of development for poor women anywhere in the South? M.A. Savane recognised that a definite communication problem exists but did not agree that feminist concerns were beyond such women in any case. Linking theory to practice is a very involved and long process.

There was some discussion on participatory research and how it had affected women. Gita Sen emphasised the urgent need to evolve theoretical positions and to enable participants to pick out issues and to use them. Savane warned, however, that if our project was to be more than just an end-of-the decade document, we must also focus on action. Fatima Memissi strongly recommended considering theoretical approaches for dealing with religion and its impact on the position of women. Katherine McKee stated that even if we adopt a region-based perspective, there would still be several complex factors to consider. She spoke of these as variables, such as type of government, religions.

Neuma Aguiar identified some issues around which a paper could be constructed:

— Sexuality, reproduction and gender organisa-

tions

- Forms of women's organisations
- Land tenure and its effects on women

Padma Ramachandran suggested that our contribution include practical cues that governments could pick up on. She wondered if and how participation at Nairobi could be extended to grass roots workers. She also spoke of the overriding importance of literacy.

Rajani Alexander did not see literacy in itself as a broad enough perspective. Women must be approached with awareness and information techniques that are learning processes and also sources of support and initiative.

Toni Bleie pointed out that the position of women in different classes could be analysed, as definite variation existed in the forms of oppression women endured. She stressed that it is important to forge the realisation that women are not appendices of some sort, but that the whole debate is

one of social relationship. She recommended documentation centres at the national and international levels to review and evaluate policies relating to women.

The discussion moved to global socio-economic trends that were affecting women. Devaki Jain brought up the examples of multi-nationals and free trade zones. Neuma Aguiar advocated 'humility' in approaching these saying there should not be simple blanket generalization on 'exploitation'. Rather we should compare and weigh different experiences to learn from them.

As the session drew to a close, Zubeida Ahmed called for the serious evaluation of the effectiveness of Women's Bureaus.

The participants decided that each try and write a brief note on an issue or area of particular concern. It was decided that the following days discussion of categories and issues would begin by examining the analytical frame work of the bibliography compiled by Lund and Bleie.

Evolving a relevant frame work

The participants had studied the Lund/Bleie bibliography prior to the Bangalore meeting. On the second day, August 21, Ragnhild Lund and Toni Bleie briefly highlighted the analytical approach they had used.

The basic definition of development and socio-economic change that they incorporate is that of a transformative process which depends on continuous integration of the cultural, social, political and economical institutions in society. This perception of 'women in development' is very different from the traditional, uni-dimensional and technocratic conceptualisations. Thus their compilation uses qualitative and quantitative methodology; it examines the totality of social structures; and also the dimensions of action-oriented research. It recognises the changes in foci that have evolved, especially since 1978, towards analysis that are more theoretical, cross-cultural and addressed to gender organisations in society as these relate to caste, class and political forms.

Gita Sen observed that South Asian studies on women relied more on available empirical findings, than on theory, although recently this trend had been changing. She said this was different to the situation in Africa and Latin America where concept/theory is stronger. M.A. Savane had reservations about including Africa in such a comparison. African Women's Studies relied greatly on Western theorizations, and needed to turn to empirical data.

Fatima Mernissi stated that research in Africa and Latin America was still largely determined and controlled by available funding and had to be structured to accommodate prevalent frames

such as the Marxist and Moslem ones. Research on ideologies did not receive funding and therefore this group should investigate the co-relation between research subjects and fund allocations.

Devaki Jain described how much had been done by Asians on Asian Women. Yet these were not known or in circulation in the West as they were published in their home countries. This was particularly true of much recent research on women and work in India.

Rajani Alexander clarified that certain cultural phenomena such as the bias in favour of male children in India need extensive exploration on the theoretical and empirical planes. Such biases have political, social, economic and religious causes and effects and also manifested differently according to class, region or community context.

Aruna Roy drew attention to the fact that studies in English remain limited in their ultimate impact on field workers and grass roots activists. To facilitate such direct implementation, analysis must be made available in the various languages of a region. It was suggested that if possible this be taken up at Nairobi.

The following recurring themes were listed and participants asked to contribute brief notes on these during the break:

- Family and intra-household issues
- Cultural and religious factors
- The linkage between research and the use of research; research as a strategy for change
- Systems of organisation and implementation.

Devaki Jain, Gita Sen and Rithu Menon collect

ed. these notes and used them to draw up the following framework for the project's paper:

- I. Global/Regional/National Socio-economic trends and organisation systems.
- A. Their impact on Women's access to:
 - a) land, other resources, rural and industrial employment, technology etc.
 - b) Subsistence, food, fuel, water etc.
 - c) Services — health, literacy etc.
- B. Government plans and programmes — intervention in the above — role of bureaucracy, voluntary agencies, women's organisations.
- C. Examples of successful organisation, intervention and their conditions of success.
- D. Role of international agencies and organisations.
- II. Kinship, household and community articulation of gender relations and linkages to (I) above.
- III. Reproduction, the cultural meaning of sexuality and its links to production.
- IV. Ideology, traditional and new.

Participants studied the framework and offered comments. M.A. Savane noted that it is vital we recognise that the core of our project is analysis of the interactions between the macro and micro levels of the development process. Any framework we decide on must reflect this:

Neuma Aguiar stated that the impact of various political regimes on women's status needs careful consideration.

Development Perspectives

Nirmala Banerjee recommended that we draw up alternate models for development planning, as we are pointing to the failure of standard models. Peggy Antrobus urged that we discuss projects that have empowered women, to see if these could provide an alternative paradigm.

Rajani Alexander pointed to the need to clarify terminology and analytical approaches, e.g.,

would religion fit into the framework as a form of organisation, an ideology or a system?

Fatima Mernissi stressed that culture's all-pervasiveness made it of crucial importance for our project. The emphasis should be on how cultural considerations shape development approaches and in particular, there must be a focus on religion as a strategy for discrimination against women.

Katherine McKee summarised the day's work with a series of questions:

- What is women's experience with development?
(empirical or objective and experimental or subjective)
- Why is this so, despite a variety of interventions?
- What do we want, i.e. what is a feminist vision of development?
- How do we propose to move towards this vision?

Peggy Antrobus characterised the 'crisis' that had grown out of development running amok, so to speak, and this led to M.A. Savane placing our discussion up to this point in the form of a pithy query: "From Boserup to Crisis: What future for Women and their Development?"

She suggested a 3-part approach:

1. What went wrong?
2. What is the Crisis?
3. What do we want from development?

Participants assigned themselves to each one of these three parts. Katherine McKee again summarised our debates of the day by saying that this project could address itself to two audiences: one, development planners 'You need women to deal with the crisis', two: women themselves, 'Organise yourselves' being used." This paper gives us the opportunity to point to the shift in perceptions during the last decade. We must urge development based on the slogan: "People before the pie." Women's interest after all is the broader social interest.

Reports of the 3 groups;

Group — I : What went wrong?

The decade 1975-85 has not seen women benefiting from the processes of development, despite the drive for conscientization and the 'integration' of women. Development therefore, must itself be reappraised. What is development? It cannot be guided only by economic considerations and indicators, but must acknowledge and implement more fundamental concern with social, cultural and political realities.

Biases in the social system are built into the development process:

- The Indian Sixth Plan admirably states: "Improvement in socio-economic status of women would depend to a large extent on the change in the value system, attitudes and social structures prevailing in the country."
- In most countries, however, such recognition is not a fundamental principle in practice.
- The reluctance to challenge or alter social relationships is born of the narrow perception of women as predominantly mothers, homemakers, supplementary income earners etc.
- Women are the basis of the traditional 'social insurance' system of the family and kinship structures, e.g., the care of the weak, old, young, unemployed. No alternative exists for this traditional form.
- Development planners are unwilling to address themselves to gender structures in the social context. Thus biases that are both convenient and customary are absorbed unchanged into development processes.

'Modernisation'

- The onus of 'modernisation' falls heaviest on women with its benefits usually accruing least to them as well.
- In the transformation from subsistence agriculture to higher value cash crops women are the most displaced among workers.
- Where the traditional sexual division of labour operates, changes in the eco-system impinge heaviest on women, e.g., regarding women's traditional fuel-water-food resource concerns.
- Changing land use from forests to cultivation or urbanisation
- Changing cropping patterns
- Diversion of natural resources such as water
- By and large, as technical changes occur, women are displaced when new skills are required whereas they are retained for low skill jobs.
- The ethics and values of a western-type consumerism often have the worst impact on women and encourage pornography, prostitution and violence against women.

Short-sighted and inadequate development strategies

- Income generating schemes must be evaluated not just for the 'survival' they provide women but for growth potential as well. To be truly productive, these schemes must be fed by support structure for women, such as nonformal education, health, credit, etc.
- It must be recognised that merely granting legal rights is not guarantee that gender differentials are corrected fundamentally or comprehensively.

- Publicly sponsored, bureaucratically organised women's organisations often operate with a fragmented perception of women and tackle only one or other of their problems whether as mother, homemaker, worker. Some such organisations do function well, but in the context of many countries, their entrenched position in the national administrative machinery prevents a genuine 'women-orientation' or what could be called a 'feminist' orientation.

GROUP II: The "Crisis"

The Context of Crisis

The current world crisis comprises many dimensions, which are the result of major changes in the structure of the global economy, of inadequate and/or wrong-headed development strategies, and, we would argue against prevailing political, socio-cultural, and religious systems in which sexism and patriarchal control of power are inherent. The principle elements of this global crisis are:

- **The crisis of the world economy** - debt, unemployment etc.
 - This crisis has in turn led to:-
 - (1) Scarcity of development resources, and their reallocation among competing priorities (e.g., Foreign Exchange generation Vs Food production).
 - (2) budgetary cut-backs for services and other redistributive programmes.
 - (3) emphasis on short-term growth
 - (4) emphasis on export expansion and import reductions.
- The crisis of the welfare state and of political commitment to equity and redistributive goals. Inter-related crisis of food, the agricultural land base and other natural resources.
- Technological transformation which is often characterised by major labour dislocations, cultural disruptions, technological 'jumps'
- Crisis of democracy (with military dictatorship as a particularly extreme form) characterized by:
 - (1) less equity/participation in setting of development priorities.

- (2) Inadequate participation in development planning and decision making.
 - (3) Distribution of development costs and benefits - the power-less tend to lose out.
- Rising conservatism in various forms (as perceived solution to and psychological relief from the crises).
 - Demographic crises, such as:
 - (1) high population growth rates (especially in sub-Saharan Africa)
 - (2) migration and rapid urbanisation, resulting in unemployment, pressure on urban infrastructure, feminization of food production and/or entire rural sector.
 - (3) rapidly changing age structure of the population - youthification.
 - Global insecurity, civil and international war, militarization.

The consequences of these crises are particularly severe for women, especially poor women. They have been of four major types:

- Deteriorating employment and livelihood status, e.g.,
 - (1) pressure to ration jobs and force them out of the labour force.
 - (2) re-allocation of development resources (e.g., from investments in food to cash crop production, rationing of credit and provision of subsidies to enterprises in competition with women's 'informal sector' activities, alienation from their land as it is brought into cash crop production etc.)
 - (3) the search of international and domestic manufacturing/assembly firms for ever-cheaper less organised, and more submissive labour forces leads to rapid turn-overs and job insecurity among female factory workers, jobs go from. Many women workers often to other cheaper, younger, non-unionized women workers and often involved in home-based production erosion of labour organizations' bargaining power.
 - (4) the new technologies mean job loss for many women (who are unlikely, by virtue of their skills and educational levels, to be re-ab-

sorbed into the 'high-tech' sector once their jobs are automated), and ghettoization for many others in jobs characterized by low pay, and limited security or advancement prospects.

- (5) displacement of traditional artisanal and service sector occupations by competition from factory produced goods, mechanization, new technologies.
- Decreased ability to fulfil (unpaid) household maintenance responsibilities i.e., fuel, food, water, other domestic services, due to such factors as land alienation, deforestation, environmental degradation, lack of adequate labour for subsistence food production due to male migration etc.
 - Reduced access to human services, such as health, literacy, education, transport, etc. The women themselves have less or no access to these services, and they are expected to make up the gap in providing them to others (e.g., children, the sick, the unemployed) because of their 'traditional roles'.
 - Threats to women's efforts to organise (e.g., within unions, political systems etc.)

These negative consequences are reinforced and deepened by various 'culture' - related factors particularly a so-called return to traditions which operate through the (sexist and male-dominated) societal institutions of religion, the law, political/civil organisations, and the family and its control of women's sexuality. The cultural reactions to the crisis which reinforce its negative consequences for women are on two levels:

- **The Political Level:** leaders use sexist social institutions to subordinate women in the name of 'return to tradition' both as a solution to the crisis (by providing a well-accepted justification for cutting women out of the sources, resources, jobs, services etc.) and as an escape valve to deflect popular discontent about the crisis from their own policies and mistakes.
- The people hearken back to traditional values (including women's subordination) as a psychological comfort to their despair and uncer-

tainty in the face of crises.

There is evidence of this new conservatism in all parts of the world. The subordination of women in this crisis has taken new forms (e.g. pornography and prostitution) as well as the familiar old ones (control of women's sexuality, restrictions in work rules, etc.)

How women can lead the way to a more sustainable, self-reliant development

- There are strong limits to the policy maker's conventional responses to the economic crisis of trying to expand export oriented industry and agriculture.
- The only alternative is to recognize the need to mobilize internal resources towards development. This forces a re-valuation for arguing that development resources must be invested in those sectors, activities, organisations in which women predominate.
- Thus, we argue the need to strengthen the supportive infrastructure for their initiatives, and to invest in their individual and collective capacities (each of the following examples should relate to one of the crises previously enumerated)

- (1) ability to meet subsistence food needs
- (2) protection of natural resource base (e.g., Chipko Movement)
- (3) address the fundamental population dilemma - we can only break the vicious circle of ignorance, illiteracy, patriarchy by giving women reproductive choice, helping them ensure the survival of their children, protecting their productive and reproductive capacities through health interventions, etc.
- (4) provision of basic goods and services (including import substituting ones) etc.

BUT we must avoid this move towards an alternative and more self-reliant development being on women's backs. We must avoid their super-exploitation in these processes through women's organisation and involvement in the political process. Also through democratization and decentralization of power.

GROUP III: What kind of development do women want?

The Feminist Perspective

The Vision:

In the past few years there has been an on-going debate on whether the programme and strategies of the decade for women have helped us to achieve the goals of equality, development and peace.

These debates have found expression at international workshops — meetings at Bangkok (1976) Stony Point, New York (1979) and Dakar (1981) and now in Bangalore as we approach the end of the decade. The conclusion we have drawn, based on the accumulated empirical research and our own experience of working within the framework of programmes for the decade is that change in the situation of women will require many more fundamental structural changes that we had imagined when we started on this journey.

We have found it necessary to question the goal of Development itself, to recognize that the current models of Development in all countries do not accommodate women's reality and therefore continue to impact negatively on women.

We propose an alternative model, reflecting a feminist perspective. This model must be people centred and based on a feminist ethic of values, issues and methodologies which promote and support alternative structures for reproduction, production and decision-making.

If this model is to be achieved, the structures which need to be challenged will have to start with the family, proceeding through the community to national and international levels.

The new society must have different social and economic structures and different modes of production and management. The target groups to which this vision is to be articulated are the women themselves and the change agents/community:

workers and policy makers and both the micro and macro level.

Values and issues

The values of the feminist ethic are: responsibility for others, caring and cooperation, accountability, resistance to violence and to hierarchies.

The issues to be addressed are those of:

- (1) power and control within the family and in the wider society. The concept of power would have to be redefined from the male instrumental use of power to control to the female concept of power, power to effect change, to empower nurture. Or the Gandhian power of powerlessness which ensures the elimination of hierarchial structures whether in the family and in the society. Ideologically, the new society would come closer to a Gandhian than socialist's model since although both aimed at social justice for the majority each employed different means: for women the means were as important as the ends. In the socialist model there was a concentration of power in the state while Gandhism advocated the diffusion of power, accountability and responsibility.
- (2) Ownership of the means of production and distribution. "it was not ends, namely work, social facilities, education etc. but how these were achieved that might make the difference, determine how much leverage or choice was available to women and men to decide the life style they wished to adopt.
- (3) Alternative models of family structure and production were examined in the Caribbean and India.
In the Caribbean where family structure had been destroyed by slavery, the predominant type of family was once characterised by non-legal unions. This permitted women a degree of autonomy and flexibility in their relationship which was precluded in nuclear or patriarchal families. However, although the majority of women exercised

some control over their sexuality they tended nevertheless to look to men for economic and emotional support — even when experience should have taught them not to expect this.

These women were also mostly in the informal sector, which again provided opportunities for a great degree of flexibility. Links between the informal and formal sectors of the economies were fairly well established and there was movement between these two sectors; activity in the informal sector increasing as opportunities for employment in the formal sector decreased.

In India, organisations like SEWA also provided women with opportunities for autonomy, independence and self-reliance.

In Africa and the Caribbean, women's involvement in food production and distribution gave them some control over the "means of production".

However, in all these cases, women operated within environments which were either hostile or oppressive. **The key issue was therefore how to create structures which could promote and support women in their reproductive-productive functions.**

Methodologies for women's self-reliance

It was felt that methodologies which might promote women's self reliance and autonomy were those which emphasized dialogue decentralization. Approaches to development would also incorporate social and political discussions into economic programmes and projects.

Finally, support systems could be reinforced by networking — drawing on the support of both kinship and friendship.

There were all modes used by women and could contribute to the building of the new society.

From survival to growth and transformation

Since women predominate in the informal sector and this sector provides them and society, with the

means of survival especially in times of crises it was felt that this should be strengthened. It should become not only a means of subsistence but a vehicle for promoting economic growth and ultimately for the transformation of the society.

The International Dimension

There is need to break down the distance between the 'developed' and the 'developing' countries. Women in the North have their own experience of powerlessness and alienation. Moreover, the existence of pockets of poverty and widespread violence, racism, drug abuse in industrialised countries indicates a lack of 'development' in certain areas. **Feminists in these countries conscious of their own powerlessness could become advocates on behalf of the structured powerlessness of the South.**

The networking which has been taking place between feminists during the decade provides the basis for an international movement to challenge the structures which have oppressed women and to build a new global village based on a feminist vision.

Summary

Devaki Jain urged that division of the work take place; this would later be synthesized into the final paper. Some participants wondered if complementary papers were required to substantiate findings or directions of the document in greater detail.

Gita Sen volunteered to work on the final draft. She asked participants to suggest topics they would write on, or for which they could suggest other qualified writers, and to give firm dates in September or October by which these would reach her in New York. The pieces were to be of about 5-10 pages. Any supportive documents that they considered relevant should be also forwarded, e.g., region-specific studies that highlight contentions made by the paper. It was also noted that a shorter, manifesto, type version of the document be produced for circulation. Gita Sen said she would send all participants a working outline of the

draft by the middle of September.

The following are the names and topics for the piece assignments:

- (1) Culture: Fatima Mernissi
- (2) African Women's Experience with Development: M.A. Savane and Lourdes Arizipe
- (3) Women's Organisations: Peggy Antrobus and Geertje Lycklama
- (4) Summary of material on women and the crisis: Ragnhild Lund
- (5) Land tenure — Bina Agarwal
- (6) Grass roots women's activism: Aruna Roy
- (7) Comparative analysis of African Women's situation in pre-colonial periods: Josephine Beoku-Betts
- (8) Links between women's sexuality and forms of labour: Neuma Aguiar.
- (9) Women workers in Rural areas — Their struggle to organise: Zubeida Ahmed
- (10) Comparative analysis of women's organisations in Latin American socialist and capitalist countries: Florencia Mollor. She is a Chilean historian at University of Wisconsin-Madison (recommended by N. Aguiar). A tape of this study is available from Women's Studies Research Center, 209, North Brooks St, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
- (11) Women in the Political Process: Fatima Mernissi
- (12) Women and Society: Deniz Kandiyoti (N. Aguiar) She is on the Research Committee on Women and Society. Her address: 10, Ashmont Road, London, U.K.
- (13) The paradigm of the "New Women", the feminist vision of development: M.A. Savane and D. Jain.

Other decisions reached were:

UNDP, Kali or whatever other agency undertakes publication of the project document must furnish certain safeguards regarding its use and not be given exclusive rights to it.

International press release of the document would need to be planned for pre-publicity and at

the time of the National Conference.

Fatima Mernissi favoured a complete listing of Third World women who were working as professionals or grass roots activists in various capacities, "to show our strength". While members liked the idea, they thought its compilation and circulation would require too much time, also, many regions possess their own versions of women's "Who's Who".

Participants were asked to submit listings of meetings they would be attending in the next few months so that we could consider approaching these as part of our dissemination process.

Based on discussions that had taken place, Peggy Antrobus identified the following as possible themes for panels at Nairobi:

- Culture
- Impact on the economic crisis.
- Informal sector and survival strategies, "Survival to Growth Strategies"
- Technological changes
- Organisation of and for women
- Income generating projects

M.A. Savane stressed that we must think of new concepts, e.g., The New Conservatism's effects on women. Katherine McKee said panel topics must provoke responses and feedbacks for our own project as well. Fatima Mernissi advocated creativity in the organisation and presentation of panels. There must be adequate supply of papers, studies and materials for display and distribution. She cited how panelists may have to 'combat' revivalists, for example, in distributing literature. Savane reminded participants of the benefits of shared discussion at panels. The AAWORD panel on female circumcision at Copenhagen had proved the success of such participation.

Fatima Mernissi said that the frame work of the panel on culture that she would coordinate, was tentatively titled "Women and Culture: Religion, Media, History" and would adopt a cross-cultural perspective.

Participants raised the point that this was a broader approach than the project paper had envisaged. Also, the role of cultural factors figured in each point of the frame work for the main project.

Conclusions: The Birth of DAWN

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era

The Bangalore meeting has initiated an on-going process. The participants form the core of an ever-widening group of activists, organizers and researchers committed to the search for alternative, more equitable, development processes have launched DAWN. Its aim is to fuse the response of women to development, to build collectively towards strategies which lead to the decentralization of power and resources and the dissolution of hierarchies, while fostering collective responsibility, cooperation, and reciprocity.

The experience of the U.N. Decade for Women while providing abundant information on development's linkages with women has raised serious questions about the content and style of development itself. For women, the "growth-centred" approach to development usually means reduced, or at best slow-growing access to resources and jobs, trade-offs between employment and wages or working conditions, and increased work burdens in subsistence activities and in reproductive tasks.

During the 1970s, there was increasing recognition of the points above as barriers to changing women's socio-economic status in different societies. The economic, political and cultural crises that have pervaded the 1980s have meanwhile exerted increasing pressure on the weakest sections of the population, prominent among them, women.

What are the Crises?

- There is a major crisis in the world monetary and financial system of which the size of Third World debt is symptomatic.

- Simultaneously, major environmental, demographic and technological crises are having serious effects on agricultural land and food availability, of natural resources, problems of unemployment and under-employment, urbanization, immigration, feminization of food production, and rapidly changing age structure of the population.
- The consequences of these crises have been particularly severe for women, especially poor women, and have been reinforced and deepened by the unleashing of powerful forces.

What Can Women Do? What Kind of Development do Women Want?

There are severe limitations to policy makers' conventional responses to the crises outlined above. The sharp reduction in resources available for development both from international agencies and from governments facing deficit budgets and deficit balance of payments imply that internal resources must be mobilized and channelled not only with greater care but also into new directions.

This forces a revaluation of women's actual and potential contributions and offers a strategic leverage in arguing that development resources must be invested in those sectors, activities and organizations in which women predominate.

It should be clear from what we have said so far that our concept of development is, first mainly, "people-centred." The values which sustain this vision are those that are widely held and shared in the international women's movement, namely: cooperation, sharing, responsibility for others, accountability, resistance to hierarchies and commitment to peace. The issues to be addressed are:

- The control, allocation and distribution of societal resources;
- The management and control of natural resources and environments;
- The control of demographic pressures through women-centred approaches;
- The restructuring of gender hierarchies and power-relations as expressed in the family, community and the society at large.

Pre-Nairobi

DAWN is preparing an analytical study drawing an available documentation on women's experience with development and the impact of the global economic, political, and cultural crises on women. On the basis of this study, an alternative vision and corresponding strategies will be proposed. A related set of panels and workshops is being scheduled for the NGO Forum of the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, in Nairobi, to be held July 8-17, 1985. The paper will serve as a basic document for bringing the issues into sharp focus for the participants in Nairobi.

Our strategies give the utmost importance to empowering women's organizations through removal of bureaucratic impediments, provision of infrastructural support, and involvement at the widest and deepest levels in planning and implementation. Only this, we believe, can develop a firm basis for moving forward beyond the Decade.

DAWN's goal is to encourage an integrated dialogue prior to Nairobi so that the document truly reflects our collective experiences and inputs. We also hope to develop unified themes for an action-oriented agenda beyond 1985. Also of crucial importance is the attempt to draw individuals and organizations working at the grassroots and community levels, researchers and policy implementers into the process.

At Nairobi

It is planned to organize a series of five panel discussions and workshops for Forum '85 on the following themes:

1. Effects of Growth-Oriented Development on Women and the Poor

Panel Conveners: Zubaida Ahmad, Internat-

ional Labour Office, CH-211, Geneva, Switzerland.

Geertje Llyclama, Institute of Social Studies, 251, Badhuisweg, The Hague, Netherlands.

2. The World Economic Crisis and its Repercussions.

Panel Conveners: Neuma Aguiar, Institute Universitário, De Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, Rua Da Matriz, 82, Rio de Janeiro, FJ, Brazil 22260. Noeleen Heyzer, APDC, Pesiaran Dutta, PO Box 2224, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Claire Slatter, Department of Politics, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

3. An Alternative Vision of Development

Panel Convener: Lucille Mair, Secretary, General of the U.N. Mid-Decade Conference on Women held in Copenhagen, 1980, 310 E 45 St., New York 10017.

4. The Use of Media in Projecting the Image of the New Women

Panel Conveners: Peggy Antrobus (WAND), The University of West Indies, Women and Development Unit, Extra-Mural Department, Pine-lands, St. Michael Barbados.

5. Dialogues

Panel Convener: Achola Pala Okeyo, Post Box 47422, Nairobi, Kenya, East Africa.

Post-Nairobi

The main purpose of the DAWN Project is to mobilise opinion and create a network which is for a cause towards a goal. The limited goal is to evolve certain signals, issues and guidelines for development which can be used by the network and their still broader base for action.

DAWN is striving for the realization by a global group, unified on certain basic principles to exercise power on critical issues facing the global community from the micro to the macro levels.

The project would maintain through various publications, committee and workshop reports, news letters, circulation of guidelines based on shared experience relevant to our strategies, as well as through the organization of workshops, conferences and exchange programmes.

Background of the Project

DAWN was launched in August, 1984, in Banga-

lore, India, as an initiative from the Third World after wide-ranging consultations with a number of people and institutions. Members of the group came from Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Pacific, and the Caribbean countries. Third World institutions involved in this Project are: the African Association of Women for Research and Development (AAWORD); the Women and Development Unit (WAND) of the University of the West Indies; the Pacific and Asian Women's Forum (PAWF), Kali for Women, and the Institute of Social Studies Trust in India.

The project Advisory Committee consists of the following:

Neuma Aguiar (Brazil), Zubaida Ahmad (Pakistan), Peggy Antrobus (Jamaica and Barbados), Lourdes Arizpe (Mexico), Nirmala Banerjee (India), Ela Bhatt (India), Carmen Barroso (Brazil), Noeleen Heyzer (Malaysia), Hameeda Hossain (Bangladesh), Devaki Jain (India), Kumari Jayawardene (Sri Lanka), Isabel Larguia (Cuba), Geertje Llyclama (Netherlands), Ragnhild Lund (Norway), Lucille Mair (Jamaica), Katherine Mckee (USA), Fatima Memissi (Morocco), Achola Pala Okeyo (Ke-

nya), Marie-Angelique Savane (Senegal), Gita Sen (India), Claire Slatter (Pacific Islands).

The Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST), an Indian organization engaged in research and action, especially in the field of Women's advancement, based in New Delhi, is the Secretariat for the group's activities. ISST is equipped with a documentation centre for all information, papers and studies. It proposes to publish an occasional news letter containing updates on project activities.

Please join the collaborative process by

- sending references and copies of papers, studies, and regional/sectoral data on women's development experience, the impact of the crises, and alternative visions of development proposed by women themselves;
- sending names of women who could be resource persons or contribute to the panels scheduled for Nairobi;
- helping to publicize the Project through networks and organizations in preparation for the Nairobi meet and to provide feedback and suggestions on the paper.

In retrospect: participants comments after the meeting

Fatima Mernissi: said "anything new that has to happen happens in New York or London and yet what happened in Bangalore could never have happened anywhere else. Women from different nationalities, different specializations were able to meet and the discussion was not on how to liberate women but how to liberate them with women's strength, since women are the repositories of new ideas." She further analysed the meeting in Bangalore, to say that she felt that the issues that were raised were beyond all standard and immature views on feminism, such as "women are good, men are bad" and also beyond the classic discourses, beyond capitalism and socialism. She felt that the first conference of the decade in Mexico in 1975 had been a rebellion, like a teenage rebellion of the 3rd world coming together in the U.S. In Bangalore however, no one was rebelling. Women feel strongly, that they are strong, full of creative ideas and visions. And yet firmly rooted in action oriented pragmatism.

Fatima Mernissi continued by describing how the dynamics of politics affected the democratic process which has now threatened us. All issues were approached in a way which represented only a male dynamic, including the conservative as well as the male marxist discourses. "Men are concerned with power not with revolutionising society. They are completely patriarchal. The Left has not done any important study on land reform which is gender specific. While all reforms are for male peasants, women are boxed into spaces but excluded and marginalised".

Marie Angelique Savane — outlined the important decisions taken at Bangalore as

1. The formation of the Advisory Committee which

would now be called a Third World Space. This would be an autonomous group to continue the process even after the 1985 conference.

2. To study the economic world crisis as it affects men and women at the cultural level through revivalism which is heavily based on patriarchy.
3. The manifesto to be issued by April on what was the feminist vision, what type of political system do women want, and into what type of structures could the family be reconstituted.

A series of panels would be organised at Nairobi. Funds would be secured from organisations interested in this project. However, funding which led to restriction of views expressed was to be avoided. The CMI at Bergen had funded the research for the project without even being asked for it said Mrs Jain and had a very feminist approach to the whole activity.

"Those women would be the members of the group who were supported by their own net work in their countries, those who represented not themselves but a whole national movement, for instance, she was a member of AAWORD which was an All African Organisation, Peggy Antrobus represented not just a small country but a global vision.

On the question of assessing the progress of the decade Ms Savane said that the group had tried to do this from a different perspective. While detailed case studies would be done later, they had tried to identify common Third world issues. For women who had fought against society in the early stages of the decade, it had been a very hard struggle, full of loneliness and psychological problems. These women were the martyrs of the feminist movement. The group advocated a society which was free from all forms of oppression of women.

"While pessimism was a natural corollary of the feminist movement and we are all in the process of pessimism, of learning, she felt that some achievements had been made for instance, in Senegal where the women had succeeded in getting the law on divorce changed and now had one common law instead of several: French, Muslim, customary laws. Regarding employment, there were more women in the labour force than ever before but the world crisis in employment had also affected women's employment as well, and more. The perspective of pessimism was not good, she felt, and nothing could be achieved if women allow themselves to be overcome by it. Instead women should now enter the political arena and "go to where the power is". For instance, the issue of dowry; most people have realised now that this was a political issue.

Aruna Roy: speaking as an activist, Aruna Roy said that she often felt that percolation at the grass roots did not take place. However, after the Bangalore conference, she felt that some links were there and felt that as a grass root worker she had been strengthened by it. She felt that the whole concept of power had to be redefined for themselves by women, as women who were in power at present saw themselves empowered in the traditional sense of the word.

Devaki Jain: said that women should think in terms of dismissal of inherited concepts of power, formal relationships, such as between men and women, workers and employees and redefine what they wanted as women. "Why not dream" she said. The Bangalore workshop had brought together several assorted women who were yet travelling on the same path. Question of theoreticians vs grass root workers have divided the feminist movement. However women should work together against the world and not against each other, and together the advocacy should be for poor women. Aruna Roy was an example of the grass root worker who was also a theoretician.

Peggy Antrobus: "For the record, I wanted to let you have my impressions and conclusion about the meeting of the Advisory Committee

As I must have told you repeatedly, I found the meeting one of the best I have ever attended! It was well organised with amazing attention to detail — especially to a concern for the comfort and welfare of each participant. I think we were all impressed by the warmth and hospitality of all your colleagues and especially by the extent to which your father and sister involved themselves in the programme.

The setting was perfect allowing the right mix of intimacy and space for really productive work and, of course, the substance was both enriching and refreshing. For me it was a unique and special opportunity to reflect on the theoretical and ideological underpinnings of the issues of Women and Development. If through the panels at Nairobi we can share that experiences with women from across the world, we will make an important contribution to the Conference.

The meeting also helped me in reviewing my paper on 'Development' for the NGO's as well as in the preparation of my address on Human Development for the Conference on Alternative Approaches to Development which will take place in New York next week. You will see from the enclosed copy of this address that I have taken the opportunity to start to 'announce' our paper. I think that your idea of developing the paper through a process of consultation and dialogue is important, and the more exposure it can get before Nairobi the greater the chances of its having real impact at the Conferences there.

M. Malhoutra
Assistant Secretary-General
Commonwealth Secretariat
Marlborough House
Pall Mall
London

"Apart from being addressed as "Ms Moni Malhoutra", I am delighted to get your letter of 7 September. We have been out of touch for far too long though I have continued to get news of you and your good works from Doriene. Steven Lukes was most excited about his trip to India and told me that you were going to be his mentor on his first visit to our country.

Hameeda Hossain
7C, New Bailey Road
Dhaka

"I have been very anxious to know how your meeting went, since I found the format both interesting and non-conventional. I look forward to receiving the papers.

"The meeting at Arusha, as you may know, was a carry over of 2 other meetings — one for the African region and another for the Asian, both of which were held last year. We seemed to have gone through considerable ground, comparing strategies, emerging issues, the contradiction between drawing women into the market and making them conscious of social issues, which takes priority and how to reconcile the two? Property rights, access to land, water were fundamental issues relating to women's conditions of work. I found a considerable divergence between the African and Asian experience, position and attitudes. The former were certainly more dynamic and aggressive in their demands, but probably this has a thin spread. There were some interesting case studies."

Chafika Sellami-Meslem
Director
Division for the Advancement of Women
Centre for Social Development &
Humanitarian Affairs
and
Deputy Secretary-General
World Conference to Review and Appraise
the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women,
Vienna

"I regret that I am unable to attend your Advisory Committee meeting because of previous commitments, but would be happy to assist you regarding documentary support if you could indicate which document you would like us to send you. I do not anticipate that the documents we are preparing for the Preparatory Body meeting to be held in March next year and the World Conference will be available until the end of the year or early next year."

"I will be happy to see that your project is noted in our next issue of the "Decade Bulletin" and regarding informing you of similar activities, I can only suggest that being undertaken by Vina Mazum-

dar for the Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries of which I am sure you are aware.

"I wish you well in your work and please keep me informed regarding your future work".

A.K. Sen
All Souls College
Oxford

"It is very good to hear from you, and to learn what a success the Bangalore meeting was! I look forward to the reports you have promised."

"I have done little in this area lately. I was busy finishing my three John Dewey Lectures ("Freedom & Well-being") which I had to give last week in New York, and I am now buried in catching up with long-neglected duties (Ph.D. thesis of students, referring, examining, etc.), and the term is about to begin. (I have to write up the Dewey Lectures for a number of the Journal of Philosophy devoted entirely to the 3 lectures).

Noeleen Heyzer
Asian and Pacific Development Centre
Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

"First, my very deep apologies for not being able to make it to the meeting in Bangalore. I know that it was an important meeting and the group you invited looked exciting. The timing was bad for me because by the time your second cable came to say that there were funds for travel, I had already accepted another assignment and was out of Kuala Lumpur. I returned to find your other telegrams. Anyway, I hope there will be another time when we can meet. I have known of you for quite a while and read some of your papers.

"How was the meeting? Do you have a report of it? It would be useful if you could send this to me by return mail. Also, I didn't receive any of the project documents referred by in your letter of July 31st.

"If ever you are in the region, please stop by APDC. It would be lovely to get your advice on the current direction of the programme and how this can be made to respond more to the needs of women at the grassroots and women's organisations. I will be in New Delhi in January for the meeting on "Women and the Household".

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Chapters of the Papers to be presented at Nairobi

The paper will be organised in 3 sectors and will cover the following issues:

I. Women's Experience of Development:

The Past

Conventional developmental processes and their impact on women:

- (a) Product-mix and land-allocation
- (b) Modernisation
- (c) The Institutional framework and the roles of men and women
- (d) Intra household gender relationships
- (e) Gender related biases in the planning process
- (f) Dependence of Third World economies
- (g) The Informal sector
- (h) Special Governmental mechanisms and women's organisations.

II. The Global Crisis: The Present

The context of crisis and its impact on women:

- (a) World Economy
- (b) Social dimensions
- (c) Food, agriculture and natural resources
- (d) Technological change
- (e) Political crisis
- (f) The new conservatism
- (g) The demographic crisis
- (h) Violence and global insecurity
- (i) The focus on women as the solution to the crisis.

How women can lead the way to a more sustainable, self-reliant development.

III. The Vision: The Future

What kind of development do women want — The feminist view. An alternative model based on a feminist ethic of —

- (a) **Values:** responsibility, caring, co-operation, self-reliance, accountability, resistance to violence and hierarchical structures.
- (b) **Issues:** Power and control within the family, the household, the kinship organisation, the community, the country and the international community.
- (c) Ownership control of the means of production, distribution and management.
- (d) alternative models for social reproduction and production.
- (e) **Methodological:** for promoting women's autonomy and self-reliance —
 - Dialogue
 - Networking
 - Decentralisation
 - Participation
 - Holistic approaches
 - Organising
 - The informal sector for growth and transformation.
- (f) **The international dimension**
 - Networking — an international development
 - Consciousness — raising — a global sisterhood

The paper will be written by a process of wide ranging consultations with other people concerned to stimulate new thinking and propose new approaches to the issues of women and of development.

List of Documents circulated at the Conference

1. Development as a platform — Paper for 1985 Conference at Nairobi on the U.N. Decade for Women.
2. Development as a Platform — some studies
3. Background notes on Institute of Social Studies Trust
4. Extracts from letters of participants on the paper to be prepared.
5. Brochure — Institute of Social Studies Trust
6. List of ISST Publications and Reports.
7. Report of the first day's proceedings.
8. Reports of the second day's proceedings.
9. Third Day — Report of the three groups.
10. Future Action — by Rajani Alexander
11. List of Primary Documents.
12. List of Secondary Documents.
13. List of Documents brought by participants.
14. Select list of documents available at Jigyasa.
15. Voluntarism and the 7th Plan by Bunker Roy.
16. Women in Industrialisation — Report of the Expert Group Meeting held in Vienna.
17. Dakar Declaration on another development with women.
18. Economists tell planners to learn from village news clippings.
19. 2 Graphs from the Bibliography on Women and Development by Tone Bleie and Ragnhild Lund.
20. 2 Articles by Usha Rai on International Women's Year in The Times of India.

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