

Marketisation of Governance:
Critical Feminist Perspectives from the South

Vivienne Taylor

DAWN
(Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era)
2000

Marketisation of Governance

DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) is a feminist network of women activists, researchers and policy makers from the South who are committed to developing alternative frameworks and methods to attain the goals of economic and social justice, peace and development free of all forms of oppression by gender, class, race and nation. Established in 1984, DAWN participants have over the years drawn their analysis from their experiences and research within the women's movement and from the impact of the political economy of change or the dominant development model on the lives of the poorest women in the South.

DAWN
University of South Pacific
PO Box 1168
Suva, Fiji Islands

Published by SADEP, University of Cape Town, Private Bag, Rondebosch, 7701, Cape Town, South Africa.

First published in 2000

ISBN: 0-7992-2019-1

Text and cover design and layout: Page Arts, Cape Town

Cover note: Women all over the world produce exquisite textiles, skillfully woven or elaborately embellished with beadwork and intricate embroidery. The meagre financial benefits they derive from this work bear little relation to the long hours of labour and high levels of skill, creativity and dedication required. This largely unrecognised art form is also an important repository of cultural, social and religious traditions. The cover of this book shows some examples of weaving, beadwork and embroidery created by unknown, unnamed women in the South.

Printed by Creda Communications



Table of contents

<i>Acknowledgements and thanks</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of DAWN PRST researchers and research papers</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of participants at DAWNPRST Research meetings</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>DAWN Steering Committee members</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Chapter 1: Marketisation of governance</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Chapter 2: Feminists recasting politics and power</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Chapter 3: The state and globalisation</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Chapter 4: Institutionalisation of gender: Co-option and accommodation</i>	<i>90</i>
<i>Chapter 5: Feminist movements and the state: Countervailing forces?</i>	<i>119</i>
<i>Chapter 6: Reclaiming governance: Alternative visions</i>	<i>156</i>



Acknowledgements and thanks

This platform document/book is a product of collective analyses and debate. It reflects the views of many individuals, especially those of the researchers. The process is a result of the commitment, effort and dedication of many women and organisations in the South.

It is difficult to express on paper the wonderful way in which the different participants worked together on this project. The process of shared analyses, visions and often rigorous debate characterised the process. The wealth of information, experiences and hopes that were shared, have become a part of the long journey for women's emancipation. To all of those who contributed and participated in the process, DAWN is deeply appreciative and grateful. However, special mention must be made of the following organisations and individuals:

The Heinrich Boll Foundation, Germany, for its support and funding of the PR&ST research project throughout the regions represented in this report. DAWN appreciates the manner in which HBF allowed the process to unfold and provided flexibility in donor support when this was needed. Their understanding of the need for political alternatives to promote gender justice made the partnership meaningful. Special thanks to Roshan Dhunjibhoy, Anna Katherine Lindt, Gregor Enstre and Hieke Loeschmann.

Others to be thanked include, in alphabetical order:

Fiona Adams, from Page Arts, for cover design, layout and production of this manuscript. As usual, Fiona's commitment to gender justice made her put up with our impossible deadlines. Thank you.

Paula Cardoso, and her personal dedication and commitment throughout the project, and especially in bringing this book to its completion, is appreciated.



DAWN Secretariat and Head Office, Fiji: Sharan Sindhu Lateef, Kushma Ram, Claire Slatter, Seona Smiles. The effective co-ordination at a global level by the DAWN Fiji team was invaluable.

DAWN regional and research co-ordinators: Africa – Bene Madunagu (Anglophone) and Fatou Sow (Francophone); Caribbean – Linnete Vassell; Latin America – Celita Eccher and Sonia Correia; Pacific – Yvonne Underhill; South Asia – Vanita Nayak Mukherjee and Gita Sen; South East Asia – Gigi Francisco. The regional and research co-ordinators played a critical role in making sure that the research process outputs were regionally driven. Many of them worked tirelessly to guide the process and ensure the integrity of the research.

Lynette Pritchard for working alongside me until late at night, typing the manuscript.

REPEM, Uruguay, for assisting in the co-ordination and the organising of the DAWN PRST meeting in Rio de Janeiro.

SADEP staff, University of Cape Town: Monica Adams, Vuyiseka January, Gina Jekels, James Marsh, Thato Parrow, Phumlani Sakie, for their support.

Wayang DocumentaryVideo: N. S. Nye and T. Chee , for filming the workshops and producing the video under extremely difficult conditions.

All those who participated and contributed to the DAWN PRST regional research meetings. Their names and those of the researchers appear in the lists on the following pages.

Viviene Taylor



DAWN PRST researchers and research papers

AFRICA: (papers presented at DAWN's PRST Africa Region Research Meeting, 29–30 November 1999, Cape Town, South Africa)

Assie-Lumumba, N'Dri T (1999). Political Restructuring and Social Transformation: Social Movements, Women's Movements and the State in Africa.

Collen Seegobin, Lindsey (1999). Globalization, African Re-Colonization, The Nation State, Resistance and Political Creativity.

Diaw, Aminata (1999). Le Pouvoir au Masculin et au Feminin: la production de L'Exclusion.

Hassim, Shireen (1999). Institutionalising Gender: An Examination of State-Led Strategies for Gender Equality.

Mama, Amina (1999). Preliminary thoughts on Gender, Politics and Power in African Contexts.

Meintjes, Sheila (1999) Civil Society and the State: The Changing Nature of Women's Organizations in the 1990s. Pereira, Charmaine (1999). The Institutionalization of Gender in Africa.

Taylor, Vivienne (1999). Cracks in the Edifice: Using the spaces. Unpublished paper presented at DAWN's PRST Africa Region Research Meeting, 29–30 November 1999, Cape Town, South Africa.

LATIN AMERICA: (papers presented at the REPEM and DAWN PRST Latin America Seminar, 22nd–24th October 1999, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

Bareiro, Line (1999) State, Women and Politics throughout Latin America History.



Rivera, Marcia (1999) Economy and State in Latin America and the Caribbean in view of growing internationalisation.

Vargas, Virginia (1999) El Feminism y el estado en America Latina.

PACIFIC: (papers prepared for DAWN Meeting, 8-11 October 1999, Chiang Mai, Thailand)

Cox, Elizabeth (1999). Political Restructuring and Social Transformation in the Pacific Region: A Feminist perspective on Papua New Guinea's Crisis in Governance and the Regional Implications.

Fairbairn-Dunlop, Peggy (1999). Institutionalisation of Gender, Political Restructuring and Social Transformation in the Region.

Wichman, Vaine and Tereapii Napa (1999). Globalization, the State and Gender: A Cook Islands Perspective.

Wichman, Vaine (2000). Political Restructuring (Governance) and Social Transformation: Globalisation, The State and Gender: A Small Islands States Perspective. DAWN commissioned paper.

SOUTH ASIA: (papers presented at the DAWN PRST South Asia, South East Asia and Pacific Regions meeting, 8-11 October 1999, Chiang Mai, Thailand)

Abeysekera, Sunila (1999) Social Movements, Feminist Movements and the State: A Regional Perspective.

Agnihotri, Indu (1999) Globalisation and the State: Some reflections on the South Asian Women's Experience.

Kabir, Farah (1999) Institutionalisation of gender in South Asia.

Shaheed, Farida (1999) Politics and Power: A Gendered Perspective from South Asia.

SOUTH EAST ASIA: (papers presented at the DAWN PRST South Asia, South East Asia and Pacific Regions meeting, 8-11 October 1999, Chiang Mai, Thailand)

Medel-Anonuevo, Carolyn (1999) Understanding the Paradox of Globalisation: the Case of South East Asia.



- Ng, Cecilia and Yong, Carol (1999) Social Movements, Women's Movements and the State in South East Asia: the Politics of Engagement.
- Pagaduan, Maureen (1999) Power, Politics and Culture in South East Asia: A preview of contemporary South East Asia.
- Tiongson, Maria Luz (1999) Women, the State and the Institutionalisation of Gender Equity.

INTER-REGIONAL Meeting: (papers prepared for the DAWN PRST Inter-Regional Meeting, 21-23 February 2000, Cape Town, South Africa)

- Assie-Lumumba, N'Dri T (2000). Political Restructuring and Social Transformation: Synthesis paper of the DAWN's PRST Africa Region.
- Bareiro, Line (2000). Political Restructuring and Social transformation - Summary of REPEM & DAWN's PRST Latin America and Caribbean Seminar.
- Keet, Dot (2000) The Implications and Challenges of the WTO Regime in Relation to Prospects for Development in the South, Particularly by and for Women.
- Mukherjee, Vanita Nayak (2000) Political Restructuring and Social Transformation in South Asia: A Gendered Perspective.
- Taufeulungaki, Ana Maui (2000) Political Restructuring and Social Transformation from Gendered Perspectives : A Pacific Synthesis.
- Additional DAWN PRST research papers:
- Cracks in the Edifice: Critical African Feminist Perspectives on Women and Governance.
- Report on the Africa regional workshop on PRST, Cape Town, South Africa, 29-30 November 1999.
- Beyond the Malestream: Feminist Perspectives on Political Restructuring and Social Transformation. Report on the South Asia Regional Workshop on PRST, Bangalore, India, 29-31 August 1998.
- Signposts to the Summit: Towards WSSD+5 - DAWN Regional Debates on Political Restructuring and Social Transformation, DAWN South Asia, South East Asia and Pacific Workshop Report, Chaing Mai, Thailand, 8-11 October 1999.



List of participants at DAWN PRST research meetings

AFRICA: (29-30 November 1999, Cape Town, South Africa)

Participants: Fadwa Al Labadi, Fatma Alloo, Donna Andrews, N'Dri Therese Assie-Lumumba, Lindsey Collen Seegobin, Aminata Diaw, Shireen Hassim, Afua Hesse, Bene Madunagu, Amina Mama, Sheila Meintjes, Charmaine Pereira, Dina Nfon Priso, Fatma Seedat, Caroline Skinner, Claire Slatter, Vivienne Taylor, Sigrid Thomsen.

Rapporteur: Anne Mager.

Support team: Monica Adams, Paula Cardoso, Sharan Lateff.

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN: (22-24 October 1999, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

Participants: Lourdes Angulo, Marcella Ballara, Line Bareiro, Andrea Barreto, Claudia Bonan, Rosalba Carrasco, Sonia Correa, Malena de Montis, Lillian de Pauli, Celia Eccher, Cecila Fernandez, Angela Freitas, Taciana Gouveia, Ximena Machicao, Viviana Maldonado, Hildezia Medeiros, Jacira Mello, Sonia Miguel, Sonia Montano, Branca Moreira, Silvia Pimentel, Marcia Rivera, Wania Santana, Alejandra Scampini, Schuma Schumacher, Claire Slatter, Vera Soares, Alejandra Valdez, Virginia Vargas, Linnete Vassell, Vera Vieira.

Support team: REPEM staff.

PACIFIC AND ASIA PACIFIC: (8-11 October 1999, Chiang Mai, Thailand in conjunction with South Asia and South East Asia)

Participants: Vanessa Griffen, Tereapiin Napa, Kushma Ram, Claire Slatter



SOUTH ASIA: (29-31 October, Bangalore, India and 8-11 October 1999, Chiang Mai, Thailand, in conjunction with Pacific and South East Asia)

Participants: Sunila Abeysekera, Indu Agnihotri, Nilufar Ahmed, S. Anandi, Jahnvi Andharia, Nirmala Bannerji, Mukta Bannerjee, Shipra Bose, Maja Daruwalla, Joshomoyee Devi, Ajitha Susan George, Angela Gomez, Prema Gopalan, Fazila Gulrez, Suranjana Gupta, Anita Gurumurthy, Hameeda Hossain, Shireen Huq, Shahnaz Iqbal, Ammu Joseph, Farah Kabir, Rojee Kattel, Zarina Rahman Khan, Mahbooba Mahmood, Shantha Mohan, Vanita Nayak Mukherjee, Amtul Naheed, Revathi Narayanan, Sumika Perera, Shobha Raghuram, Renu Rajhbandari, Asha Ramesh, Sandhya Rao, Kumudini Threse Samuel, Gita Sen, Ilina Sen, Farida Shaheed, Kalpana Sharma, Indira Shreshta, Ananta Laxmi Shrestha, Ava Darshan Shrestha, Kavita Srivastava, Archana Tamang, Vivienne Taylor, Selvy Thirunchandran, Meera Velayudhan, Dsilva Vinodinisurangi, Leelangi Wanasundera, Rohini Weerasinghe.

Rapporteurs: Lakshmi Anantnarayan, Chitra Balakrishnan, Dhanu Nayak.

Support team: Ainjani F. Abella, Judith Sarah Ben, Sharan Lateff, Shyana F. Shepard, Junya Yimprasert.

SOUTH EAST ASIA: (8-11 October 1999, Chiang Mai, Thailand, in conjunction with Pacific and South Asia)

Participants: Carol Anonuevo, Chanida Chanyapte Bamford, Madoka Chase, Ngo Thi Tuan Dung, Gigi Francisco, Le Thi Hanh, Serey Phal Kien, Pepper Losiri, Ruth Margerison, Cecilia Ng, Maureen Pagaduan, Mary Jane Real, Maloy Tiongson, Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonza.

INTER-REGIONAL Meeting: (21-23 February 2000, Cape Town, South Africa)

Participants: Line Bareiro (Latin America), Ute Brummer (Heinrich Boll Foundation), Celita Eccher (Latin America), Gigi Francisco (South East Asia), Gita Honwana-Welch (Africa), Wambui Karanja (Africa), Dot Keet



(Africa), Tenjiwe Mtintso (Africa), Vanita Nayak Mukherjee (South Asia), Jean Murcott (Africa), Maureen Pagaduan (South East Asia), Claire Slatter (Pacific), Vivienne Taylor, Ana Taufeulungaki (Pacific), Sigrid Thomsen (Heinrich Boll Foundation), Yvonne Underhill (Pacific).

Rapporteur: Anne Mager.

Support team: Monica Adams, Paula Cardoso, Sharan Lateef.



List of Abbreviations

AAWORD	Association of African Women for Research and Development
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
APEC	Asia- Pacific Economic Co-operation
BWI	Bretton Woods Institutions
CAP	Common Agricultural Programme
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CGE	Commission for Gender Equality
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DC's	Developed Countries
DSU	Dispute Settlement Understanding
ECLA	Economic Commission of Latin America
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTZ	Free Trade Zones
GAD	Gender and Development
GATS	General Agreement on Trade and Services
GATT	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
IFI	International Financial Institutions



IMF	International Monetary Fund
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MIA	Multilateral Investments Agreement
MFA	Multifibre Agreement
MIA	Multilateral Investment Agreement
MNC	Multi-national Corporation
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
NPA	National Plan of Action
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Agreement
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NWM	National Women's Machinery
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSW	Office on the Status of Women
PDS	Public Distribution System
PO	People's Organisation
PRST	Political Restructuring and Social Transformation
SADEP	Southern African Development Education and Policy Research Unit
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SEA	South East Asia
SEWA	Self Employed Women's Association
TNC	Trans-national Corporation
TRIMS	Trade Related Investment Measures
TRIPS	Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights
TWN	Third World Network
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Family Planning Agency
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund



UR	Uruguay Round
USA	United States of America
WAF	Women's Action Forum
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation
WID	Women in Development
WNC	Women's National Coalition
WSSD	World Summit on Social Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation
VAW	Violence Against Women



DAWN Steering Committee members

The DAWN Steering Committee provided guidance to this project. Its members are:

General Coordinator: Claire Slatter

Past General Coordinator: Peggy Antrobus

Regional Coordinators:

Africa: Fatou Sow, Bene Madunagu

South Asia: Vanita Mukherjee

South East Asia: Josefa (Gigi) Francisco

Latin America: Celita Eccher

Caribbean: Cecilia Babb

Pacific: Yvonne Underhill-SeM

Research Coordinators:

Political Economy and Globalisation: Gita Sen

Sexual and Reproductive Rights: Sonia Correia

Political Restructuring and Social Transformation: Vivienne Taylor

Sustainable Livelihoods: Vivienne Wee



