What are we mainstreaming when we mainstream gender in development and post-conflict reconstruction?

“What is the problem represented to be?”

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Gender mainstreaming calls in 1325+ resolutions

- UN Peace Building Commission (1889)
- peacekeeping operations (1325, 1888)
- negotiating and implementing peace agreements (1325, 2122)
- UN structures: DPKO, DPA, PBSO (2422)
- Gender analysis (2422)
- Gender expertise (1960, 2106, 2122)
- Gender-sensitive training (1325)
Gender Strategy of Peacebuilding Commission (Sept 2016)

- Kenya’s Chairmanship (Amb. Macharia Kamau) + Swedish chairmanship/UNWomen background work
- First intergovernmental body of UN to adopt gender strategy
- Goal 6 in the 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development

“strengthen the Commissions engagement on gender-related aspects of peacebuilding by ensuring an inclusive approach which takes into account women’s perspectives, including their specific needs and promote gender equality in order to make peacebuilding more effective”

Aims/structure

1. History and contextualisation
2. Gender mainstreaming as a political concept: “what is the problem represented to be?”—method
3. Feminist critique towards gender mainstreaming
4. Examples from the aftermath of tsunami and peace process in Aceh, Indonesia

NB! THIS lecture WILL NOT give you one-on-one into HOW TO DO gender mainstreaming RIGHT, but rather provide reflective tools for analysing varying approach to gender mainstreaming and its consequences/effects
Becoming better ‘men’ and ‘women’

Research conducted between 2006 - 9 in Aceh

On gender mainstreaming as a ‘practice of governance’ and as a ‘practice of (feminist) politics’:

feminist theory of intersecting technologies of gender

3 focuses, politics of

- Concept pair sex/gender
- Gender analysis tools
- Project managerialism

Global policy meets local politics of gender and feminisms/women’s activists

To read the introduction:

Or open access articles: http://blogs.helsinki.fi/mjauhola/publications/

Defining gender mainstreaming

the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels.

It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.

The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

United Nations Economic and Social Council 1997
4th UN Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995: the battle over the meaning of gender”

”The Platform for Action emphasizes that women share common concerns that can be addressed only by working together and in partnership with men towards the common goal of gender* equality around the world. It respects and values the full diversity of women's situations and conditions and recognizes that some women face particular barriers to their empowerment [....]

*For the commonly understood meaning of the term "gender", see annex IV to the present report. “

http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/plat1.htm#statement

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**Aims/structure**

1. History and contextualisation of gender mainstreaming approach
   - 100 years of transnational and intergovernmental feminism
   - Feminism and Global South
   - Gender mainstreaming tools

2. Gender mainstreaming as a political concept: “what is the problem represented to be?” –method

3. Feminist critique towards gender mainstreaming

4. Examples from aftermath of tsunami and armed conflict in Aceh, Indonesia
100 yrs of women, peace and security

WWI: Paris Peace Conference in 1919: League of Nations

Women's organising around nationalism and decolonisation across the globe

WWII: UN Charter 1945: Human Rights vs. 'Droit de l'Homme': equal rights of men and women

UN Conferences on Women: Mexico City 1975, Nairobi 1980, Copenhagen 1985, Beijing 1995

CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women), drafted since 1963, ratified in 1979

+++ Millenium Development Goals (MDG-3)
Post-2015 agenda

Feminism and Global South

Development Aid/State-led women’s machineries

Forms of non-state feminism

Women in Development (WID)
Decolonisation movements

Gender and Development (GAD)
Religious mass movements

Gender mainstreaming (GM)
Political parties

Human Rights-based approach to development (HRBA)
Labour movement

Women’s rights-based approach to development: CEDAW
NGOisation

Indonesia: bureaucrat’s wives associations: state
Other?”

ibuism/womanhood
Numerous tools available

- Gender and natural disasters/complex emergencies
- Gender in post-conflict reintegration
- Gender and fragile states
- Gender and security sector reform
- ....

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“What are we mainstreaming, when we mainstream gender?”
(Eveline & Bacchi 2005)

- Policy choices do not just provide answers to lived experiences and problems, but they also give shape and meaning to the ‘problems’ they seek to ‘address’
- Specific policy solutions ‘imagine’ problems in particular ways that have real and meaningful effects
- What is sayable, what is silenced?
- Gender policies create different impressions of what the ‘problem’ of ‘gender inequality’ entails
- What meanings are attached to the term ‘gender equality’
- Jauhola (2013): gender advocacy participates in complex ways in defining nation, citizenship, modernity, the ideal heteronormative ‘man’ and ‘woman’

What’s the problem represented to be? Questions to be asked:

- What’s the ‘problem’ (for example, of ‘gender inequality’) represented to be in a specific policy?
- What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’?
- How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?
- What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?
- What effects are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?
- How/where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?
- Marjaana: what alternative analyses exist in specific situations that seem first ‘nonexistent’ or ‘invisible’ – alternative archives of knowledge
Aims/structure

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   I equality
   II [gender] trouble
   III intersectionality
   IV mainstream

4. Examples from the aftermath of tsunami and peace process in Aceh, Indonesia

Critique, part I: equality

Shifting meanings of equality:
- Sameness
- Difference
- Diversity
- Different feminist ideologies: liberal, social, radical, postcolonial, queer, crip +++
### Critique, part II: [gender] trouble

- Gender mainstreaming introduced as one of the 3 institutional mechanisms to promote gender equality and women's empowerment:
  1. Gender mainstreaming
  2. Establishment of governmental bodies/machineries to promote gender equality
  3. Gender-disaggregated statistics

**The troubling ‘gender war’ in Beijing**
Vatican+: [gender] as a code for homosexuality
UN compromise: “for the purpose of this declaration and programme of action, it was understood that the term ‘gender’ refers to the two sexes, male and female, within the context of society. The term ‘gender’ does not indicate any meaning different from the above”

- Gender restricted to heterosexual matrix
- Intersex, transgender and non-binary genders missing altogether

### Critique, part III: intersectionality

- Can gender be separated from other forms of inequality/discrimination, or way we understand who we are?
- Crenshaw 1991: difference within, studying violence against women from the perspective of race and gender – structural, political, representational intersectionality
- McCall 2005: complexity/many uses of 'intersectional' approach: anti-, inter-, intracategorical approach
- Cooper 2004: critique of ‘axes of power’ approach
- Grabham 2009: experience of social inequalities as trauma
- Hankivsky 2005: Diversity mainstreaming?
- Analysis frameworks FAO/SEAGA – UNHCR/Gender-age-diversity analysis
Sara Ahmed (2000): are these the only spaces in which feminism can take place?

- Feminism, colonialism and building Empires: “white women saving brown women from brown men”
- Feminism and War on Terror: Justifying Invasion/Occupation using women’s rights
- Feminism and political economy: neoliberalism and ‘market feminism’
- Feminism and nationalism, and welfare chovinism (Norocel 2016)

Aims/structure

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Alias: word explanation task in pairs

• Two lists that have different words/concepts
• Rules of board game Alias: one explains the word – the other tries guessing it – do not use related words – 3mins per list
• How many did you get right – what were strange to you – mark then and find out after the class/in seminar

• United Nations
• gender
• Department for Political Affairs DPA
• x
• Gender analysis framework
• structural adjustment programs
• 4th UN World Conference on Women in Beijing
• empowerment
• UNWomen
• gender mainstreaming
• heteronormativity
• gender blindness
• CEDAW convention
• Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)
• neoliberalism
• national action plan on UNSCR1325
• gender role
• Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO)


• Dec 2004: Indian Ocean Tsunami and the Earthquake
• Aug 2005: Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding
• June 2006: Law on Governance of Aceh (LOGA)

• Earlier legal framework attempts:
  – 44/1999 (Shari’a Islam, adat, role of Islamic leaders)
  – 18/2001 (Shari’a courts)

What about gender mainstreaming attempts?
Gender and the Helsinki peace process

- Helsinki peace process
- Drafting of Law on Governance of Aceh
- All Acehnese Women’s Congress 2000, July 2005
- Charter of Rights of Women 2008
- Qanun on the empowerment and protection of women 2009
- Bureau for Women’s Empowerment (2000-8) and Child Protection (2008-)
- Women’s activist networks: monitoring of legal reforms and welfare programs highlighting gendered impacts of ‘shariatization’, economic development, peace and politics
- Emerging LBGTI activism: specific cases of transviolence, attacks on ‘gays’

Gender mainstreaming in Aceh: Building Aceh Back Better

- Gender mainstreaming an intimate part of Indonesian nationalist discourse: state ibuism and five duties of women
- Sex/gender, + kodrat: God’s creation – heteronormative and reproductive female body
- Gender experts in post-tsunami programs: who does a gender expert represent? Translating “academic jargon” into the village level
- Post-tsunami gender advocacy campaign “Women can do it too!”: as if the conflict never existed
- Gender only analysis: as if all experienced inequalities are reducible into inequality between men and women and curable with the change of attitude and opinions of men => reports, statistics
- Community-based programs: project managerialism, linear understanding of change, ‘developmentalism’: “happy ending is possible for all” by 2009
Conclusions: Is mainstreaming always doomed?

Aceh:
• Strategic use of Islamic feminist reasoning
• Gender +: use of Islamic concepts such as *tawhid, rahmatan nil alamin*
• Creating space alongside: ‘impure subversion’ *muslihat, peungeut*

Selected Bibliography


Grabham, Emily; Davina Cooper, Jane Krishnadas and Dali Herman (eds.) Intersectionality and Beyond: Law, Power and the Politics of Location, Oxon: Routledge-Cavendish


