



Analyzing Gender Mainstreaming in Bogotá

Debates on gender within feminism

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List of Acronyms

DABS (by its Spanish acronym) Administrative Department of Social Welfare

JAL (by its Spanish acronym) Local Administrative Boards

JAC (by its Spanish acronym) Communitarian Administrative Boards

PIO (by its Spanish acronym) Plan of Equal Opportunities

IDPAC (by its Spanish acronym) Distrital Institute of Participation and
Comunal Action

CIO (by its Spanish acronym) Houses of Equal Opportunities

Abstract

Bogotá's political agenda has undergone several transformations in the last ten years enabling the incorporation of topics that before had not been prioritized. Additionally, since the mid-nineties when Beijing Conference was celebrated, the idea that governments should have an important role in achieving gender equality was spread. These reasons enable the commitment of Bogotá's government in the formulation and implementation of actions aimed to achieve gender equality, this process has been known as gender mainstreaming.

Whether the changes in policy making translate into gender equality have been highly questioned, it is why the governments that decide to incorporate gender mainstreaming agenda faced up several challenges. This paper addresses this question by undertaking a textual analysis of the most important policy instrument in the gender arena in Bogotá: Plan of Equal Opportunities, and complemented with the voices of people who day by day work on the implementation of these actions.

The challenges that this strategy implies for Bogotá are identified through a critical reading of the document and the interviews, using the lenses of three debates within feminism: *researches about gender mainstreaming; recognition vs. redistribution and postcolonial gaze*. The analysis demonstrates that while gender concerns obtained visibility, there are some unresolved questions about the unpackaged messages in the incorporation of gender mainstreaming agenda and the limitations of the government achieving gender equality.

The incorporation of gender issues in Bogotá's government agenda have been an important shift, that has allowed questioning the reproduction of patriarchal structure by governmental actions, a critical analysis of this process made by this research offers new possibilities for people interested in how government may improve its role in achieving gender equality specially in places located in developing countries.

Keywords

Bogotá, Gender, Gender Mainstreaming, Gender Equality, Public Policy

Chapter 1 . Introduction.

1.1 Research issues

Historically the roles assigned based on gender ideas have produced discrimination for different groups (for instance: lesbians, homosexuals) especially for women who have been struggling with this problem. Taking into account the scope of this research, I present briefly some facts that reflect the dimensions of gender discrimination in Bogotá, the description is focus in six areas which have been considered as the most important by Bogotá's government (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004)

First, in the area of violence the Administrative Department of Social Welfare (DABS by its spanish acronym) presented in 2004 that the 74% of the victims of violence inside the family were women and more than 60% of the cases the aggressor was a man. Moreover, according to the National Demographic Survey, in 2000 the 35,6% of women had experienced violence perpetrated by the husband. In relation to sexual violence, the majority of victims are also women 74,5% (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004:16)

Second, in the area of representation and participation, the Distrital Council and the 'Local Administrative Boards' (JAL by its spanish acronym) have considerably less women representatives than men during 2004. The percentage of women in both cases was no more than 20%, while men were around 80%. Likewise in smaller spaces of participation as 'Community Action Boards' (JAC by its spanish acronym) women representation is no more than 35,5%. (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004:30) Third, in the area of work the Finance Department said that during the period from 1994 to 2003 women participation increase from 48,7% to 61,5%. However, statistics show that women are included principally in the informal sector of economy. (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004:41)

Fourth, in health area, mortality rates present higher percentage for women (63,75) (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004:49). Fifth, in the area of education there are differences in the access to primary school and secondary school, however the differences are not only more than 2% (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004:61). Finally, the last area is culture, even when it is difficult to quantify it is possible to say that there are representations that stereotyped and underestimated women, and they should be consider as cause of discrimination (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004:72).

In order to solve the problem of gender inequality which is reflected in the facts presented, Bogotá's government have been implemented some actions. This process has been done in the framework of the gender mainstreaming which is an approach that talks about the role of the government in gender inequality.

In the case of Bogotá, as in other places, the process of gender mainstreaming incorporation has had particular characteristics and it has been implemented adopting certain assumptions about gender equality and women. This research is focus in the identification of these assumptions and based on

that in the challenges that Bogotá's government has addressing gender issues. To this end, using categories of relevant debates in the literature about feminism, I analyze critically the policy framework of gender mainstreaming in Bogotá.

1.2 Research Questions

- In the light of contrasting debates within feminism, what are some of the challenges that the gender mainstreaming policies in Bogota face?

1.2.1. Sub-research questions

- How gender issues have been addressed by Bogotá's government?
- How does gender mainstreaming has been understood by Bogotá's government?
- How have the concepts *women* and *gender equality* been incorporated in gender mainstreaming in the case of Bogota's government?

1.3 Elements of Methodology: on personal/professional position and epistemic choices

My professional background working in Bogotá's government allows me to know about recent transformations in Bogotá's local government agenda. These changes have allowed the inclusion of topics as gender, diversity, human rights, among others as important topics for the government. From 2003 the inclusion of gender as a category in the policy-making process became a requirement in Bogotá's government. This process can be called gender mainstreaming if we use the name given by the academic in English, but it can be translate as inclusion of gender perspective if we use a translation from the Spanish. Both are used in this document with the same meaning.

Having the obligation to include gender perspective, civil servants in Bogotá's government faced questions as what does mainstream gender means? What does formulate or implement policies with gender perspective means? How to fill the gap between mentioning 'gender' and the actually formulation or implementation of actions which contribute to eliminate discrimination based on gender? In everyday working life several discussions arose about the fact that some policies or projects mentioned the incorporation of a gender perspective but the actions that they purpose do not transform the conditions that produced or reproduced discrimination or inequality. Given that addressed gender issues is not the responsibility of one office but all the sectors should include a gender perspective, these questions were extended to the different offices and levels of government.

When I started to read about gender mainstreaming, I realized that it is a global agenda and I found that different authors have already studied issues that I have observed as problematic. I read not only descriptive documents about gender mainstreaming, but also many critics to this approach. Practical and theoretical problems have been described by some authors as an evidence of the necessity to reevaluate gender mainstreaming as strategy to achieve gender equality. Given that the description of gender mainstreaming was in line with what I have observed in Bogotá, some questions arose, but mainly the following ones: why in Bogotá critiques to policy are always focused on the implementation rather than question the assumptions that informed this approach? . And why even when gender mainstreaming has been widely criticized there are not voices questioning this perspective?

With these ideas in my mind I explored some perspectives within feminism, which allows me to analyze gender mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá. I found some critics about the implementation process of gender mainstreaming, but going beyond I read some authors who believed that is necessary to question gender mainstreaming not only from a practical point of view. Thus, there are questions about the definition of gender mainstreaming, the relationship between policy-making and social change and the conceptualization of equality which is the goal purposed by gender mainstreaming.

There are three theoretical approaches normally point as central in the feminist literature on gender mainstreaming which allow me to analyze the tensions of gender mainstreaming in a concrete reality as the public policy in Bogotá and identify its challenges.

First, which I call *researches about gender mainstreaming*. Given the importance that formulation of gender public policies took worldwide, some researchers have studied them and they have identified its strengths and its weaknesses.

Second, considering the changes in the ideas about justice and the incorporation of new categories in order to analyze the causes of injustice, there are some debates about the effects of abandoning the old perspective on *redistribution* and considered just the new ideas summarize in *recognition* views. The debate recognition or redistribution present useful concepts to define equality and inequality.

Third, the ideas presented by Mohanty in the framework of *postcolonial feminism gaze*. This allows me to analyze the single perspective on the idea of women assumed in policies. Moreover, this approach includes a complex view about discrimination based on gender, taking into account that not only gender but also race, class, among other categories define the subject identity. Using this approach I seek to critically analyze the incorporation of gender mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá, nevertheless it is important to clarify that this critical analysis preserve the idea pointed out by Mohanty about creating

bridges between different perspectives and it takes into account the progress that have meant for women in Bogotá having a gender mainstreaming public policy.

Once the key theoretical approaches are identified, it is important to decide the tools that will be considered in the analysis. This is a qualitative research which answered its questions through an analysis of Bogota's *Plan of Equal Opportunities (Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades)*. This document is relevant because it provides guidance to mainstream gender in Bogotá's government and it was formulated to the period 2004-2015. Given that this period is nearing completion, it is important to analyze what was achieving and challenges that remain. This is complemented with the analysis of interviews with civil servants who work in the implementation process. Using the categories pointed out by the theoretical approaches presented, a textual analysis will be carried in order to identify the assumptions that informed gender mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá.

As it is presented throughout this work Bogotá's has had several changes in its political agenda during last decade, this have triggered, among other consequences, the incorporation of gender issues as a priority for the government. This have been an important goal achieving by women social movements which should be recognize, nevertheless conserving the critical view and considering the time that has spent implementing actions in the framework of gender mainstreaming, this research pretends to be a modest contribution that offers new perspectives of analysis and identify the challenges faced by the government, the social movements and other actors in this area.

Chapter 2 Gender Mainstreaming and useful approaches for a critical analysis

This chapter presents three sections. Given that state is the central actor in the formulation of public policies, the first section describes how different approaches within feminism understand the role of the state in regards to addressing gender issues. The second section shows the definition and characteristics of gender mainstreaming and the third section describes three approaches that allow a critical analysis of gender mainstreaming.

2.1 Feminism and the ideas about state

Governments have been assumed as an important task the formulation of public policies in order to address gender issues. To explain in detail why governments decide to take this role in gender equality, it is important to analyze the role attributed to the state by different feminists perspectives.

I begin by referencing five definitions of the State in feminist approaches presented by Johanna Kantola (2006). First, the liberal feminists who defined the *state as neutral arbiter* between different interests groups. According to them, the problem of gender inequality in relation to the state takes place because men interests have captured the state. To solve this, it is necessary to guarantee the equal treatment to men and women, meaning that women interest can be represented. Given this, the principal role of the government is to guarantee formal rights and equality before the law through legislation and policies.

Second, the radical feminists who defined the *state as patriarchal*. They suggest that there are interconnections between state and society which mutually reinforce gender inequality. It is why formal and informal practices followed in state decision-making process, maintain women subordination. Consequently, there is no point in turning to the state. Transformations should be generated through civil society rather than state.

Capital state is the name given by Marxist feminists, the third group according Kantola's (2006) classification. In their view there is a coincidence between bourgeoisie interests and male interests. They observed a "dialectical relationship between capitalist class structure and hierarchical sexual structure" (Kantola 2006:122). It is why transformations to achieve gender equality are not possible without actions to overcome the negative effects of capitalism.

The fourth definition is the women friendly welfare state, based on the experience of Nordic countries. In this case, thorough policies and laws it seeks institutionalize gender equality. Finally, the Post-structural State which is consider not as a unity but a set of institutions, agencies and discourses lack of

coherence. It makes sense for this approach to pay attention to micropractices rather than the actions of the state as a whole.

Kantola (2006) does not present definitions of the state from a postcolonial perspective; however, given that this research uses some ideas of this approach, I consider it important to try to understand its idea about the state. The postcolonial state has been used as a synonym for a post-independence state; nevertheless, such independence may be superficial because the previous colonizer maintains domination by other means (Ashcroft, B; Griffiths, G; Tiffin, H, 2000)

There are two elements that I would like to analyze in the conceptualizations of the State. On one hand, the potential role of the government. On the other hand, the role of society in the gender discrimination problem.

Liberal and Nordic approaches considered that the state can change its male-centered role, through public policies and laws formulated and implemented by government. In this way, government contributes to guarantee equality before the law or to institutionalize equality. An opposite view is supported by radical feminists who argue that there is no way to change the male state cooptation. Marxist and post-structuralist approaches have a position which immobilizes the potential action of the government because Marxists consider efforts to fight against gender inequality will be in vain if capitalism continues; and post-structuralists consider that gender equality cannot be achieved seeing the state as one institution. Based on the ideas of the postcolonial state, it does not have enough room for manoeuvre because its actions are also shaped by other states. It is possible to think that in this approach, the role of the state in gender discrimination is also determined by external actors.

The answer to the question about the role of society is also different in each approach. The same way as in the role of the government, liberal and Nordic approaches coincide. Neither in the problem nor in the solution do these two approaches consider the role of the civil society. For liberal feminists, gender inequality is a problem about inequality before the law, and in the case of Nordic feminists, gender equality could be institutionalized. They ignore the role of the social interactions which could reproduce discrimination based on gender.

On the contrary, radical feminists talk about the way in which informal practices and social interactions sustain oppression, what goes on in society is part of the problem and the solution. As I mention above, Marxists give importance to the relation between the economic system and gender inequality, and post-structuralists emphasize in the historical construction of the state and in the micropractices within it. There is no clear role of civil society in the gender discrimination problem pointed out by postcolonial approaches.

Recently, governments have played an active role addressing gender issues, following consciously or unconsciously the ideas supported by liberal and Nordic approaches.

2.2 Gender Mainstreaming

Governmental actions have had two fundamental trends to achieve gender equality. On the one hand, equal treatment (prevalence of equality) which assumes that gender equality will be achieved granting the same rights to women and men. Equality before law will eliminate discrimination patterns in society, the state should not promote distinct conditions based on gender differences. On the other hand, positive action, (prevalence of diversity) claiming that women have been historically excluded by the patriarchal society. As a consequence it is necessary to adopt measures to compensate the differences produce by the discriminatory conditions against women. The main assumption is that women and men do not have the same starting point; it is the reason why women need some compensation rather than the same condition. This duality between equal treatment and positive action, in which equality and difference are antagonistic aims, is called “Wollstonecraft’s dilemma” (Squires 2005: 369).

Despite of equal treatment and positive action are designed to meet with two different ways to analyze gender issues, they are not necessarily opposite, and on the contrary, they have been used complementary. Even when some authors consider that equity and difference are not competing, except when equity is conceived as sameness (Squires 2005), there are still debates about what is needing emphasize in difference or emphasize in equality. In the next section some aspects of this debate will be addressed.

One of the frameworks that in the last fifteen years have been used by governments is Gender Mainstreaming. This approach got into full swing since Beijing conference in 1995. From this perspective, equal treatment and positive action are focus on specific tasks but not on the transformation and redesigned of every governmental action.

During the UN- Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing during 1995, governments committed themselves to promote gender equality in all the tasks and activities. Gender mainstreaming was defined by the Council of Europe as “the reorganisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels, at all stages by the actors normally involved in policy making” (Squires 2005: 377). “The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (Browers 2013:10)

The definition of gender mainstreaming is linked with the conceptualizations of the state presented in the previous section. This perspective assumes that not only the government should lead actions to achieve gender equality, but also that through public policies is possible to overcome discrimination based on gender. The core of this approach is the transformative potential of the government and the public policies, reason why

can be considered a liberal feminist approach. Besides it is congruent the idea of institutionalized gender equality defended by Nordic feminists.

According to gender mainstreaming, gender equality can be achieved by reforming the policy making. The definition neither take into account changes in the economic system as Marxist feminists would have suggest nor the interactions in which gender discrimination is reproduced in society beyond the control of the public policies.

In addition to the definition provide by the Council of Europe, some authors have defined Gender Mainstreaming focusing in aspects as practice and theory (Walby 2005: 321)

“As a practice, gender mainstreaming is a process to promote gender equality. It is also intended to improve the effectivity of mainline policies by making visible the gendered nature of assumptions, processes, and outcomes (Walby 2005: 321) “As a form of theory, gender mainstreaming is a process of revision of key concepts to grasp more adequately a world that is gendered, rather than the establishments of a separatist gender theory. Gender mainstreaming encapsulates many of the tensions and dilemmas in feminist theory and practice over the past decade and provides a new focus for debates on how to move them on” (Walby 2005: 321)

The goal of this strategy is to achieve gender equality by promoting “an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policy and programs” (Browers 2013:10) and considering an analysis of the effects that policies have to both women and men. Or to put it another way, Mary Daly (2005) points out that gender mainstreaming “seeks to institutionalize equality by embedding gender-sensitive practices and norms in the structures, processes, and environment of public policy”

Given this definitions, gender mainstreaming is presented as a mechanism to solve the “Wollstonecraft’s dilemma”, because it pretends to include the category gender in the formulation of every public policy; and according to the topic and the context, it is possible to define emphasize in equality or difference.

Even when gender mainstreaming is a governmental strategy, it could be promote by different actors as bureaucrats, social movements or international organizations. As Squires (2005) observes mainstreaming might be transformative “when technocratic expertise, social movement participation and transnational networks are all in place”. Likely, it is possible to arise some question about Squires’ assumption. However even if this is true, there are limited possibilities to find the coordination of these three actors in the same scenario.

The main advantage when gender mainstreaming implementation is leading by expert bureaucrat is that it will be “based on gender knowledge rather than gender ideology or stereotypes” (Squires: 2005: 374) however, it may end up becoming in technical and rhetorical tool disconnected of the women problems. This problem can be solved when gender mainstreaming is

foster by social movements, but the risk in this case is that just the interest of one part of the feminist movements will be represented, “obscuring intra-group divisions”.

2.3 Approaches for a critical analysis

Gender Mainstreaming has been applied worldwide not only by governments but also by transnational organizations. Even though it has been well received by governments, NGO’s and feminist social movements, there are several criticisms to this strategy. In this section I present three different perspectives within feminism that I consider important to analyze gender mainstreaming. These approaches are contesting debates within feminism that show the differences or even disputes that is important to take into account to analyze the strategies that are used to overcome gender discrimination and achieve gender equality.

The first debate that I point out is about the problems identified in gender mainstreaming as a strategy. There have been different authors who have studied gender mainstreaming; they have identified certain some weaknesses in practical and theoretical dimensions. For instance, Ria Brouwers who has an important work in the evaluation of public policies concluded that gender mainstreaming is “too much theory to practice” (Brouwers 2013: 31). She highlights some aspects that are considered critical for gender mainstreaming, I present four of them.

On the other hand, there some unresolved questions about gender mainstreaming like what is its definition of gender equality, what is the relation between gender mainstreaming and social change, what are the ideas of gender and women that this approach has. Taking into account these questions, the second debate that I use to analyze gender mainstreaming is the discussion held by Nancy Fraser and Iris Marion Young about gender justice, the ideas presented for them help me to understand which the concept of gender equality is in Bogotá’s public policy. Finally, I use Mohanty’s ideas in the framework of post-colonial feminist approach in order to analyze the notion of women presented by gender mainstreaming.

2.3.1 Researches about gender mainstreaming

There is an important group of authors who have questioned the appropriateness of gender mainstreaming as a strategy to achieve gender equality. I mention some of the problems that they identified in this approach.

- *Lack of clarity about what gender mainstreaming is.* With the boom of gender mainstreaming, the interpretation of what are the actions considered gender mainstreaming varies depending on the context. In some cases gender mainstreaming is consider as the reorganization of the strategies which address gender issues, in other cases it has implied the creation of new offices, and

sometimes it has been a rhetorical claim to consider how women and men are affected differently by public policies.

Gender mainstreaming is variously understood. Despite of definitions as presented by the Council of Europe, it is not always easy to identify the difference between gender mainstreaming and other actions implemented in the past as equal treatment or positive action. Sometimes governments continue implementing the same action and just change the label and call them gender mainstreaming actions.

Each government and each organization has its own interpretation about what is gender mainstreaming and how it should be put in practice. It is why authors as Verloo (2005) consider as one of the main problems of this approach its discursive nature. “if mainstreaming gender in policy and administrative process is the final goal rather than a strategy to attain gender equality” (Brouwers, 2013: 27)

- *The reasons why gender mainstreaming is implemented.* Incorporating actions to address gender issues have become in a requirement for governments. Indeed, in the case of third world countries, it is a requirement to access for international cooperation resources. It triggers that the implementation of this perspective was only rhetorical with the objective not to achieve gender equality but rather accomplish exigencies.

Additionally, if the government is not enough interested, the allocation of resources (economic and professional) will be insufficient to enforce actions which lead to gender equality.

- *Actors and levels:* Gender mainstreaming is part of a global agenda. It involves not only multiple levels of governance but also multiple actors. Some evaluations show problems in this regard. There is a disconnection between international, national and local levels (Brouwers, 2013) there is a lack of leadership and commitment from the actors involve in the implementation. Particularly, at grass-root level staff has little appreciation for the policy and they do not know how to apply it. As a result the policy is not treated very serious; gender is everybody responsibility and it is someone else work (Brouwers, 2013)

- *Implementation and evaluation:* According with Brouwers (2013) even when the starting point of gender mainstreaming seems very positive, when the implementations starts problem abounds. There are three points to highlight: there is a gap between policy and implementation, changes have been produced in some sectors (education, health, participation) not in all the sectors (industry, energy, and infrastructure), evaluation reports remain at the level of general statements and in the majority of the cases methods

used to evaluate report about adoption of gender mainstreaming (goal) rather than impacts in order to achieve gender equality (mean).

2.3.2 Recognition vs. Redistribution

As I mention in the above section there is no clear what is gender mainstreaming in practical terms. In theoretical terms it is also unclear which the definition is, and which is the goal that it seeks. Even when gender equality is constantly presented as the main goal, there is no define what is gender equality, what is gender inequality and how inequality is produce/reproduce. Which are its main causes and the most important, how the action implemented under this perspective contribute to transform the situation. As a political problem, gender equality remains undefined and gender problematic has been described as a messy one: there is no consensus about what the problem is, where it is located, who is responsible for it or what could be the solution? (Verloo 2005: 17).

The main assumption behind gender mainstreaming is that gender equality comes about through institutional changes, but the main problem is that this assumption continues unproven. Gender mainstreaming forgets that gender inequality is reproduced in society not only through institutional mechanisms.

Gender Mainstreaming points out, at least discursively that its goal is to achieve gender equality. Many questions arise when we analyze this goal. In which terms does gender mainstreaming pretend to achieve equality? Is it talking about a redistribution policy? or Is it talking about the recognition of women identity?. Given that as I presented in the above section gender mainstreaming is link with liberal feminist theories, it is possible to said that one of the objectives of gender mainstreaming may be equality before the law an rights' guarantee. Nevertheless, it is worth asking if the fulfilment of these conditions is enough to talk about gender equality.

During a period, political struggles on behalf equality were related with equality in the economic system, the category of class was the most important to take into account to analyze what is inequality, what is equality and what are the mechanisms to achieve it. Redistribution policies and laws were the most common response of equality problem analyzed using class category. However, the political changes at the end of twentieth century displaced the idea of equality in economic terms as the main goal.

It is in that context where diversity agenda emerged, proposing to talk about differences and how the respect of differences is a good way to achieve

equality. There are at least two reasons which support this change. First, the vision that has spread consists of use *class* as a category to analyze all social divisions is insufficient, because it may not encompass the complexity of social relationships, determined not only by class but also by gender, ethnicity, and age, among others. “Capitalist class relations are not the only phenomena of social structure or institutional context” (Young 1990: 17) She recognizes that there are other reasons why people could be considering unequal. Second, even when economic equality would be achieved, there are other conditions which may maintain inequality conditions. Indeed, Iris Marion Young argues that economical distribution is a reflection of the social interactions in which for example gender, sexual orientation or ethnicity are important.

Young’s position shows a relation between pay attention to “new” categories and economical distribution, however, the strength of the diversity agenda have obscured the interest for redistribution. This situation has triggered critics which even consider that emphasize in differences as negative, because it provokes division and blocking the possibilities to agree on the idea of fight against economic inequality.

Iris Marion Young (1990) and Nancy Fraser (1995) present a full process of discussion about this topic. I present the contributions of them that I consider most relevant for this research. Those are: the critics to the redistribution paradigm written by Young, in order to understand the shift between emphasize in equality to recognize differences. The continuum from difference to equality elaborated by Fraser (1995), as a response to the exclusively promotion of the diversity agenda. And the model of five faces of oppression exposed by Young, which since my point of view is at least theoretically a good way to combine both perspectives.

“The distributive paradigm defines social justice as the morally proper distribution of social benefits and burdens among society’s members” (Young, 1990: 16) Two critics are proposed by Young (1990) to this. First, it presupposes and obscures the institutional context; second, it overextends the concept distribution.

In the first critic, when she talks about institutional context, she refers to the structures, practices, rules, norms, language, symbols that mediate relations and interactions. The author focuses her attention on three categories, that according to her view, distributive theories tend to ignore: decision making structure and procedures, division of labor and culture.

Decision making structure is determined not only by the position of the person who decide, but also by the rules and procedures according to which decisions are made. Some of the procedural aspects may derive in privileges for some groups. It is why the structure that affects how decisions

are made should be taken into account; something that analysis from distributive paradigm not used to doing.

There is a distributive and a nondistributive way to understand division of labor. “As a distributive issue, it refers to how pre-given occupations, jobs, or tasks are allocated among individuals or groups. As nondistributive issue, on the other hand, division of labor concerns the definition of the occupations themselves” (Young 1990: 23) One of the feminist concerns about the division of occupations is the association of jobs with masculine or feminine characteristics. Arguably, stereotypes may condition division of labour. This is another aspect not usually analyzed by distributive paradigm.

Regarding culture; symbols, images, stories and other aspects configure the idea that we have about a specific social group. These affect the opportunities and the social standing of persons who belong to this group (Young 1990: 23). Distributive paradigm have also been ignored this point.

In the second critique, she points out that “distributive paradigm does not recognize the limits to the application of a logic of distribution” and extent this logic to nonmaterial goods. To illustrate this, she uses three examples: rights, opportunities and self-respect. She define rights as relationships “*rights refer to doing more than having*” said (Young 1990: 25) Rights are not resources. They cannot be distributed in portions among the members of society, and if everyone has rights this does not imply that the conditions to exercise the right exist.

On the other hand, there is the case of opportunities. If those are conceptualized as a chance, they can be observed as a distributable resource. Conversely, if opportunities are seen as *enablement*, we are referring of the possibilities that person has to do things without constrains (Young 1990: 26) Finally, self-respect may depend on distributive factors, for instance, money. However, “*none of the forms and not all of the conditions of self-respect can meaningfully be conceived as goods that individuals possess; they are rather relations and processes in which the actions of individuals are embedded*” (Young 1990: 27)

Consider redistribution as the best way to conceptualize equality ignores the role of the social groups, and obscures the importance of processes in goods creation and distribution. The atomistic conception of individuals forgotten that persons are not who they are apart from society. And the end-state approach embedded in distributive paradigm lead as to believe that goods magically appear and get distributed. (Young 1990: 28) For all these reasons it's necessary to explore other perspectives in order to conceptualize equality.

Struggle for recognition have become in the late twentieth century one of the most important issues in terms of political conflict. “Group identity supplants class interest as the chief medium of political mobilization” (Fraser 1995a: 68) Nancy Fraser (1995) proposes a critically rethink about theory of

recognition and aims to connect two political problematic: Recognition and redistribution. According to the author, “for only by articulating recognition and redistribution can we arrive at a critical-theoretical framework that is adequate to demands for our age”

Fraser identifies two problems that she considers have different nature. First, socio-economic injustice rooted in the political and economic structure of society. Second, cultural or symbolic injustice rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication (Young 1997: 147)

To accomplish her objective she analyzes the situation of three different social groups. First, those who suffer socio-economic injustices and require redistribution policies. Second, those who suffer cultural injustice and require recognition policies; and third, social groups in the middle of these two. These groups are workers in the first case; lesbian and gays in the second case; and women and afrodescendants in the third group.

The main problem in the case of workers is the injustice related to the capitalist system. They also suffer due to cultural injustice, but their discrimination derive from “the political economy, as ideologies of class inferiority proliferate to justify exploitation” (Fraser 1995a: 76) Consequently, workers claim the restructuration of the economic structure, “such restructuring takes the radical form of abolishing the class structure as such” (Fraser 1995a: 76). In this case, workers need redistribution policies; indeed, they expect the abolition of them as a class.

Lesbian and gays fit in the category of social groups which need recognition policies. Their discrimination rooted in the cultural structure, in which we can observe images, symbols, stereotypes which undermine their role in society. On the contrary than workers “overcoming homophobia and heterosexism requires changing the cultural valuations that privilege heterosexuality” (Fraser 1995a: 78). They expect the revaluation of them as a social group.

Finally, in the case of women and afrodescendants, gender and race are “*bivalent collectivities*” which need both redistribution and recognition. Gender and race have been fundamental categories in the structuration of the political-economic structure. For instance, the division between productive and reproductive labour, which have been assigned to men and women respectively. However, racism and sexism are also rooted in cultural-valuational differentiation; as a example, “the pervasive devaluation and disparagement of things coded as feminine”.

Gender and race contains both a political-economic face that requires redistribution policies and a cultural face that needs recognition policies. In the case of political-economic face the expectation is maintain race and gender out

of the business while in the cultural side the idea is valorize gender specificity. (Fraser 1995a: 80)

Iris Marion Young (1990) has formulated some critics to the model proposed by Fraser. However, which I consider the most important, it is the reduction made by Fraser just to two sources of injustice the political-economic and the cultural. Additionally, as even Fraser mentions classifies lesbian and gays or workers in one of the extremes is useful only from a theoretical perspective, in reality different categories are overlapped to maintain discrimination conditions. Even when she presents women and afrodescendants as groups who face multiple problems, she reinforces the reductionism explaining again based on political-economic and cultural structure.

As a way to overcome the theoretical and practical problems of reduce inequality or injustice to two categories, Iris Marion Young present a framework including five faces of oppression.

I present these five faces and their definitions. First, exploitation which refers to transfer power to powerful people (Young 1990: 50). Second, marginalization define as to restrict the participation in social life. Third, powerlessness that is related with the absence of opportunities to develop and exercise skills. Exploitation, marginalization and powerlessness: These three faces are related to social division of labor.

Fourth, cultural imperialism is the creation and maintenance of representation that ignores the positive characteristics of one group and stereotype one's group and mark it out as the other. Fifth, violence. According to Young (1990) it is not merely and individual moral wrong because of its systematic character, and its existence as a social practice. Cultural Imperialism and violence are related with cultural recognition.

This section started asking questions about how gender mainstreaming defines gender equality and present two options to answer the question. On the one hand, define equality in relation to the distributive paradigm which can be considered the basis of redistribution agenda. This idea is presented by Nancy Fraser, who talks about the importance of recognize cultural differences but highlights the redistribution as a requirement to achieve equality. Her ideas are presented through a model that despite its interesting points analyze society in a dual way and it is focus on theoretical aspects. On the other hand, Young talks about the necessity to recognize differences in order to achieve equality and by her model five faces of oppression explain the multiple ways in which inequality or discrimination take place.

2.3.3. Postcolonial gaze

Feminism cannot be assuming as coherent body of ideas; conversely, there are different approaches within feminism. The claims, the ways to understand

gender inequality and the ideal pursued by feminism are not static and they change trend by trend according to different variables as time and space. To understand postcolonial feminism it is necessary to take into account that, colonialism is not an overcome period, but rather is a process that uses new mechanisms to be reproduced (Suárez-Navaz 2008:1). For many of the authors who write from this perspective, as Mohanty (2003), the economic and political system in which we live, and particularly globalization phenomena and neoliberalism, reinforce the impoverishment, violence, and in general, conditions for women oppression, even when they are now considered citizens and in some places have their rights guaranteed.

According to Mohanty (2003), the operation of global capitalist economy needs women-workers of a particular class and race (Mohanty 2003). This economy even coexists in the same world in which women's rights are promoted, making its guarantee impossible, as it generates the conditions for the violation of these rights, even if equality has been promised.

To understand the effects of colonialism, it is necessary to understand which the tools that it uses to maintain are. Colonial governance instituted as logic the inferiority of the "other colonized" (Suárez-Navaz 2008: 7). In this regard, complex discursive practices through which creates a difference between those who can govern and who should be governed. Based on that, dichotomies as north-south, east-west, men-women, were produced. In these one of the groups is qualified as primitive and inferior and it justifies the actions of the other group considered evolved and superior.

This is supported by two processes. First, exacerbation of differences, which shows the contrast between the upper and the lower group. And second, the standardization of an universal ideal, which is considered an example to be followed, thus obscuring the differences, and considering them little important. These two processes according to Suárez-Navaz (2008:9) are present in the foundation of social science and feminism. So colonialism does not refer to an exercise of territorial power, but a process of creating a subject to rule among which are located southerners, migrants and women.

As mentioned above, within feminism, this logic is also reproduced by a dual vision of a superior group of women (usually occidental women) and an inferior group of women. Feminist's ideas were positioned within modernity, when women were excluded from the status of citizen and they started their struggles to become citizens with full rights. In this process the ideal of a citizen became in the ideal that all the women should achieve. So, feminism born with a similar universalism claim that they critic (Suárez-Navaz 2008: 11).

In this framework, women who do not accomplish with this ideal are considered victims (Mohanty, 1988) and it justifies the civilizing mission of Western feminism, which from this perspective had an ethnocentric character. Feminists outside the dominant feminism claim that their interests were

coopted by *white* feminism that represents them from a point of view which reinforces racism (Suárez-Navaz 2008: 21).

This is reflected in the way that occidental feminism has created through discourses the idea of Third World Women. In this way, two groups can be distinguished. One where be woman plus have born in the third world are considered as synonymous of victims, conversely than the auto representation of occidental women seen as synonymous of modern, educated, with control of her body and free to take decisions(Mohanty 1988). As a consequence, women represented by occidental feminisms are considered the real subjects, and the ideal that should be achieved (Mohanty 1988). This ideas pointed out by Mohanty are relevant in this research because she talks about how this idea of women is discursively construct, this view allow a critical reading of the ideas of women produce and reproduce in Bogotá's gender mainstreaming agenda.

Chapter 3 Gender Mainstreaming Agenda in Bogotá

This chapter presents the characteristics of the gender mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá. The first section describes the political process which allows the incorporation of gender issues in Bogotá's government agenda. The second section presents the changes done in the administrative structure of the city in order to address gender issues. And finally, the third section describes the Plan of Equal Opportunities which is the key policy instrument analyzed in this research.

3.1 The incorporation of gender issues in Bogotá's government agenda

Political process that triggers the incorporation of gender issues in Bogotá is not only connected with the situation within the city but also with events at international and national level. In this section I mention briefly some effects of the Beijing Conference in the actions undertaken by the national government. Then I present a general idea about the administrative structure of Bogotá and finally I describe how gender issues become relevant from the nineties to Luis Eduardo Garzón government which may be considered the most visible in the incorporation of gender issues.

The Fourth World Conference on Women celebrated in Beijing in 1995. This is one of the factors that can help us to understand why from the nineties, there have been produced several changes in government undertakings and actions aimed at achieving gender equality. A large number of governments decided to modify or to create new institutions for such purpose. A good example of these are the creation of laws, the formulation of public policies, the inclusion of gender analysis in all the governmental decisions and areas (Health, education, transport, among others) and the opening of new offices devoted exclusively to work on gender issues. These actions may be grouped in so-called gender mainstreaming.

In response to demands made in Beijing 1995 conference and to meet with the feminist social movements claim, Colombia's government created three new offices: Presidential Office for Youth, Women and Family (Consejería Presidencial para la Juventud, la Mujer y la Familia) in 1990; the National Directorate for Gender Equality (Dirección Nacional para la Equidad de las Mujeres) in 1995 and the Office of the High Counsellor for Women Equality (Consejería Presidencial para la Equidad de la Mujer) in 1999 and ratified during 2010 (Observatorio de Asuntos de Género 2013). Government started to consider important to address gender issues not only at national level; gender issues became important also for local governments.

Particularly, in Bogotá from the middle of nineties there have been a great number of changes in the administrative structure and in the actions formulated and implemented; these changes were produced among other reason with the objective to achieve gender equality.

Bogotá is the capital of Colombia with a population of approximately 7.347.795¹ inhabitants (DANE, 2005). Since the 1991 Constitution, Bogotá was divided administratively into 20 localities (Carreño and Infante, 2001: 92).

Furthermore, there are thirteen sectors in the city to coordinate the formulation of public policies: Public Administration; Government, Security and Coexistence; Habitat; Environment; Economic Development, Industry and Tourism; Social Integration; Planning; Mobility; Education; Health; Culture, Recreation and Sports; Finance; and Women. As it is explained below, the offices responsible for gender issues were located in the sector Government, Security and Coexistence and in the sector Social Integration. The reason why gender issues were addressing form Government, Security and Coexistence is that this sector coordinates the Local Mayor's Offices, thus is a bridge between the distrital level and the local level. The sector Women was created during 2013.

Once the principal features of administrative organization in Bogotá has been explained. I present the political transformations that contributed to the inclusion of gender issues in the governmental agenda.

Bogotá's government agenda has been significantly transformed since the middle of the nineties to today. The election of Mayors from non-traditional political parties and left-wing parties (an unusual phenomenon in Colombia) have configured the conditions to produce changes in the definition of the city priorities. This situation has opened spaces to work on topics like the rights guarantee, the respects for differences, and the citizen participation, among others. In this framework, gender concerns have been introduced as an important topic in the city's agenda.

It is possible to say that Jaime Castro (1995-1997) was the last Mayor who belongs to a traditional political party in the recent history of Bogotá². He belonged to the Liberal Party, the mayors that were elected after him as Antanas Mockus and Enrique Peñalosa belonged to emerging movements of citizen and the last three periods have been occupied by Luis Eduardo Garzón, Samuel Moreno Rojas y Gustavo Petro, the three belonged to left-wing parties.

The most significant changes in the way that Bogotá's government address gender issues took place from 2000, however, there were few changes since the middle of nineties which should be considered as important

¹ This is the population projection based on the 2005 census

² Until 1991 Colombia had a bi-party system composed by the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party. Now when the country has a multi-party system it usual refers to Liberal and Conservative parties as the traditional parties.

precedents. One of these conditions was the increasing number of women in management positions in Bogotá's Government. From the period 1992-1994 when Jaime Castro was Mayor to the period 1995-1997 women working in the government was expanded threefold, achieving 34%. During Enrique Peñalosa's government 1998-2000 parity between men and women was almost achieved, in this period women was the 48% of the government. The position of women in government continued improving and reached the best moment in the second administration of Antanas Mockus when 61% of management positions were occupied by women (Fuentes and Peña 2009:29). Some women who work on these governments consider that it is a consequence of the progressive line of the Mayors and the existence of women with professional capacities to act as directors, secretaries, and other management jobs.

In regards to policy formulation, before 2000, Bogotá's government implemented some actions that sought to address women concerns in their condition of mothers, and protect them of the consequences of domestic violence. Problems faced by women were analyzed in relation with their role in the family rather than recognizing the women's subordinate status in social, economic, political and cultural scopes.

The second Antanas Mockus's administration, from 2001 to 2003, was the period in which the inclusion of gender issues received high political endorsement. As I mention before this government had the highest percentage of women in management positions, however the important fact is that three of these women were feminist making that gender concerns were explicitly include in government agenda.

This was materialized when the Development Plan of the city "Bogotá to live all on the same side" ("Bogotá para vivir todos del mismo lado") included a specific objective to eliminate gender based discrimination. Moreover, the article 4 of the Plan, where general policies are presented, states that "*The programs formulated in Bogotá will include gender perspective and women as manager*" (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2001) During Mockus's government not only objectives to overcome gender discrimination were included, there was also a change in the amount of women working within the government, there was a 22% increase compared with the previous administration (Fuentes and Peña 2009)

The Mockus administration was ending when the Council of Bogota approved the Agreement 091/2003 that issued general directives to facilitate that public policy design included actions to achieve gender equality. Specifically, the agreement approved one the most important instruments to work on gender equality: The Plan of Equal Opportunities "Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades" (PIO by Spanish acronym).

The adoption of PIO marks the beginning of the recognition of women's subordination and discrimination. As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the PIO approval was at the end of Antanas Mockus period as Bogotá's Mayor and it was from 2004 to 2007, in Luis Eduardo Garzón administration where the foundations of an institutional structure dedicated to work on gender equality were created.

The period 2004-2007 can be considered as the gender agenda take-off in Bogotá, several actions that even today continue to be important started its implementation in that period. It is necessary to talk about the political context faced by Garzón, in order to understand better the reasons why gender issues become more important.

Luis Eduardo Garzón belonged to the political party “Polo Democrático Alternativo”, this is a left-wing party which in 2003 took part in the election of Bogotá’s Mayor. Within the party there was a group called “Mujeres de los miércoles”; this group conformed by women belonging or not to women organizations was defined as a space for dialogue and debate about gender issues. They created a strategic/advocacy agenda which included the establishment of a relation with the candidates for Mayor to commit them to work on gender issues. Even when the advocacy agenda may be effective with other candidates, it is important to take into account that this group belonged to an specific political party which won the 2003-elections.

The group “Mujeres de los miércoles” had the opportunity to influence the formulation of the government plan, and then when Luis Eduardo Garzón became Mayor, there was a political opportunity to give priority to gender issues in the government agenda. In addition to this, one of the main characteristics in the management style of Garzón was the inclusion of participatory processes in the formulation of public policies. This was also an opportunity to social movements overall (Fuentes, 2007: 186)

Notwithstanding the low career of “Las Mujeres de los Miércoles” as a group, the relation with Garzón administration and the PIO recently approved were complementary elements which allow them to include gender issues as a relevant topic on the public agenda. The implementation of PIO was the first goal for the group interested in developing actions to achieve gender. One of the key elements of the PIO was the idea of mainstreaming gender equality, for this purpose it is necessary count with the commitment of all the governmental offices. Thus, to make the issue a priority on the agenda of each institution was important and at the same time a challenging mission.

3.2 Institutional transformations

Mockus and Garzón administrations can be considered break points in the incorporation of gender issues in Bogotá’s Political agenda. In the case of Mockus because in his government PIO was formulated and in the case of Garzón due to the changes in other areas of administration and the participation of women social movement. Pointed out the political changes, I will explain the most important administrative changes that enable the implementation of gender mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá.

While it is true that the initial purpose of women movements was the creation of the Women Secretary, along the process they realize the impossibility to make this vision reality. This is why, they start to look for an alternative which was the creation of new offices within the secretaries that already exist. Through the agreement 257/2006 two administrative sectors

were reform: Planning and Government, Security and Coexistence. In the Planning Sector, the Assistant Secretary of Women, Gender and Sexual Diversity (Subsecretaría de Mujer, Géneros y Diversidad Sexual) was created, within the Assistant Secretary there were created two offices: On the one hand, the Direction of Rights, Development and Equal Opportunities for Gender Equality (Dirección de Derechos, Desarrollo e Igualdad de Oportunidades para la Equidad de Género) and the Direction of Sexual Diversity (Dirección de Diversidad Sexual) (Devia 2011: 40)

The sector Government, Security and Coexistence sector has a specific government to address participation issues, it is called Distrital Institute for Participation and Community Action (Instituto Distrital para la Participación y la Acción Comunal – IDPAC) within this the Gender and Women Management Office (Gerencia de Mujer y Género) was created through the agreement 002/2007. This Office is responsible for the implementation of the actions in Bogotá's localities, besides it should strengthen women participation processes at local level.

It is important to say that at local level, the Houses of Equal Opportunities (CIO by its acronym in Spanish) are the responsible for the implementation of the policy. As it was mention above, Bogotá has twenty localities, initially there was no possible to create twenty CIO, however since 2011 each locality has a House of Equal Opportunities. According to the government, CIO are defined as “places to exercise equality, start productive processes, promote leadership and empowerment women in the realization of the six prioritized rights of the PIO and in the participative construction of democratic practices and the evaluation of gender public policy” (CITA). CIO have seven lines of work at local level: 1) Socio-legal intervention 2) Psychosocial orientation 3) Promotion of services 4) Promotion of rights 5) Local articulation 6) Interinstitutional articulation 7) Citizen Participation.

It is worth mentioning that the changes presented were not produced without obstacles in the government. Several people who worked on the government considered that gender issues were introducing rudely³, without enough arguments. These reasons produced that not only feminist but also gender discourses were called fundamentalist or *mamertos* scornfully.

This shows how even when in formal terms the implementation of gender agenda is support in global, national and distrital level, the transgressor content of feminism cause resistance. This is may caused because it confronts not only the values of society but also requires a critical view about self-identity (Fuentes and Peña 2009:46). Prejudices and lack of interest to work on these issues turned into obstacles to the formulation and implementation of policies.

In the following period 2008-2013 Samuel Moreno Rojas was the Bogotá's Mayor. He belonged to the same political party that his predecessor.

³ Lya Fuentes (2009) talks about the incorporation of inclusive gender as an example of how some feminist impose their ideas rather than negotiate with bureaucrats who have to implement the strategies.

Moreno found an institutional framework established to address gender issues, thanks to the reforms made in the previous period. Given that Garzón and Moreno belonged to the same political party, we can infer that the priority given to gender issues was not change; and the possibility for feminist movements to influence the agenda remained. The new task was maintain the goals achieved and formulate and implement new actions to solve outstanding problems.

The gender-agenda in Bogotá during Moreno's administration was marked by the creation of a space where civil society and government establish a dialogue about the governmental actions about gender issues. This space was the Distrital Council of Women (Consejo Distrital de Mujeres) (CCM by its Spanish acronym). The first CCM was elected in 2008 for a three-year period, this is a mixed Council composed not only by civil society but also by public servants. There are 25 representatives of civil society in the CCM, plus the leaderships of the twelve administrative sectors. The work of this Council is to analyze and respond to the demands formulated in the quarterly meetings. Furthermore, in 2010 was issued the Decree 166/2010, this corresponds to the Public Policy of Women and Gender Equality.

Gustavo Petro elected in 2011, is the successor of Moreno as Mayor District for the period 2012-2015. The commitment of this administration with the gender agenda has been expressed by the creation of the Secretary of Women and the inclusion of the sector women as the thirteenth sector in the administrative division. This may be taken as an achievement of the feminist social movement in the city, which, since the beginning had the goal of the secretary creation. In January 2013 was appointed the first Secretary of Women in Bogotá. It is important to say that the creation of this new office does not mean that gender concerns should be addressed by it; on the contrary, the responsibilities continue in all the sectors of Bogotá's government. Nevertheless, Secretary of Women is responsible for the coordination of actions.

The administrative changes when Secretary of Women appears was that in the Planning Sector, the Assistant Secretary of Women, Gender and Sexual Diversity (Subsecretaría de Mujer, Géneros y Diversidad Sexual) stop addressing issues related with women and it turned into Assistant Secretary Sexual Diversity (Subsecretaría de Diversidad Sexual). On the other hand, the sector Government, Security and Coexistence continue with the Gender and Women Management Office (Gerencia de Mujer y Género) however the CIO became part of the Secretary of Women and maintain their functions.

This chapter allows us to understand that addressing gender issues by the government in Bogotá have implied political changes. The process have been a sum of different elements like the presence of an international agenda, the political orientation of the Mayors elected and the strength of women social movements. This political change can be materialized only if there are administrative changes, allocation of resources and formulation of tools. The administrative changes were also described in this section, and in the next section the other two elements mentioned will be presented.

3.3 Plan of Equal Opportunities (PIO by its Spanish acronym)⁴

The decision to address gender issues taken by the government involved the formulation of specific tools and the creation of offices which in practice allow accomplishing the purposed objectives. This research is based on the analysis of Plan of Equal Opportunities (PIO by its Spanish acronym), the main characteristics of this policy instrument are presented in this section.

Plan of Equal Opportunities is defined as “A tool that facilitates the design of public policies in the district within the framework of gender equity, likewise, is a set of interrelated equality actions aimed at reducing and combating inequality between men and women in the fields economic, political, social, educational and cultural” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004)

The aim of the PIO is that the twelve⁵ sectors of the district not only in the central level but also in the decentralized level, to commit themselves with the implementation of actions aimed at achieve gender equality or the revision of action that have been implemented in order to avoid the reproduction of conditions for discrimination. Moreover, PIO seeks that private sector, social organization, universities, NGO’s, work together to achieve the goals purposed. These sectors are grouped in the “Distrital Council of Social Policy” (Consejo Distrital de Política Social)⁶.

According to the definition of the government, it is an affirmative action focus in the recognition, guarantee, and restoration of six rights. These six rights are the principal areas of the plan: 1) Right to a life free of violence 2) Right to participation and representation of women 3) Right to work with equality and dignity 4) The right to health 5) The right to education 6) The right to culture without sexism. The following provides an explanation of each one of these areas. In the Appendix 1 is possible to understand deeply the meaning of each action.

1) Right to a life free of violence

The main objective of this area “To progress in the eradication of gender violence in a way that recognizes and guarantees the right of a life free of violence for women of all ages, cultures, ethnicities and conditions” (Alcaldía

⁴ Actions in quotes along this section were taken to the Plan of Equal Opportunities and traduce by the author. (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004)

⁵ At the time of the formulation of the PIO there were twelve sectors. Now, with the creation of the Secretary of Women was created the sector women. Consequently, now there are thirteen sectors.

⁶ The Social Policy District Council is an agency for coordination all the institutions and sectors for the definition, coordination and evaluation of social policy aimed at improving the quality of life in the Capital District.

de Bogota, 2004). In order to guarantee this action, the government invests approximately 12'600.000 USD

2) Right to participation and representation of women

The main objective in this area is “guarantee the participation and representation of the interest, necessities and rights of women from all cultures, ages and conditions in order to strengthen democracy in the city” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). In order to guarantee the right to participation and representation of women, the government invests approximately 18'219.417 USD

3) Right to work with equality and dignity

The main objective in this area is “to promote the exercise of the economic rights of women of all ages, ethnic groups, cultures and conditions, and the recognition to their contribution to the economic life and the access to jobs in conditions of equality and dignity”(Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). In order to guarantee the right to work with equality and dignity, the government invests approximately 26.645.312 USD.

4) The right to health

This area has a main objective “Recognize and guarantee for women from all ages, cultures, sexual orientations and other conditions, the right to health and the access to health services taking into account their specific necessities and incorporating gender perspective in the Health System of Bogotá” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004) , it is the main purpose. In order to guarantee the right to education, the government invests approximately 9.029.445 USD. In order to guarantee the right to health, the government invests approximately 31.260.412 USD.

5) The right to education

The main objective in this area is “To guarantee the right to education for girls, young women and adults from all ages, cultures, sexual orientations and other conditions, and promote that they are seen as subjects of knowledge” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). In order to guarantee the right to education, the government invests approximately 9.029.445 USD.

6 The right to culture without sexism

The main objective in this area is “To recognize and guarantee for women from all ages, cultures, sexual orientations and other conditions the right to build and enjoy of a culture without sexism, discriminations and exclusions” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). In order to guarantee the right to culture without sexism, the government invests approximately 32.985.658 USD

The actions described in this section are the object of the analysis in this research.

Chapter 4. Three lenses to analyze gender mainstreaming agenda

So far, this research has shown different elements. First, the characteristics of gender mainstreaming as a policy making approach that from the mid-nineties have become in a guide for governments and NGO's to address gender issues and the elements of three useful theoretical approaches to make a critical analysis of the policies formulated in this framework. Second, a description of the process through which gender issues were included in Bogotá's government agenda and a presentation about PIO as the most important tool to mainstream gender in Bogotá.

In this chapter I present the analysis of PIO using these theoretical approaches and based on that identifying the challenges that gender mainstreaming agenda faced in Bogotá. First, I analyze the way in which gender issues were included in Bogotá and the consequences of this process. Second, I present the conceptualization of gender mainstreaming according to PIO. Third, using the ideas stated by Fraser and Young, I explore which the concept of gender equality is in the Plan. Fourth, I describe the ideas of women presented by PIO taking into account Mohanty's view in the framework of post colonial approach.

4.1 Social Movement the key ingredient in the incorporation of gender concerns.

Reasons to implement gender mainstreaming agenda and actors who lead this process change depend on the context. Squires (2005) points out that, when the experience of civil servants, the participation of social movement and the presence of international actors are all in place, gender mainstreaming has a transformative potential. In Bogotá in order to analyze the process, it might be divided in two phases. On the one hand, the incorporation of gender concerns by technocrats. On the other hand, the incorporation of gender issues by feminist social movement.

In regards to address gender issues, the presence of women in managerial jobs in Bogotá's government was an important fact. It represents a breakpoint in the sexual division of labor, and it also a message about the capacity of women to fill positions traditionally held by men. Nevertheless, as Fuentes and Peña (2009) explain, the high presence of women in the government not necessarily led to the inclusion of gender issues in the

government's agenda or the emergency of a special interest to solve problems related with discrimination based on gender. "Slightly less than half of the directors (48.5%) felt that issues of women and gender were significant issues in global government agenda. However, when asked if these issues were important on the agenda of the entities that they managed, 74% said no, while 26% thought that gender had been important in the office" (Fuentes and Peña, 2009: 43).

These figures show that we cannot assume that all women are interested in gender or that they are all agree with feminist claims. On the contrary, some of women who worked in Bogotá's government considered that feminism is no longer necessary, and they have criticized actions like quotas law. The reason is that they consider that there should not be gifts on the grounds of gender (Fuentes and Peña 2009:43). Patriarchal structure influence the ideas and beliefs of civil servants both men and women, consequently it determines the relevance given to the topic and the implementation process.

According to Judith Squires (2005) the main advantage when the process is leading by technocrats is that implementation is based on knowledge rather than ideology. However, address this issue means to question not only knowledge but also relations. Besides, this topic affects the life's public and private sphere (Fuentes and Peña 2009:48), these makes that the implementation based only on knowledge may have several weaknesses. In this case, it is right to question if what is called ideology by Squires, may be considered negative itself. Or given the nature of this topic, ideology might trigger positive effects. Women who defend feminist claims are further engage with the promotion of actions in order to fight with the patriarchal structure, and patriarchal structure also affects government. In the next section I present deeply the relation between civil servants subjectivity and the incorporation of gender mainstreaming.

Gender mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá was further strengthened when social movements started to lead the process. One can say that even when there were multiple causes to trigger that, the role of social movement is something to highlight in the process. As I explained, the first phase of the process was marked by the presence of women in the government, in that moment gender issues started to be consider, however the presence of members of the feminist social movements became gender into a priority in the agenda.

The importance of social movement in this process was determined because of the presences of members of feminist social movements in the

government and the participation of women organizations in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of actions aimed to address gender issues. In the document of PIO, it is explained that the formulation process included the voice of women. PIO is defined as a *“process of collective construction which take into account the ideas presented by women organizations who have achieved make visible topics like women participation, reproductive and sexual rights, sexual violence other types of violence”* (Alcaldía Mayor, 2004)

There were three favorable factors to guarantee social movements participation in the incorporation of gender mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá. First, the commitment of the government with participation as policy making strategy. Second, the understanding of participation and representation as women right. Third, the relationship between the group “Mujeres de los Miércoles” and the mayor elected in 2003, Luis Eduardo Garzón. According to the Plan “participation is a right, a principle, a mean, an objective, a duty” (Alcaldía Mayor, 2004:26).

Squires (2005) identifies one problem when social movement leads the incorporation of gender issues in the government agenda. She states that it may causes that differences between the trends that composed the social movement were obscured. Thus, women may be understood as a monolithic group. In the case of Bogotá, two reasons show that there are possibilities to overcome this risk.

On the one hand, leaders of the feminist social movement promote the creation of “Mesa Diversa” (Fuentes,2009; 153). This was a space where women established a dialogue, taking into account the plurality of identities (afrodescendants, young women, indigenous women, among others), and the differences between them. This avoids to obscure differences, and to treat women as monolithic group by listening the voices of women with different ideas and interest. On the other hand, in order to recognize differences, ten public policies were formulated in a ten-year period in Bogotá. Young people, afrodescendants, indigenous, disable people, among others, have specific public policies. This fact produces that even if difference may be obscuring by gender mainstreaming agenda, diversity may became visible through other mechanisms.

In the case of Bogotá, the participation of women social movement does not have the effects presented by Squires (2005). Nevertheless, it does not mean that participation of women social movement has no disadvantages. Participation as a policy making strategy has been criticized in Bogotá. This strategy has been used in the formulation and implementation of gender public

policies; it has meant the reproduction of the problems that participation as a strategy has itself. Human Development (2008) identifies three problems in the participation processes in Bogotá: First, the cooptation of civil society participation by state; second, the excessive amount of participation spaces; third, the professionalization of citizen participation processes.

To summarize, the incorporation process of gender mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá might be divided in two phases. The first, leading by technocrats (women) and the second, with the broad participation of women social movements. Social movements participate both inside the government and outside the government through citizen participation strategies. Promote actions based on knowledge and to avoid ideology is recognized as an advantage when this process is leading by technocrats, in the light of what happened in Bogotá it is possible to re-think if knowledge is the only requirement to guarantee that gender issues been included in government agendas. The leadership of social movements participation in this process has been criticized because ignore the differences among women; this obstacle seems to be overcome in the case of Bogotá. However, the obstacles of the use of participation as policy making strategy became in weaknesses in the women participation processes.

The main challenge for the government taking into account the process is to maintain the participation of the social movement in gender mainstreaming incorporation. This is both a characteristic and an advantage because of members of women organization are strongly engaged with feminist claims. Nevertheless, it is necessary to control the problems of participation as policy making strategy.

4.2 Gender Mainstreaming, multiple definitions

Gender mainstreaming has received several critics about how it is conceptualize. One of the ways to understand is as a problem-solving approach which assumes that *gender equality can be achieved by reforming the policy making*. In this way, discrimination based on gender is considered as a problem under control of public policies, this vision ignores the societal roots of the phenomenon.

In the case of Bogotá, the actions proposed by PIO reproduce the problem-solving idea; however in the conceptualization of the problem, it recognizes other dimensions of discrimination that cannot be easily change

through governmental actions. First, I present some ideas in regards to the actions formulated in PIO.

As I said, problem-solving view is reflected in the activities purposed by the plan. Changes in the regulatory framework, creation of spaces for women participation, coordination mechanisms among offices, incorporation of gender perspective in public policies, creation of indicators, adjustment of information systems, training programs for civil servants; these are some of the institutional changes raised by PIO.

Assuming that discrimination based on gender is a problem that could be solved by governmental action, these actions would lead to gender equality. Nevertheless, there are some aspects to analyze the connection between changes in policy making and social change. There are two aspects that I consider important to mention. On the one hand, even if institutional changes ensure social change towards an equalitarian society, there are some obstacles to implement these transformations in policy making. On the other hand, given that discrimination is reproduce beyond the control of the government, these actions might mitigate it but they do not guarantee the goal proposed: gender equality.

I present some obstacles identified in the incorporation of institutional changes in Bogotá. Firstly, as in chapter two were mentioned, to re-think traditional ideas about gender implies to question the values of society. Indeed, the values of civil servants responsible to implement PIO and to promote institutional changes. It is relevant to highlight this aspect because it seems ignored when we talk about gender in policy making that the civil servants' ideas and beliefs play a role in the process. Usually, it is assumed that policy process in these topics is the same than in policies about other topics.

In this regard, some interviewees explain the problems that they faced to incorporate gender issues and to discuss these topics. One of the problems is in relation with the will of the civil servants in the incorporation of gender perspective. As it is explained in an interview, when there are changes in the people who are working in this topic, the process may be affected. *“Contracting system makes the process not constant. This limits the possibility of the gender perspective incorporation, and the process depends on the will of officials”*(Interview #1), it shows that even when the topic is a priority in the agenda, the implementation process is not fully institutionalize and depends on the characteristics of the civil servants.

Besides, gender topics are not considered as important as other topics. One of the coordinators of CIO explains that even when committees or spaces special for women requirements exist, those are underestimating. *“It seems that a Security Council of Women is different, it is considered less important. If a traditional Security Council is convened, the police and all institutions participate, if it is the Security Council of Women they do not arrive or they arrive late. And sometimes they said that it is*

an space where ladies come to complain”(Interview #2). It shows how institutional changes may be produced but it does not guarantee the social change required to overcome discrimination.

To continue mentioning the obstacles identified in the incorporation of institutional changes, secondly I present the multiple understandings about *gender mainstreaming or incorporation of gender perspective*. Along the document of PIO *gender mainstreaming or incorporation of gender perspective* became in a kind of adjective to describe how should be the actions implemented by the government. Communication using gender perspective, health with gender perspective, and education from gender perspective are sentences that the plan often mentions. In some cases as in communication, PIO explains that it means to stop with the production and reproduction of gender stereotypes; in other cases it refers to include statistics with specifically data for women and men. However, in the majority of cases it remains undefined. Gender mainstreaming is mentioned constantly but it is not a clear understanding about its definition.

This is shown most clearly in the interviews with civil servants who work in the implementation of the policy. They pointed out that there is not clear even in the offices which coordinate developing of actions in the framework of the policy. *“It is necessary to formulate a clear instructive about this topic”* (Interview #1) said one of the interview subjects. If the definition of gender mainstreaming is not clear for the civil servants directly involved with the policy, it is improbable that people from other offices understand what they should do when they have to formulate actions including gender perspective.

According to one of the leaders in the implementation, some civil servants establish a relation between *incorporate gender perspective* and developing actions with women. On the other hand, taking into account that inclusive language is a visible strategy, some people believes that gender mainstreaming is a synonymous of the use of language perspective. Lack of clarity in the definition of gender mainstreaming not only leads to think in the difficulties of implementation process but also in the impossibility to institutionalize gender equality as is pretended by gender mainstreaming approach.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, gender mainstreaming assumes that discrimination is a problem under the control of public policies. From the analysis of the actions purposed by PIO it is possible to say that it incorporates this idea. However, the conceptualization of the problem presented in one of the documents which guide the policy implementation shows that there is a complex understanding about the social dimension of

inequality. *“Inequality faced by women has been originated through a social construction, in which, from the biological differences (sex) between women and men have been socially and culturally structured power relations and subordinate hierarchical, differentiated spheres of interaction undervalued (public and private) and economic relations based on the sexual division of labor (production / domestic-breeding) that should be eliminated” (Alcaldía Mayor, 2004)*

This conceptualization shows that there is a gap between how the concept of gender inequality is understood and the actions purposed. It might happen given that policy makers recognize both the limited resources (economic, human resources, etc.) of the state in order to achieve gender equality limitations and the broad dimension of the problem that is socially and culturally structured. Those dimensions are not only shape by the state but also by other actors.

There is one debate more about gender mainstreaming conceptualization. Gender mainstreaming have been considered as a strategy to overcome the “Wollstonecraft’s dilemma”, because it groups equal treatment and positive action. However, Bogotá’s gender mainstreaming agenda is dominated by positive actions; the tools of the policy recognize the differences between men and women, and the fact that gender is not a neutral category. This is why they do not pretend that women and men will be treated equally; they seek to mitigate the effects that women experienced because of living in a patriarchal society.

PIO is *“defined as a set of **positive actions** to reduce inequalities and gaps facing by women, and as the means which allow who live in the Capital District to move towards the guarantee of their rights and the development of their potential”*. Additionally, positive actions are proposed as the most important strategies in the main objective of the Plan: *“through the incorporation of affirmative actions in policies, plans, programs and projects of the District” (Alcaldía Mayor, 2004)*

Women political participation is one of the aspects in which is notorious the prevalence of positive action. In this area, actions are focus in the enforcement of quotas law, not only in the representation and participation spaces mentioned by law; but also in the new spaces created by Bogotá’s government to promote citizen participation. Similarly, when PIO proposes actions in the areas of health and education, takes as requirement the recognition of differences. Of course differences are recognized and the principal idea is to show that the existence of those does not mean more or less rights to women or men. It is possible to say that positive action is one of the main features in gender mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá.

To sum up, one characteristic of gender mainstreaming is its problem-solving view. In Bogotá, this vision is reproduced in the actions proposed by the PIO but not in the conceptualization of the problem. When this vision is incorporated in practice, there are at least two obstacles. The institutional changes in policy making are conditioned by civil servants subjectivity and there is no clear what it is necessary to change in order to incorporate gender perspective. On the other hand, the conceptualization of the problem does not have this problem-solving vision; it might happen because policy makers recognize the state limitation. Moreover in the case of Bogotá, gender mainstreaming has not tried to include equal treatment and positive action strategies. It has been focus on positive action.

There are challenges for different actors in this aspect. First, the government should to clearly define which are the transformations and requirements to consider that gender perspective is incorporated, additionally given the influence of civil servants in the process, it should guarantee that they are convincing of the relevance of the topic. In other words, it is necessary to work in overcoming the influence of patriarchal structure inside the government. Second, if the social movement recognizes the limitations of the state in achieve gender equality, it is necessary that it does not focus all its efforts in the actions conducted by the state.

4.3 Gender policy in Bogotá as a recognition strategy

Equality was defined based on class analysis and the distributive paradigm. Consequently, redistribution policies were considered an important strategy to achieve equality. Conversely, there have emerged approaches that considered that neither class nor distribution are the most important lenses to analyze society. Gender, ethnicity, age are also important categories that affect the organization of society, the cultural values, the economic system, the political organization. These categories can also generate conditions of inequality. It is why ignore their existence, using just class analysis category may perpetuate inequalities.

As Nancy Fraser (1995) mentions, group identity have replaced class interest as medium of political mobilization. It can be noted in how gender mainstreaming agenda was incorporated in Bogotá. The propose of gender mainstreaming strategy is to achieve gender equality, however there is an unresolved question: how does gender inequality/equality is defined?

In order to answer this question in the case of Bogotá, it is necessary to take into account the main goal of PIO which is *“to promote the recognition and restoration of the human rights of women, of all ages, cultures, sexual orientations, ethnic and racial conditions, vulnerable socioeconomic situations or any condition, in order to achieve*

equal opportunities and gender equality, through the incorporation of affirmative action policies in plans, programs and projects of the District". According to this objective it is possible to say that. First, PIO fits in the framework of gender mainstreaming agenda, given that it clearly pretends to achieve gender equality. Second, PIO seeks to accomplish its goal through two strategies presented at the beginning and at the end of the objective. At the beginning it mentions the necessity to guarantee human rights and at the end it mentions the formulation of affirmative actions.

The incorporation of gender concerns in the agenda of Bogotá has been related to the presence of left-wing governments, considering that redistribution issues have been linked with this ideological trend, it is possible to believe that the PIO has a vision of gender inequality predominantly based on redistribution as synonymous of inequality. Nevertheless, what is observed in Bogotá is that, although the issues of redistribution are considered important, for instance when the causes of inequality are explained. Recognition issues rather than redistribution issues have become priority for the government.

Formulation of policies about recognition, budget allocation in the promotion of respect and appreciation of differences are facts that demonstrate the interest of the government in recognition agenda. As I have mentioned, Bogotá's government have formulated ten public policies aimed at specific population groups. Besides, in the objective of PIO it is recognize the existence of differences among women. When you look back to make an analysis of PIO, it is possible to identify that this is one of the first tools that emerged in the context of the diversity agenda in the city.

Based on an analysis of PIO's main objective, there is possible to say that it consider that there are two missing ingredients to achieve gender equality. First, human rights guarantee and second affirmative actions. This reinforces the position of PIO as a recognition strategy. Human rights are not focus on redistribution actions, on the contrary human rights speech are constantly highlighting the importance of respect individual freedom as a tool to respect differences. On the other hand, affirmative actions, emphasize difference rather than equality which is a characteristic of recognition approach. Additionally, within the six areas in which the plan is working, there are no actions that recognize women as a group segregated in economic terms. The definition of discrimination is based on gender rather than class.

Notwithstanding the above, the actions proposed in the area about work are important to analyze. There is a duality between the contextualization of the problem and the strategies designed to solve it. The diagnosis of working conditions faced by women shows unfavorable figures, which would suggest the necessity of redistribution actions. The PIO points out that *"women are mostly workers of informal sector which has as characteristic low quality jobs, temporary*

contracts without social security affiliation, low wages and low levels of productivity” (Alcaldía Mayor, 2004) Nevertheless, the actions to solve this problem are focus on recognition rather than redistribution.

In this sense, it is important to understand that even when Bogotá’s government identified the problems faced by women in a complex way, and recognize that redistribution problems need to be solved in order to achieve gender equality, the government of the city does not have the power and the necessary tools to face this problem. It is why is required to establish links between the government of the city and other actors and levels, the private sector, the national government, among others in order to analyze how the economic model of the country affects particularly women.

Redistribution problems are also recognizing by civil servants who worked on the implementation of the Plan, and by the women who attend to the houses of equal opportunities. According to the interviews, the absence of actions in redistribution dimension is one of the problems that civil servants have identified and that women expected. *“The name houses of equal opportunities is very ambitious. Women come looking for job, they said that to achieve equality they require a job that allow them economic independence. I agree, but in terms of the scope that we have it is not possible”* (Interview #2).

To summarize, there are several reasons to realize that gender equality have been define in Bogotá in the framework of recognition rather that redistribution. There are three principal factors to say that. First, the emphasis in positive action. Second, the prevalence of human rights discourse and third, the constantly mention of afrodescendants, indigenous, young, lesbian, among other women. However, both the conceptualization of problems as work in the plan and women in the city recognize that redistribution dimension is missed and it is necessary. Given that the government of the city faces limitations in order to solve redistribution problems, the main challenge is to link with other actors and other levels in order to create the redistribution dimension of the policy.

4.4 Ideas about women

Being formulated using human rights approach is one of the main characteristics of the policy. It assumes that guarantee women rights is the strategy to achieved gender equality. It is noted in the objective of the PIO that said *“Guarantee human rights...to achieve gender equality”*. This, together with the description of the first part of this analysis, where I explain the definition of gender mainstreaming in Bogotá, reinforce the idea that the policy has a problem-solving reading in two sense. On the one hand, institutional changes lead to gender equality. On the other hand, human rights guarantee allow achieving gender equality.

Mohanty pointed out that fits in the category citizen was the main motivation for the initial waves of feminism. Using the terms used by post colonial feminism, citizens were consider who govern while no- citizens were consider people who need be govern (the others). Some feminist approach continues reproducing this idea which divides also women in two groups.

In the PIO the category citizen is replaced by the idea of a woman who has guaranteed all her rights. This can be considered the new ideal of citizen. On the other side, there are women who do not fit in this category and they require help to fit in the initial category.

For instance, women who have guarantee their rights can be consider as an autonomous women, who not necessarily desire to assume traditional tasks like maternity. It is why the PIO propose actions like *“campaigns to promote style life not focus exclusively in maternity or paternity”*. However, promote maternity as the only way to be woman, can be consider an intrusion. Promote that maternity is not the only way for women should be done carefully and with a dialogue with women, understanding the meanings given to maternity.

In the case of indigenous and afrodescendants (populations which also have specific public policies) even when the plan mention several times that is necessary to recognize differences, some actions seem to homogenize with the ideal women created by the liberal feminism. This is particular seen in the analysis about health, because it is related with the control over body. As an example, when the PIO pointed out action in the area of health *“Promoting the use of contraceptive methods that meet standards quality, efficiency and safety and family planning programs assume black women, afrodescendants, indigenous, differences and recognizing their individual rights and autonomy over her body”*. This action mentions the autonomy over the body. And it is questionable what is the meaning of that for different groups or is it reduced to the idea that control reproduction extended in the western world.

Thus, even when as I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the differences among women have not been obscure, because they have spaces for debate and dialogue. Those dialogues are not fully reflected in the actions purpose which continues reflecting the existence of a western-model of ideal woman. It triggers some problems because civil servants in order to accomplish goals related with these actions may homogenize women and discursively and practically impose the ideal.

I want to highlight that it is probable that the discussions about how to harmonise the ideal of liberal feminism women and indigenous or afrodescendants women have been developed. However, it is not identifiable in the documents beyond the mention of the groups. And, it is important that to have this explicitly because the document is the guide for civil servants.

To sum up, it is possible to say that PIO preserves idealization of women. The ideal identify in this case is the woman who have all their rights guarantee. This fact can affect the particularities beliefs, ideas, interests of other groups of women as indigenous or afrodescendants. However, given that Bogotá's government have created spaces and policies in order to recognize these differences the challenge is to strength the dialogue in these spaces in order to find strategies that avoid the imposition of an ideal about how women should be.

Chapter 5. Final Reflections

This paper has offered an analysis of Gender Mainstreaming agenda in Bogotá using three debates within feminism. By undertaking a textual analysis of the *Plan of Equal Opportunities* which is the main policy instrument to incorporate gender concerns, this research identify the challenges faced by the government to accomplish the goal of achieving gender equality. This chapter presents some reflections about the research process, and the main findings obtained.

Chapter two presents gender mainstreaming as a policy approach aimed to achieve gender equality. In 1995 during Beijing conference was recognize that government should undertake actions aimed to eliminate gender inequality. Not only governments decide to include gender in their agendas, but also NGO's and transnational organizations decide to tackle with discrimination based on gender. After some time implementing gender mainstreaming, several voices arise to criticize this approach. Some authors start to question if gender mainstreaming can be considered as a strategy which can commit with gender equality.

I describe the categories proposed by these authors to analyze gender mainstreaming and additionally I present the ideas of two important debates within feminism. On the one hand, a useful debate to explore the definition of gender equality, between Nancy Fraser and Iris Marion Young; and on the other hand the ideas of women presented by Mohanty in the framework of postcolonial feminism. Chapter two is a conceptual contribution about how to bridge different approaches within feminism, in order to analyze practical tools. It allows a broad perspective that contributes to analyze gender policies, the assumption that are informed them and their limits.

Chapter three summarizes the process of incorporation of gender issues in Bogotá's government agenda and describes the institutional transformations and the Plan of Equal Opportunities as a tool to mainstream gender in the city. This chapter presents how the contextual conditions allow the prioritization of gender, the participation of governmental and non-governmental actors in the process and it describes the objectives and the allocation of budget in six areas that have been considered the most important.

In chapter four the analysis is presented and the research questions answered. This chapter is divided in four sections. Following the structure of the document, first I analyzed the process of gender mainstreaming incorporation and then I explore the debates presented in chapter two.

An analysis of the process shows the importance of the participation of women social movement in Bogotá. In this case its participation represents several advantages and overcome the main risk identifying which is obscure the claims of different groups of women. Despite of the positive points, there are a

challenge in this aspect which is overcome the limitations of participation as policy making strategy. This is not only a challenge in terms of gender concerns but also in the formulation of public policies in the recent years in Bogotá.

In regards to how gender mainstreaming has been incorporated in Bogotá, it was observed that it has two important characteristics; on the one hand it is based on a problem solving view. On the other hand, it is positive action strategy. Some challenges were identified in the way that this agenda has been included in the city. First, define which are the transformations and requirements to consider that gender perspective is incorporated. Second, undertake strategies to overcome the influence of patriarchal structure in the government and third, recognizing the limitations of the state in achieve gender equality, involve other actors and open new spaces to discuss these topics.

Gender mainstreaming in Bogotá can be qualified as a recognition strategy; however there are several voices which claim for take into account the redistribution dimension of gender discrimination problem. To establish links with actors in other levels and outside the state, in order to analyze the effects of the economic system in women and try to create strategies to overcome this problem is another challenge for Bogotá's gender mainstreaming agenda.

The final aspect analyzed is the concept of women that informed the PIO. Bogotá's government have created spaces and policies in order to recognize these differences and avoid the idealization of one type of women, thus, the challenge is to strength the dialogue in these spaces and to guarantee that these dialogues could be materialized in actions in the policy instruments.

This research is a theoretical analysis and it contributes to identify some gaps in the formulation process. However there are still several topics to explore in relation to gender mainstreaming incorporation in Bogotá. On the one hand, it is desirable a deeply evaluation about the implementation process and the practical challenges faced by a government which has around ten recognition policies. On the theoretical side, and in order to explore the ideas of postcolonial feminist it would be interesting new researches about if the implementation of universal approaches as gender mainstreaming in local level obscures the particularities of the local context and how it happens.

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Appendix 1

Actions of the PIO

1. Right to a life free of violence

The main objective of this area “To progress in the eradication of gender violence in a way that recognizes and guarantees the right of a life free of violence for women of all ages, cultures, ethnicities and conditions”(Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). Furthermore in this area four objectives are pointed out. First, “increase awareness among citizens about gender violence as a violation of human rights” some strategies to achieve this objective are: Design and implement a Human Rights policy, care for women by situations of violence, creation of a women violence observatory and strengthening to the security conditions of localities.

Second, the policy seeks “Progress towards the empowerment and participation of women in public decisions in order to eliminate gender violence” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004) This will be done through the implementation of projects to improve security in neighborhoods and promoting the creation of networks for family democracy. Third, “facilitate women access to justice” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), to this end strategies for violence prevention and caring routes will be designed, researches about affectivity of services to victims of abuses and actions to promote social control of violence in public and private sphere, are also strategies in this objective.

The fourth objective in this area is “adjust and strengthen the gender perspective in the systems of information of the Secretary of Government and the Distrital Council for Care Victims of Familiar Violence, and sexual exploitation” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). For this purpose, the government will build indicators and adjust the existing tool in order to obtain information which makes visible the violence faced by women. In order to guarantee the right to a life free of violence, the government invests approximately 12’600.000 USD

2. Right to participation and representation of women

The main objective in this area is “guarantee the participation and representation of the interest, necessities and rights of women from all cultures, ages and conditions in order to strengthen democracy in the city” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), this contains two specific objectives. First, “To promote and guarantee conditions to women participation in spaces where decisions are taken” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004) some strategies to achieve this objective are: the creation of a school for participation, strengthen of social organizations and public awareness campaigns to change the social representations of women leaders.

Second, the PIO seeks “improve women individual and collective participation in the local decisions in order to recognize their rights” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). To this end the strategies implemented are, training programs in participatory planning, and training programs for civil servants in order to increase their capacity to use gender perspective and to change their ideas about women participation, research about women leadership and public awareness campaigns to improve the relationship between social organizations and local governments.

The last objective in this area is to involve women and their organizations in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policies, and development plans” For this purpose, the strategies used are include proposals presented by women in Development Plans not only in the central level but also in the decentralized level. Strengthen social control processes promoted by women organizations. And, include the “Índice de Potenciación de Género en el Distrito Capital” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). In order to guarantee the right to participation and representation of women, the government invests approximately 18’219.417 USD

3. Right to work with equality and dignity

The main objective in this area is “to promote the exercise of the economic rights of women of all ages, ethnic groups, cultures and conditions, and the recognition to their contribution to the economic life and the access to jobs in conditions of equality and dignity” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). This area has six specific goals.

First “To improve training programs offer by the government for income generation, considering the specific interest of women and promoting alternatives to face the trend to reproduce stereotypes about masculinity and femininity” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004) the strategies used to achieve this objective are: making researches about the interest of women in the productivity area, create networks to support women in income generation and divulge the training programs offer by the government.

Second, the policy seeks “To strengthen the initiatives which seek to generate income proposed by women and their social organizations according to equality and sustainability criteria” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). In order to achieved this goal Bogotá’s government organize events which allow women to show the goods that they produce, offer access to microloans for small entrepreneurs, create systems of information about demand and supply of products in the city and create spaces like the “Local Committees for productivity” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004).

In third objective the purpose is “to promote the creation of alliances (associativity) and networks with productive women taking into account their specific knowledge and traditions given their age, culture and conditions” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). This has been seeking through strategies like: Promotion of networks conformed by women dedicated to productive

activities and training programs. For this objective has been included also the creation of information systems.

The fourth goal in this area is “To promote the economic, legal and political recognition of care economy and its contribution to the development of the city” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), achieving this according to the PIO depends on the creation of the Distrital Committee for Care Economy, researching about this topic, proposing modifications in the legal system in order to recognize care economy. Fifth objective is “To promote the accomplishing and the best knowledge of the international and national regulations about economic rights of women in the public offices, private sector and civil society, using these strategies: assessing compliance with the rules related with; training programs about human rights, changes in the criteria to select civil servants are selected (this new criteria should take into account gender-sensitive) and the adoption of existing laws on the matter about care economy” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). The last goal is to “Identify and make visible situations of discrimination based on gender, race, socioeconomic conditions, disability or other reasons, faced by women in the world of work. And generate conditions to eradicate this discrimination” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), research, develop monitoring indicators, public awareness campaigns against discrimination and the inclusion of gender perspective in systems of information are the tasks purposed in order to achieve the objective. In order to guarantee the right to work with equality and dignity, the government invests approximately 26.645.312 USD

4. The right to health

This area has a main objective and fifth specific goals. “Recognize and guarantee for women from all ages, cultures, sexual orientations and other conditions, the right to health and the access to health services taking into account their specific necessities and incorporating gender perspective in the Health System of Bogotá” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), it is the main purpose.

As I mention there are five specific goals. First “Design, implement and evaluate services and care programs, recognizing specific necessities of women in regards to their age, culture and other conditions” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), strategies like to promote the accomplishing of legal framework about women health, training programs about gender perspective for civil servants, research about health problems face by women and strengthen women process of participation, are using to achieve this goal.

Second, the PIO proposes “to design, to implement, to monitor and to evaluate the measuring system of the hours worked by women without remuneration in care activities within their families and communities” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004) through the organization of a conference about the contribution of women by looking after sick family members and the creation of the “Model to measure the contribution of women in health” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004)

The third is “to make widely known sexual and reproductive rights and the necessary condition to exercise these rights contributing to women autonomy”

(Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), in order to achieve this, PIO points about these tasks: public awareness campaigns to promote the selection of life styles not always focus in maternity and paternity, training programs for women and men about responsible sexuality, including gender perspective In health programs and promote the use of contraceptive methods with the recognition of the autonomy over one's body.

Fourth, "To evaluate and to adjust programs and services aimed at maternal care, promoting that gestation and care bears responsibility of men, women and the state" (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), strategies used are research about how stereotypes are reinforce by parents, training programs for civil servants, and the inclusion of gender perspectives in the cases of early pregnancy.

The fifth specific objective is "To evaluate, adjust and strength the information systems of the Health Secretary in order to show the health problems of women related with the reproductive process" (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004) this pretends to be achieve creating indicators to make visible the problems of women (indigenous, afrodescendants, according to their age, sexual orientations, among others), incorporating the "Índice de potenciación de género", to define criteria in order to include gender sensitive perspective in health services. In order to guarantee the right to health, the government invests approximately 31.260.412 USD

5. The right to education

The main objective in this area is "To guarantee the right to education for girls, young women and adults from all ages, cultures, sexual orientations and other conditions, and promote that they are seen as subjects of knowledge" (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). The right to education in the framework of PIO has fifth specific objectives. I present them and the strategies proposed to achieve them.

First "Promote the women production of knowledge and the free choice of personal projects through the plans and programs implemented in the official schools" (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), the strategies used to achieve this goal are: to include in the educational process, methodologies, and contents in order to transform gender stereotypes; research about the schools with projects aimed to promote equality; training programs for teachers about gender equality.

Second, "Promote in the official schools contents related to plurality, identity and the acceptance and valuation of differences in order to consolidate schools as environments for equal citizenship among men and women" (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), to this end the PIO purpose changes in the regulations of schools including rules explicitly oriented to guarantee equality not only for women but also for other discriminated groups; research about the inclusion of women in leadership activities; support educational proposals presented by women displaced by situations of violence.

The third objective is "To recognize and make visible daily practices which influence the guarantee of the right to education with gender equality in the official schools" (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004). According to PIO, this can be

achieved by researching about pregnant women in schools; changes in the curriculum in order to allow the free development of sexual identity; strategies to prevent the sexual abuse and exploitation; public awareness campaigns against violence; implementation of “Escuela del Cuerpo” as a project to address the importance of sexual and reproductive rights.

Fourth “Promote the access in equal conditions to the education system” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004) This objective has strategies to increase the number of girls/women who attend school and the creation of networks to prevent dropping out of school. Moreover, create special programs for women to overcome illiteracy and setting up agreements for the access of women displaced by situations of violence.

Finally the fifth objective is to “Design, implement, monitor and evaluate the measuring system of the hours worked by women without remuneration in formal and informal educational activities” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004) to achieve this objective, there are planning conferences to support the creation of the system and the design of a model to calculate the number of hours that women contribute to education. In order to guarantee the right to education, the government invests approximately 9.029.445 USD

6 The right to culture without sexism

The main objective in this area is “To recognize and guarantee for women from all ages, cultures, sexual orientations and other conditions the right to build and enjoy of a culture without sexism, discriminations and exclusions” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004) There are three specific objectives in this section. First “Promote cultural transformation processes in order to recognize women as subjects of rights” some tasks to achieve this are: incorporation of gender perspective in public policies and projects formulated by the Secretary of Culture; public awareness campaigns in order to recognize and assess the role of women; training programs for civil servants, effective leisure time activities for women.

Second objective, “Promote the transformation of daily practices in order to eliminate gender stereotypes” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), is seeking through the development of projects which transform traditional ideas about maternity and paternity; training programs about communication with inclusive language, educational programs about redistribution of family tasks and changes in the participation spaces. Finally, the third objective is “Recognize the contributions made by women to the culture of the city and encourage their artistic expressions” (Alcaldía de Bogota, 2004), strategies using to achieve this are: Researching about women cultural process, promotion of the cultural activities made by women organizations, actions to change women stereotypes. In order to guarantee the right to culture without sexism, the government invests approximately 32.985.658 USD

Appendix 2

- Interview #1

Occupation: Coordinator CIO Usaqué

Date: September 20/2013

- **Interview #2**

Occupation: Coordinator CIO Rafael Uribe

Date: September 25/2013

- **Interview #3**

Occupation: Coordinator Sexual Diversity Office

Date: September 12/2013