



Bibliography
No. 11

Gender and Governance: A Bibliography

Prepared for the Gender Unit, SDC

by Emma Bell

September 2001

BRIDGE (development - gender)
Institute of Development Studies
University of Sussex
Brighton BN1 9RE, UK
Tel: +44 (0) 1273 606261
Fax: +44 (0) 1273 621202
Email: bridge@ids.ac.uk
Website: <http://www.ids.ac.uk/bridge/>

© Institute of Development Studies
ISBN 1 85864 348 1

CONTENTS

Introduction	i
1. Overview texts	2
2. Good governance policy documents	3
3. Effective public management	4
3.1 Political regimes	4
3.2 Institutionalising gender	4
3.3 Public and financial sector reform	6
3.4 Gender budgets	7
4. Accountability of government	9
4.1 Democratisation	9
4.2 Political representation	9
4.3 Electoral systems	11
4.4 Decentralisation	11
4.5 Civil society	12
<i>4.5.1 General</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>4.5.2 Social movements</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>4.5.3 Political awareness-raising</i>	<i>14</i>
5. Rights, policy and the rule of law	15
5.1 International human rights	15
5.2 Regional human rights	16
5.3 State policy and the law	16
5.4 Customary law	17

Introduction

This bibliography has been compiled for the Gender Unit of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) to aid in the development of a conceptual framework that reflects the Gender Unit's recent shift to the Governance Department at SDC. The bibliography includes recent (since 1995) and key materials on a broad range of issues relating to gender and governance. Due to the quantity of material available the bibliography features selected texts from the areas covered.

Section one of the bibliography lists general texts on the State and good governance. This is followed by references for donor policy documents. The rest of the bibliography is organised to reflect the central tenets of good governance: effective public management; government accountability; and rights, policy and the rule of law. Owing to a paucity of materials, a fourth aspect of good governance, transparency through freedom of information, free media and association, is covered in other sections and does not feature separately.

- Effective public management refers to how different types of political regimes and institutions shape gender roles and identities, as well as how to make institutions more gender sensitive. Financial and public sector reform and gender budgets are also considered aspects of effective public management.
- Government accountability includes civil society activism, women's representation in politics at the national and local level and the effect of decentralisation processes on gender issues.
- Rights policy and the rule of the law covers the construction of gender roles and identities under state, international and customary laws and policies. Women's access to justice is a further important facet of this area.

Compilation of the bibliography¹ followed consultation with experts in the field of gender and governance, particularly concerning the organisation of the resources. Extensive online research was also conducted including a search of online libraries. We also collated gender and governance references from libraries based at the Institute of Development Studies. Previous BRIDGE research work on relevant issues was drawn on to ensure thoroughness of coverage.

** indicates key texts for each section

¹ Acknowledgements: Thanks are due to Anne-Marie Goetz and Diane Mulligan for their advice on categorisation, Rebecca Webb for her help with identifying key texts, Hazel Reeves and Samantha Hung for their editorial support and to Catherine Brown for her copy editing and extensive on-line research.

1. Overview texts

Ashworth, G., 1996, 'Gendered governance: an agenda for change', Gender in Development Programme (GIDP), New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

**Baden, S., 1999, 'Gender, governance and the 'feminisation of poverty'', Background paper for UNDP Management and Development Division conference on: Women and Political Participation in the 21st Century, 24-26 March 1999, Delhi, India

**Beall, J., 1996, 'Urban governance: why gender matters', Gender in Development Programme (GIDP), New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Development Studies Network, 2000, 'Gender and governance', *Development Bulletin* No 51, Canberra: Development Studies Network

Institute of Development Studies, 1993, 'Good government?', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol 24 No 1, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Kothari, U. and Valodia, I., 1998, 'Gender, governance and policy: an introduction', *Journal of International Development*, Vol 10 No 7: 927-8

**Randall, V. and Waylen, G. (eds), 1998, *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

Snyder, M., 1995, *Transforming Development: Women, Poverty and Politics*, New York: UNIFEM

**Waylen, G., 1995, *Gender and Third World Politics*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press

Waylen, G., 1998, 'Gender and governance: democratic consolidation and economic reform', *Journal of International Development*, Vol 10 No 7, 957-67

2. Good governance policy documents

OECD/DAC, 1995, *Participatory Development and Good Governance*, Paris: OECD

**OECD/DAC, 1997, *Final Report of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Participatory Development and Good Governance*, Paris: OECD

**World Bank, 1994, 'Development in practice: Governance: the World Bank's experience', *Development in Practice*, Operations Policy Department, Washington D.C.: World Bank

3. Effective public management

3.1 Political regimes

Craske, N., 1998, 'Remasculinisation and the neoliberal state in Latin America', in V. Randall and G. Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

**Connell, R W, 1990, 'The state, gender, and sexual politics: theory and appraisal', *Theory and Society*, Vol 19: 507-44

Meyer, M.K., Prugl, E. and Hernandez Truyol, B.E., 2000, 'Gender politics in global governance', *American Journal of International Law*, Vol 94 No 1: 209-11

Schmidt, E., 1995, 'Patriarchy, Capitalism, and the Colonial State in Zimbabwe', in B. Laslett, J. Brenner and Y. Arat, *Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance, and the State*, London: University of Chicago Press

**Steans, J., 1998, 'States, nationalisms, and gendered identities', in J. Steans, *Gender and International Relations: an Introduction*, Cambridge: Polity Press

**Steans Vogel, U., 1998, 'The state and the making of gender: some historical legacies' in V. Randall and Georgina Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

3.2 Institutionalising gender

Bureau for Development Policy (BDP), 1998, *Tracking Gender Mainstreaming In MDGD Activities*, New York: Management Development and Governance Division, Bureau for Development Policy
Location: <http://magnet.undp.org/Docs/Gender/Testgend.htm>

**Goetz, A.M., 1995, 'The politics of integrating gender to state development processes: trends, opportunities, and constraints in Bangladesh, Chile, Mali, Morocco, and Uganda', *UNRISD Occasional Paper No 2*, Geneva: UNRISD

Goetz, A.M., 1996, 'Local heroes: patterns of field worker discretion in implementing GAD policy in Bangladesh', *IDS Discussion Paper No 358*, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Goetz, A.M., 1996, 'Dis/organizing gender: women development agents in state and NGO poverty reduction programmes in Bangladesh', in S. Rai and G. Skinner (eds), *Women and the State: International Perspectives*, London: Taylor and Francis

- **Institute of Development Studies, 1995, 'Getting institutions right for women in development, *IDS Bulletin* Vol 26 No 3, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies
- Itzin, C. and Newman, J. (eds), 1995, *Gender, Culture, and Organizational Change*, London: Routledge
- Jahan, R., 1995, *The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development*, London: Zed Books
- **Kardam, N., 1995, 'Conditions of accountability for gender policy: the organizational, political, and cognitive contexts', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol 26 No 3, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies
- **Miller, C. and Razavi, S. (eds), 1998, *Missions and Mandarins: Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications in association with the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
- **Shahra, R. and Miller, C., 1995, 'Gender mainstreaming: a study of efforts by the UNDP, the World Bank, and the ILO to institutionalise gender issues', Geneva: UNRISD
- Rao, A., Rieky, S. and Kelleher, D., 1999, *Gender at Work: Organisational Change for Equality*, West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press
- Snyder, M., 1995, 'A unique fund for women', in M. Synder (ed.), *Transforming Development: Women, Poverty and Politics*, London: Intermediate Technology Publications
- Staudt, K., 1994, *Getting Institutions Right: Crossing the Threshold to Mainstreaming Women*, Geneva: UNRISD
- Staudt, K., 1995, 'Bringing politics back in: bilateral efforts to mainstream women', UNRISD
- **Staudt, K., (ed.), 1997, *Women, International Development, and Politics: the Bureaucratic Mire*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- **Subrahmanian, R., 1997, 'Women's empowerment and development administration: the case of Mahila Samakhya, India', Paper for the conference on public sector management, IDPM, Manchester, 29 June – 2 July 1997

3.3 Public and financial sector reform

- Alexander, P. and Baden, S., 2000, 'Glossary on macroeconomics from a gender perspective', *BRIDGE Report* No 47, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies
- **Baden, S., 1996, 'Gender issues in financial liberalisation and financial sector reform', Topic paper for Directorate General for Development, European Commission. *BRIDGE Report* No 39. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies
- Barry, J., Honour, T. and Palnitkar, S., 1998, 'Women, urban governance and the public service ethos', *Crime, Law and Social Change*, Vol 29 No 2-3: 251-72
- Darity, W., 1995, 'The formal structure of a gender-segregated, low-income economy', *World Development*, Vol 23 No 11
- Demery, L., Chao, S., Bernier, R. and Mehra, K., 1995, 'The incidence of social spending in Ghana', *PSP Discussion Paper Series* No 82, Washington: Poverty and Social Policy Department, World Bank
- Demery, L., 1996, 'Gender and public social spending: disaggregating benefit incidence', *Poverty and Social Policy Department Discussion Paper*, Washington D.C.: World Bank
- Elson, D., 1995, 'Gender awareness in modelling structural adjustment', *World Development*, Vol 23 No 11: 1851-68
- Haddad, L., Brown, L., Richter, A., and Smith, L., 1995, 'The gender dimensions of economic adjustment policies: potential interactions and evidence to date', *World Development* Vol 23 No 6: 881-96
- Humphries, J., and Rubery, J. (eds), 1995, *The Economics of Equal Opportunities*, Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission
- **Houlihan, Carole (ed.), Collected works of Elson, Diane et al Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2000, 'Gender and economic reform in development co-operation', DAC Working Party on Gender Equality, Paris
- Lastarria - Cornhiel, S., 1997, 'Impact of privatization on gender and property rights in Africa', *World Development*, Vol 25 No 8: 1317-33

Bakker, Isabella, Dr. (ed.), 1999, 'Economics and gender (macro, meso, micro levels): foundations and tools', papers from a workshop on integrating gender issues in programme aid, sector investment programmes, market reform and forms of economic policy assistance, 6-7 May, Paris: Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) DAC Working Party on Gender Equality

**Palmer, I., 1995, 'Public finance from a gender perspective', *World Development* Vol 23 No 1: 1981-6

Rama, M., 2001, *The Gender Implications of Public Sector Downsizing: the Reform Program of Vietnam*, Washington D.C.: World Bank
Location: <http://www.worldbank.org/gender/prr/19abstract.html>

Sen, G., 1996, 'Gender, markets and states: a selective review and research agenda', *World Development*, Vol 25 No 5: 821-9

**USAID, 1995, 'The role of women's participation in economic reform', prepared for the Meeting of the Special Programme of Assistance for Africa Working Group on Economic Reform in the Context of Political Liberalisation, November, Paris

Van de Walle, D. and Nead, K., 1995, *Public Spending and the Poor - Theory and Evidence*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

World Bank, 1995, *Toward Gender Equality: the Role of Public Policy*, Washington D.C.: World Bank

3.4 Gender budgets

**Budlender, D. and Sharp, R. with Allen, K., 1998, *How to do a Gender-Sensitive Budget Analysis: Contemporary Research and Practice*, Canberra: Commonwealth Secretariat and Australian Agency for International Development; London: Commonwealth Secretariat, London

**Budlender, D., 2001, 'Review of gender budget initiatives, Community Agency for Social Enquiry' (draft)

Commonwealth Secretariat, 1998, 'A report on integrating gender into the national budget: a Commonwealth initiative', for a South African Development Community (SADC) workshop in Zimbabwe, November 1998

**Elson, D., 1997, 'Gender-neutral, gender-blind or gender-sensitive budgets? Changing the conceptual framework to include women's empowerment and the economy of care', Preparatory country mission to integrate gender into national budgetary policies and procedures, Commonwealth Secretariat, London

**Elson, D., 1997, 'Integrating gender issues into public expenditure: six tools',
University of Manchester, Graduate School of Social Sciences, GENECON Unit

Hurt, K. and Budlender, D. (eds), 1998, *Money Matters: Women and the Government Budget*, Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa

Rahman, A., Quasem, A.M., Ali, Z. and Rahman, M.M.S., 1999, 'Preparing a pro-poor national budget using participatory tools: lessons from bottom-up initiatives in Bangladesh', Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, presented at the Workshop on Pro-Poor, Gender and Environmental Sensitive Budgets, 28-30 June 1999, New York

4. Accountability of government

4.1 Democratisation

Clark, C. and Lee, R.J., 2000, *Democracy and the Status of Women in East Asia*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner

Institute of Development Studies, 1995, 'Towards democratic governance', *IDS Bulletin* Vol 26 No 2, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 1997, *Men and Women in Politics: Democracy Still in the Making: a world comparative study*, Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union

**Nash, K., 1998, 'Beyond liberalism? Feminist theories of democracy', in V. Randall and G. Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

Pala, A., 1997, *Gender and Democracy: the Unfinished Agenda*, New York: UNIFEM

Pateman, C., 1989, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press

**Phillips, A., 1991, *Engendering Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Robinson, M., 1996, 'Human rights and good governance in the 1990s', Background paper on European bilateral and multilateral aid to foster democracy

United Nations development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 1996, *Women and Democracy in Africa: Views and Perspectives*, New York: UNIFEM
[Language: French]

4.2 Political representation

Ahern, P., Nuti, P. and Masterson, J.M., 2000, 'Promoting gender equity in the democratic process: women's paths to political participation and decision-making', Washington D.C.: International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) and Washington D.C.: Centre for Development and Population Activities (CDPA)

**Anderson, K., 1999, *After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics Before the New Deal*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Asia Foundation, 1999, 'Strengthening democracy through women's political participation', Emerging Issues in Asia seminar, April 14, 1999, The Asia Foundation
Location: http://www.asiafoundation.org/pdf/rpt_emerg2.pdf

Brasileiro, A.-M., 1996, 'Women's Leadership in a Changing World', New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Cohen, C.J., Jones, K.B. and Tronto, J.C., 1997, *Women Transforming Politics: an Alternative Reader*, New York: New York University Press

Dollar, D., Fisman, R. and Gatti, R., 1999, 'Are women really the "fairer" sex? Corruption and women in government', No.4, *Policy Research Report on Gender and Development*, Washington D.C.: World Bank

Friedman, E., 1998, 'Why machismo was stronger than a military dictatorship: the paradoxes of gendered political opportunities and women's organising in the Venezuelan transition to democracy', *Latin American Research Review*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina U.P.

**Goetz, A.M., 1998, 'Fiddling with democracy: translating women's democratic presence into development practice in Uganda and South Africa', in M. Robinson and G. White (eds), *Towards Democratic Development State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance: International IDEA, 2001, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Strömsborg: International IDEA

**Jaquette, J.S., 1997, 'Women in power: from tokenism to critical mass', in M. Naim (ed.) *Foreign Policy*, No. 108

Mana N. Htun, 'Moving into Power: Expanding Women's Opportunities for Leadership in Latin America and the Caribbean', Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

Location: <http://www.iadb.org/sds/doc/Prolead-MovingIntoPower-E.pdf>

**Phillips, A., 1995, *The Politics of Presence*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Reynolds, A., 1999, *Women in African Legislatures and Executives: the Slow Climb to Power*, Johannesburg: Electoral Institute of South Africa

Sandusky, S.R., 1999, 'Women's political participation in developing and democratizing countries: focus on Zimbabwe', *Buffalo Human Rights Law Review*, Vol 5: 253-81

Location: <http://www.whrnet.org/resources.html>

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 1995, *Political Participation: CEDAW Advocacy Kit*, New York: UNIFEM and New York: UNICEF

Location: <http://www.whrnet.org/resources.html>

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1999, 'Women and political participation: 21st century challenges', UNDP sponsored meeting on women's political participation, New Delhi, India - 24-26 March 1999.
Links to papers from the meeting can be found at: <http://magnet.undp.org/>
PDF version:

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2000, *Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges*, New York: UNDP
Location: http://magnet.undp.org/new/pdf/gender/wpp/women_book.pdf

**WomenWatch, 1997, *Women and Decision-making*, Women 2000, WomenWatch

4.3 Electoral systems

**Barkman, K., 1995, 'Politics and gender: the need for electoral reform', *Politics*, Vol 15 No 3: 141-6

Misihairambwi, P., 1995, 'Post-elections in Zimbabwe', *Southern African Feminist Review*, Vol 1 No 2

Sibiya, T.E., 1995, 'Gender and politics in Swaziland', *Southern African Feminist Review*, Vol 1 No 2

**Wanzala, W.L., 1995, 'Politics in Namibia', in *Southern African Feminist Review*, Vol 1 No 2

4.4 Decentralisation

**Jain, D., 1996, *Panchayat Raj: Women Changing Governance*, Gender in Development Programme (GIDP), New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Ofei-Aboagye, E., 2000, *Promoting the Participation of Women in Local Governance and Development: the Case of Ghana*, European Centre for Development Policy Management

Tremblay, R.C. and Kumtakar, P., 1998, 'Governance and representation: a study of women and local self-government', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol XLIV No 3: 454-67

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2000, *Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace: Peace Building in Communities Fractured by Conflict in Kenya. An interim report*, New York: UNDP
Location: <http://magnet.undp.org/>

4.5 Civil society

4.5.1 General

**Hirschmann, D., 1998, 'Civil society in South Africa: learning from gender themes', *World Development*, Vol 26 No 2

Howell, J., 1998, 'Gender, civil society, and the state in China', in V. Randall and Georgina Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge

4.5.2 Social movements

Amadiume, I., 'Gender, political systems, and social movements: a West African experience', in M. Mamdani and E. Wamba-dia-Wamba (eds) *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy*, Senegal: Codesria Book Series

Asia Foundation, 1998, 'A changing Asia: women in emerging civil societies', Transcript of the discussion from the Asia Foundation's Asian Perspectives Seminar Series, September 18, 1998, at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C
Location: http://www.asiafoundation.org/pdf/rpt_chan1.pdf

**Basu, A. (ed.), 1995, *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*, Boulder: Westview

Centre canadien d'étude et de coopération internationale (CECI), 1998, 'Action en inconstitutionnalité pour discrimination contre les femmes dans le Code pénal du Guatemala', Centre canadien d'étude et de coopération internationale, programme coopératif en gouvernance
Location: <http://www.iog.ca/publications/pub-citizen.html>
[Language: French]

Erturk, Y., and Kardam, N., 'Expanding gender accountability: women's organisations and the state in Turkey', Monetary Institute of International Studies and Santo Domingo: the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) (draft)

- **Goetz, A.M., 1999, 'Lobbying for economic justice: women's movements and the World Bank', in R. O'Brien, A. M. Goetz, J. Aart Scholte and M. Williams, *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Howell, J., 2000, 'Organising around women and labour in China: uneasy shadows, uncomfortable alliances', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol 33: 355-77
Location: <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/govern/govpubs.htm>
- Kadros, N.K., 2000, 'Turning a rusty wheel: building coalitions for public influence in Egypt', Washington D.C.: Asia Foundation
- Cunanan-Angsioco, E., 2000, 'Constituency-building and Electoral Advocacy with Grassroots Women in the Philippines' Washington D.C.: Asia Foundation
The above two case studies on advocacy from the Philippines and Egypt were written as part of the Advocacy Initiative, a project of the GWIP Program of the Asia Foundation.
Location: <http://www.asiafoundation.org/programs/prog-area-wome.html>
- **Kardam, N., 1996, 'The emerging international women's regime', California: Monterey School of International Affairs
- Kuumba, M. B. and Dosunmu, O.A., 1995, 'Women in national liberation struggles in the Third World', in B. Berberoglu (ed), *The National Question*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- MacLeod, A.E., 1995, 'Hegemonic relations and gender resistance: the new veiling as accommodating protest in Cairo', in B. Laslett, B., J. Brenner and Y. Arat, Y., *Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance, and the State*, London: University of Chicago Press
- Petchesky, R.P., 2000, 'Reproductive and sexual rights: charting the course of transnational women's NGOs', United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)
- Peterson, V.S. and Sisson Runyan, A., 1993, 'The politics of resistance: women as non state, antistate, and transstate actors', in Peterson and Runyan, *Global Gender Issues*, Colorado: Westview Press
- Ray, R., 1999, *Fields of Protest: Women's Movements in India*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Schild, V., 1995, 'NGOs, feminist politics, and neo-liberal Latin American state formations: some lessons from Chile', *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, Special Issue, Ottawa

Sternbeach, N.S., Navorro-Aranguren, M., Chuchryk, P. and Alvarez, S.E., 1995, 'Feminism's in Latin America: from Bogota to San Bernardo', in B. Laslett, B., J. Brenner and Y. Arat, *Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance, and the State*, London: University of Chicago Press

**Tripp, A.M., 1996, 'Women's associations and challenges to neopatrimonial rule in Africa', *MSU Working Papers on Political Reform in Africa* No 15

Walthall, A., 1995, 'Devoted wives/unruly women: invisible presence in the history of Japanese social protest', in B. Laslett, J. Brenner and Y. Arat, *Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance, and the State*, London: University of Chicago Press

Waylen, G., 1994, 'Women and democratisation: conceptual issues and gender relations in transition politics', *World Politics*, Vol 46 No 3: 327-54

4.5.3 Political awareness-raising

**Afkhami, M. and Vaziri, H., 1998, 'Claiming our Rights in Muslim Societies', Montreal: Sisterhood is Global Institute
Location: <http://www.sigi.org/Programs/HREP/index.htm>

Cunanan-Angsioco, E., 2000, *Constituency-building and Electoral Advocacy with Grassroots Women in the Philippines*, Washington D.C.: Asia Foundation

Reyes, S., Conda, E. and Bello, C., 1997, *Increasing Women's Political Awareness and Consciousness: A Manual of Exercises*, Pasig City: The Center for Legislative Development
Location: <http://www.cld.org/>

Rathgeber, E. M. and Ofwona Adera, E. (eds), 2000, *Gender and the Information Revolution in Africa*, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre (IDRC)

5. Rights, policy and the rule of law

5.1 International human rights

Abeyesekera, S., 1995, 'Women's human rights: questions of equality and difference', *Institute of Social Studies Working Paper Series*, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies

**Cook, R.J., 1995, 'Enforcing women's rights through law', *Gender and Development*, Vol 3 No 2: 8-15

Dairiam, S., 1995, 'Universal, indivisible, interdependent, interrelated ... and in peril', *Populi: journal of the United Nations Population Fund*, Vol 22 No 7: 18-21

Davison, J. and Strickland, R., 2000, 'Levelling the playing field: promoting women's economic capabilities and human rights', International Center for Research on Women and the Center for Development and Population Activities

**Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), 2000, 'Bringing international human rights law home', Judicial colloquium on the application of the CEDAW and the Convention on the Rights of the child at the domestic level
Location: <http://www.un.org/pubs/sales.htm>

Facio, A., 1995, 'From basic needs to basic rights', *Gender and Development*, Vol 3 No 2: 16-22

Gallagher, A., 1997, 'Ending the marginalization: strategies for incorporating women into the United Nations human rights system', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol 19 No2: 283-333

Inter-Parliamentary Council, 1998, 'Parliamentary action for national follow-up to international agreements and treaties regarding women', 162nd session, Windhoek, 11 April 1998
Location: <http://www.whrnet.org/resources.html>

Landsberg-Lewis, I., 1998, *Bringing Equality Home: Implementing the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, UNIFEM
<http://www.unifem.undp.org/cedaw/indexen.htm>

Poe, S.C.; Wendel-Blunt, D. and Ho, K., 1997, 'Global patterns in the achievement of women's human rights to equality', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol 19 No 4: 813-35
Location: <http://www.whrnet.org/resourcess.html>

Rishmawi, M., 1995, 'Working on women's human rights: the developing approach of the International Commission of Jurists', Development and socio-economic progress / Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, no.63, 5-13

Sadasivam, B., 1997, 'The impact of structural adjustment on women: a governance and human rights agenda', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol 19 No 3: 630-65

5.2 Regional human rights

Afkhami, M. (ed.), 1995, *Faith & Freedom: Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World*, London: I.B. Tauris

**Afkhami, M. and Friedl, E., 1997, *Muslim Women and the Politics of Participation: Implementing the Beijing Platform*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press

Fischer-Buder, K., 1998, 'Human rights and democracy in Southern Africa', papers presented at the conference: Cultivating co-operation amongst human rights institutions in the UNITWIN network in Southern Africa, University of Namibia and UNESCO

Hilsdon, A.-M., Macintyre, M. and Mackie, V., 2000, *Human Rights and Gender Politics: Asia-Pacific Perspectives*, London: Routledge

Kidd, P.E., 1997, 'Botswana families and women's rights in a changing environment', Women and Law in Southern Africa Research Trust, Botswana

Menell, K. and Jobson, M., 1995, 'Women's rights in South Africa: a guide to national organizations with a gender focus', Human Rights Institute of South Africa, Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa

United Nations, 'Human rights and legal status of women in the Asian and Pacific region', *Studies on Women in Development* No.1

5.3 State policy and the law

Brasileiro, A.M. (ed.), 1996, *Building Democracy with Women*, New York: UNIFEM

Chandra, S.K., 1997, 'Women and empowerment', *Indian journal of public administration*, Vol XLIII No 3: 395-9

DasGupta, M., 1999, 'Liberte, egalite, fraternite: exploring the role of governance in fertility decline', *Journal of development studies*, Vol 35 No 5: 1-25

- Edwards, L., 2000, 'Policing the modern woman in republican China', *Modern China*, Vol 26 No 2: 115-47
- Gopal, G., 1999, 'Gender-related legal reform and access to economic resources in Eastern Africa', *World Bank technical paper* No 405, Washington, D.C.: World Bank
- Jacobs, S., 1998, 'The gendered politics of land reform: three comparative studies in Latin America', in V. Randall and G. Waylen (eds), *Gender, Politics, and the State*, London: Routledge
- Jalal, I., 1997, *Law for Pacific Women: a Legal Rights Handbook*, Suva: Fiji Women's Rights Movement
- **Lister, R., 1997, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, London: MacMillan
- **Mouffe, C., 1998, 'Feminism, citizenship, and radical politics', in C. Mouffe, *Return of the Political*, London: Verso
- Muragu Nyabera, A., Mawani, A. and Ngari, W., 1999, *Setting the Pace: the 1999/2000 FIDA (K) Annual Report on Legal Status of Kenyan Women*, The Women's Rights Monitoring and Report Writing Project Federation of Women Lawyers - Kenya FIDA (K)
- United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 1995, *Legal Status and Legal Reality: CEDAW Advocacy Kit*, New York: UNIFEM
Location: <http://www.whrnet.org/resources.html>
- United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), 1996, *Women in Penal Codes in Latin America and the Caribbean*, New York: UNIFEM

5.4 Customary law

- **Agarwal, B., 1998, 'Widows vs. daughters or widows as daughters: property, land and economic security in rural India', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol 1 (Part 1)
- Griffiths, A.M.O., 1997, *In The Shadow of Marriage: Gender and Justice in an African Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Poulsen, K., 1995, 'Human rights for women: battles of culture and power', *Gender and Development*, Vol 3 No 2: 36-42
- Sh'hada, N.Y., 1999, *Gender and Politics in Palestine: Discourse Analysis of the Palestinian Authority and Islamists*, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies