

**INTEGRATING GENDER INTO THE WORLD BANK'S POVERTY  
REDUCTION STRATEGY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The World Bank has been trying to integrate gender into its poverty reduction strategy. They claim that it has had some success in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy, particularly in non-social sectors. However, some feminist scholars state that the World Bank's economic efficiency approach only leads to inequality and 'feminisation of poverty'.

This dissertation analyses the integration of the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy in order to give an answer of whether the World Bank is successful in integrating gender perspectives in its work or what needs to be done in its work. A theoretical framework, based on Marxist feminism, is used to provide reasons for women's oppression in capitalist society and to explain why the World Bank is slow in integrating gender into its work. An overview of the World Bank and gender from the Bretton Woods conference in 1944 until now shows the procedure of integrating gender into the World Bank's work. An overview of different periods gives a picture on how far the World Bank has integrated gender into its poverty reduction strategy in particular and what problems the World Bank has met then. Focusing on the theoretical framework and the overview of the World Bank and gender, recommendations on how poverty reduction and gender might be done are given. Finally, a discussion of possible consequences of these recommendations is presented.



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Maryna Aleinik is a postgraduate student at the University of Manchester. This dissertation was presented in her MA in Human Rights with law and political science pathway. Her current research interests are in gender and development, particularly with a human rights approach. She holds a bachelor degree in law and a specialist degree in economic law from the Belarusian State University. Her research focus and the topic of her bachelor course work was ‘The constitution of the U.S., 1787: the history of creation and basic principles’. The topic of her diploma dissertation was ‘The U.S. State Structure in the Recent Time.’

## INTRODUCTION

Integrating gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy is an important topic for analysing. On the one hand, the World Bank considers that it started paying attention to gender many years ago. World Bank (1995a) claims that it has long supported efforts to lower the barriers to equal participation by women - its first efforts to explicitly address women in development came in the late 1960s. Furthermore, it seems that the World Bank considers that only it has done work to decrease inequality between genders. The World Bank (1994a) indicates that the Bank is the only of the many actors engaged trying to close the gender gap. The World Bank considers that it has had success in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. The World Bank (2008) claims that it had made significant progress in mainstreaming gender issues in the social sectors of health and education, and now it needs to intensify its integration of gender in the non-social sectors that support shared growth and lead to increased economic opportunities for women, such as the energy, finance, transport and agriculture sectors.

On the other hand, the World Bank with its economic efficiency approach is more interested in making capital for business companies rather than for people, or particularly women. A consequence of this is the 'feminisation of poverty'. The Commission on Global Governance (1995) indicates that the feminisation of poverty is shocking, and women who enter the labour market continue to receive less reward than men for equivalent work and are confined to stereotypical and low-status tasks. Therefore, in this aspect the World Bank has failed in integrating gender into its work and furthermore, the World Bank can have an influence on increasing the amount of poor women in the world.

Three fifth of the world's one billion poorest people are women and girls (United Nations Development Programme, 2006:20). Therefore, it is necessary to make an analysis of the integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy in order to have a clear idea on whether the World Bank is really successful in integrating gender into its work or if its work is increasing the number of poor women. One of the most necessary questions in this dissertation is why gender has been included in the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. The other important

question is whether integrating gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy can bring real benefits to a worldwide poverty reduction strategy. It is a really important question if integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy is successful for both women and men.

In order to make a critical analysis of the integration of gender by the World Bank, it is necessary to investigate many primary resources, e.g. papers from the World Bank, such as

- Advancing Gender Equality: World Bank Action since Beijing.
- Toward Gender equality: the role of public policy.

and secondary resources such books as

- Sargent, Lidia. 1981. *“Women and Revolution: A discussion of the ‘The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism’”*.
- Chen, Martha Alter, Joann Vanek and Marilyn Carr. 2005. *Mainstreaming Informal Employment and Gender in Poverty Reduction: A Handbook for Policy-makers and Other Stakeholders*, and so on,

such journal articles as

- Elson, Diane. 1994. ‘People, Development and International Financial Institutions: An Interpretation of the Bretton Woods System’,
- Hafner-Burton E.; Pollack M.A. 2002a. ‘Mainstreaming gender in global governance’, and so on.

For more details see bibliography.

In an analysis of the integration of gender into the World Bank’s poverty reduction strategy, it is necessary to start with a theoretical framework. From a variety of feminist theories such as liberal, socialist, Marxist, standpoint, post-modern, and post-colonial feminism, the most appropriate to analyse the integration of gender is Marxist feminism. It can provide an explanation why women are among the poorest in a capitalist society, and why there is inequality between men and women in capitalist society. Marxist feminism can explain why the World Bank is slow in integrating gender into its work, and why the World Bank has failed in integrating gender into its poverty reduction strategy. Furthermore, the Marxist feminism can give some advice

on what the World Bank needs to change in its work in order to have real success in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy.

Secondly, it is important to give an overview of the World Bank and gender. One of the most important questions is how and why gender became important within the poverty reduction strategy of the World Bank. Why did the integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy take a long time? It is also important to analyse why it was not successful from the early 1970s through the mid-1980s to integrate gender into the World Bank. Which problems did the World Bank face with integrating gender from 1985 to 1995? What influence did the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 have on the World Bank? Another question is how feminist perspectives became important for the World Bank after Wolfensohn took control of the institution. Has Wolfensohn really changed much regarding the integration of gender in the World Bank's work? What is the role of the poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs)? Has the World Bank included gender into PRSPs successfully or not?

Thirdly, it is necessary to analyse poverty reduction and gender: how it might be done and the consequences of it. It is important to give recommendations to the World Bank and answer such questions as what needs to be done and which consequences might have if the World Bank started to integrate gender into its poverty reduction strategy with different approaches? Which mistakes has the World Bank made during implementation in practice? What has the World Bank missed in its integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy? What should the World Bank change and include into its poverty reduction strategy?

In conclusion, it is necessary to summarise what Marxist feminism explains about the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy and which advice from the Marxist feminism the World Bank should take into account. It is also important to sum up the process of the integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy and answer such questions as whether the implementation of gender in the World Bank's strategy was successful. It is also necessary to indicate the mistakes which have been made by the World Bank during this procedure and what the World Bank

should change in its poverty reduction strategy in order to benefit women and men.  
Providing recommendations to the World Bank can tell it where to go further.

## **Chapter 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: MARXIST FEMINISM**

On the one hand, integrating gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy is claimed by the World Bank to be a successful approach in mainstreaming gender in its work. On the other hand, there are critiques by feminists of the World Bank's way of integrating gender in its poverty reduction strategy. Therefore, before giving an overview of the World Bank and Gender, and giving some recommendations to the World on improving its integrating gender in its work, it necessary to start with a theoretical approach.

Marxist feminism is the core theoretical approach for making a critical analysis of the integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. Marxism and feminism as a union can provide us with important insights on why there is an inequality between men and women in the capitalist society, where the World Bank is playing an important role. It can also give answers why there is still gender division of labour and why women are still marginalised and at the bottom of the social hierarchy even though the World Bank states that it has done much work on integrating gender from the 1960-s. Furthermore, 'a feminist analysis by itself is inadequate because it is blind to history and insufficiently materialist; both the Marxist analysis, particularly its historical and materialist method, and the feminist analysis, especially the definition of patriarchy as a social and historical structure, must be drawn upon if we want to understand the development of western capitalist societies and the predicament of women within them' (Hartmann, 1981:2).

The main ideas of Marxist feminism such as the link between capitalism, patriarchy and women's oppression; the link between capitalism, patriarchy and racism are what the World Bank's work can be associated with. Furthermore, the Marxist feminism's idea about the association of women with a reserve army of labour in the capitalist society can give answers why the World Bank has started integrating gender in its work. Finally, Sargent (1981) claims that 'Marxist feminists believed in the importance of women in the struggle against capital as "workers" but not as "women"'. This can be an important idea of having the same opportunities in employment between men and women. This also can help in abolishing unpaid domestic work which is one of the most important recommendations which the

World Bank should take into account. Therefore, it is necessary to make an analysis of these core ideas of Marxist feminism, in order to have clear ideas about what the World Bank's integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy can bring for women and what the World Bank needs to change in its work. It is also necessary to start with an analysis of the woman question in three forms of Marxism, then to analyse the link between patriarchy, capitalism, and women's oppression. Then follows an analysis of the material base on patriarchy and of the connection between racism, capitalism and patriarchy.

It seems that the World Bank considers that an economic efficiency approach is the key idea of the poverty reduction strategy and improving women's position. However, it is the opposite of what Marxist feminism indicates. Therefore, it is important to start with analysing three forms of Marxism in order to see how they have covered the woman question.

The first form of Marxism has given the idea that women's oppression is associated with capitalism and the end of capitalism with private property can put an end to the sexual division of labour. This idea can be useful because with the World Bank's neo-liberal framework it still seems to make women the poorest in the world. Early Marxists, including Marx, Engels, Kautsky, and Lenin, saw 'capitalism as drawing all women into the wage labour force, and regarded this process as destroying the sexual division of labour' (Hartmann, 1981:4). For example, Engels (1972) writes about the inferior position of women and attributes it to the institution of private property. It seems that for Engels and other early Marxists, women's oppression is associated with private property, and the end of capitalist society means the end of women's oppression. Engels (1958) claims that as the extension of wage labour destroyed the small holding peasantry, and women and children were incorporated into the wage labour force along with men, the authority of the male head of household was undermined and patriarchal relations were destroyed. This means that women, children and men have disadvantages in capitalist society. It can be only partly true, because there are many more poor women than men in the world now but patriarchy exists in the capitalist society. For instance, the connection between capitalism, patriarchy and inequality between the position of women and men in the labour market can be seen, for example, in the comparison between an extreme capitalist country as the United States and the more social Europe. Landry and MackLean (1993) emphasize that for women in the electronics industry in the Silicon Valley of California, for instance, the predominant issues may be deskilling, the perception as a reserve army of labour who does not require job security or the benefit packages that are corporate America's answer to welfare-state socialism in the European countries. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that women seem to be associated with something as a commodity in the capitalist society, which is subordinate to men and there is a link between capitalism, women's oppression,

including patriarchy, and the association of women with a reserve army of labour which are all relevant to the World Bank's work.

The second form of Marxism is useful for an analysis of the influence of capitalism, into the women's oppression in the world, which can help to understand why the World Bank's integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy is slow and of questionable success. 'Contemporary Marxists have incorporated women into an analysis of everyday life in capitalism where in their view, all aspects of our lives are seen to reproduce the capitalist system and we are all workers in the system' (Hartmann, 1981:4). The second form of Marxism is emphasising the role of capitalism in women oppression. For instance, Eli Zaretsky (1973), as an example of the second form of Marxism, points out that capitalism has not incorporated all women into labour force on equal terms with men; rather capital has created a separation between the home, family, and personal life on the one hand and the workplace on the other. It is possible to agree with Zaretsky in terms that capitalism can use women as cheap labour in order to increase the value of capital. Saffioti (1978) argues that the marginalization of women's labour is necessary for capitalism and the key to understanding women's situation under capitalism. In this case women look like some technical bodies that are used for capital purposes but not as human beings. Foucault (1979) indicates that 'the technology of the body is precisely a force of production, that the body is invested in relations of power and domination; but its constitution as labour power is possible only if it is caught up in a system of subjection and the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive and a subjected body'. Consequently, there is a link between capitalism and women's oppression what should be in mind of the World Bank's attempt at integrating gender in its work.

The third form of Marxist analysis of the woman question, particularly focused on housework is also important in terms of understanding the link between the World Bank's work, the role of the informal sector (or especially unpaid domestic work) in 'feminisation of poverty' and women's oppression in current time. 'Marxist feminists have focussed on housework and its relation to capital, some arguing that housework produces surplus value and that houseworkers work directly for capitalists' (Hartmann,1981:4). The question about the value of housework is

important in terms of analysing the inequality on the labour market in the capitalist society today. The main reason why housework is seen as the free work of women lies in the capitalist society. Johnson (1999) mentions that profit is derived from surplus value and women's subsistence work did not create surplus value, therefore women's work could not create profit and was accorded no economic value. In this view, women's work did not contribute to capitalism because they did not generate capital. Feminist economists have played an important role in the analysis of domestic labour and why it is cheap labour for capitalist society. For example, Elson and Keklik (2002) explain that the problem of the role of domestic labour in reproducing labour is that it cannot be fully coordinated with the activities of business and government via monetary transactions; this is because parents do not (and indeed are not allowed to) treat children as if they were livestock, reared and sold purely to make profit. This example explains why housework; including caring for children is not bringing money for business. However, children are the future workers which are necessary for any society and housework is necessary to capitalist society. Dalla Costa (1973) argues that what is socially important about housework is its necessity to capital; in this lies a strategic advantage for women, by demanding wages for housework and by refusing to participate in the labour market, women can lead a struggle against the capital. There are some changes in women's opportunities to participate with equal rights to men. 'Women have increasingly participated in paid employment while still retaining primary responsibility for care work; the proportion of women in the top jobs has significantly increased at the same time as the development of the low-paid sector; the wages gap between women and men working full-time has declined, though not for part-timers' (Walby, 2000:167). This means that there are some advances in women's participation in the labour market. Nevertheless, there is some evidence of an existing inequality between men and women. It seems that there is still inequality in labour market because the capitalist society exists as the market has two bases of unequal power. Rai (2004) mentions that class and gender are two bases for unequal power relations operating in the market. Making markets is a political rule that privileges some over others; making markets is making class and gender (Rai and Waylen, 2008:61).

Consequently, all of the earlier analysed three forms of Marxism are important for an understanding of Marxist feminism and particularly the role of capitalism in women's oppression now, especially in an explanation of the World Bank's integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy. 'Marxism can therefore nevertheless be used to develop a theoretical framework in which to situate the problems of women's oppression and women's liberation' (Vogel,1983:2).

Marxist feminism is important for understanding the link between patriarchy, capitalism and women's oppression. Marxist feminism makes the understanding of women question in the free forms of Marxism complete. Marxist feminism emphasises the existence of patriarchy in the capitalist society and women's oppression as a result. The World Bank's economic efficiency approach in the integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy seems opposite to what the Marxist feminism considers needs to be done to stop keeping women at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Hartmann (1981) argues that 'patriarchy as a system of relations between men and women exists in capitalism and that in capitalist societies a healthy and strong partnership exists between patriarchy and capitalism'. An example of the women's oppression in the capitalist society can be garment companies. For example, Enloe (1989) indicates that garment-company executives in alliance with local officials came up with a formula that has suited electronics companies, toy manufacturers and food processors as well: "if you can't move to the Third world, create a feminised Third World in your own back yard". An Example of this is the garment-company Benetton in Northern Italy. Segal (1988) mentions that Benetton's executives were able to call on small-scale local sewing workshops to change their products faster than most big companies can, however, prices had to be low enough to enable Benetton to keep ahead of other companies; the solution are Italian family-based subcontractors hiring women to work in their homes or small non-unionized workshops. Benetton is an example of the women's oppression in informal employment, which is suitable for the neo-liberal economic efficiency approach. It seems that as this approach is the main approach of the World Bank, this means that the World Bank can only make the position of women in society worse with an increasing level of 'feminisation poverty'.

The Marxist feminism understanding of the existing patriarchy on the material base is important because capitalism can be seen as one of the most important reasons of women's oppression in the capitalist society, which can be useful in analysing the integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy even if for instance, Social feminists critique Marxist feminists on the definition of patriarchy. Patriarchy is suitable for capitalism, therefore it is useful to take into account that patriarchy not only depends on culture, but also that the capitalist society creates good conditions for this. The difference between Marxist feminists and Socialist feminists is that Marxist feminists look at the reason for the existence of patriarchy on the material base, while Socialist feminists on the importance of culture in influence on patriarchy. Muller (1977) states that there is some evidence to suggest that when patriarchy was first institutionalised in state societies, the ascending rules literally made men the heads of their families (enforcing their control over the wives and children) in exchange for men's ceding some of their tribal resources to the new rules. Socialist feminists criticize Marxist feminists because they consider that patriarchy is not only because of the material base but also because of the social base and these critiques are valid as well. For example, Mitchell (1966) considers that patriarchy, which largely organizes reproduction, sexuality, and childrearing, has no material base. 'The importance of Firestone's work in using Marxism to analyze women's position, in asserting the existence of a material base to patriarchy, cannot be overestimated but it suffers from an overemphasis on biology and reproduction' Hartmann (1981:12). Historically, women's oppression was not only because of the creation of the capitalist society. Biologically, men are physically stronger than women; therefore in tribes men were involved in hunting and women primarily in reproduction. Riddiough (1981) considers that while we can't specifically describe the situation in early humans, the scenario that is most often put forward is that the earliest societies were hunting societies, while the development of agriculture was a crucial advance to the development of social as well as physical differences. Men, as bearers of the old hunting culture, became dominant. However, 'in some cases controversial, the difference from Marxist feminists is that instead of arguing that the material or economic base produces certain effects, like culture and ideology, as a part of its superstructure, a so-called cultural materialist would argue that ideology and the discourses generated by social institutions are themselves located in material

practices which have material effects that affect even the economic structures of the base' (Lnadry and MacLean, 1993:61). Furthermore, another materialist feminist Hennessy (1993) claims that drawing from the insights of Marx, materialist feminism argues that material life in the form of human activity sets limits to human understanding: what we do affects what we can know, but it is also attended to in more recent developments in Marxist theory which stress the materiality of knowledge: how what we know also shapes what we do. However, it is difficult to claim that culture and ideology produce certain effects on the economical base because the situation in the capitalist society as it seems is the exclusion of social issues in the neo-liberal framework. 'The development of a service-based economy, especially in the United States, and the accompanying displacement of industrial production to the 'third world', the increased emphasis on consumption as crucial for capitalist growth, the revaluation of the 'third world' and rapidly shifting socialist bloc as potential markets' (Hennessy, 1993:8). Culture can be an important additional issue of understanding of women's oppression. It seems that the economic base of the capitalist society has played an important role in the ideology of men from developing countries as they are following the tradition of men from developed countries. Capitalist society is keeping the tradition of white men's oppression of women. Brown (1981) indicates that capitalism is actively promoted, and continues to promote the ideology of domestic womanhood to justify low wages for women, arguments for their indispensability, and keeps women from organising.

To sum up, the idea of patriarchy of Marxist feminism is useful for an understanding of women's oppression, particularly in capitalist society, which is associated with the World Bank's work, particularly with integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. Furthermore, to make an analysis of the material base of patriarchy is important as there is a link between capitalist society and the World Bank.

The Marxist feminism idea about the link not only between capitalism and patriarchy but also between racism, capitalism and patriarchy is an important issue in analysing the integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. Hartmann (1981) argues that capitalists themselves are likely to be the dominant social group and racist (and sexist) in it. There is a distinction of races for capitalism as the role of white women is still different from the role of black women. For

instance, Young (1981) indicates that while most white women are oppressed in not being able to attain the ruling class standard of beauty, black women are oppressed in being outside those standards altogether. Men from the first world countries use women from the third world countries as free domestic workers at home. 'Men in Scandinavia, Germany, Australia, Britain, the United States and Japan now want to have access to Third World women not just in Third World tourism centres; they want to enjoy their services at home' (Enloe, 1989:39). It is important to mention that historically, the difference of inequality between black women and black men was different. Because of slavery black men could not have access to subordinate white women. Joseph (1981) indicates that during the slavery Black women were victims of the most vicious, atrocious and dehumanizing behaviour committed on American soil but black men on the other hand were projected as rapists shortly after the Civil War to provide the racist white mentalities with a justification for lynching. This means that race can play an important role towards women's oppression as well. Black men have accepted White men behaviour of women's oppression. What can also be important is the age of women in terms of finding a successful job on the labour market.

Consequently, Marxist feminism is an important theoretical approach for making a critical analysis of the integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. The existence of patriarchy, women's oppression, and racism are, according to the key ideas of the Marxist feminism, because of capitalism. This can give the core ideas to understand the World Bank's work in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. These ideas can also help to make an analysis of the World Bank and gender. They can try to explain why the poorest population of the world are women, why the World Bank's economic efficiency approach is not relevant to women, why women are still the reserve army of labourers and at the bottom of social hierarchy. The Marxist feminism ideas about women's struggle as working class can be the most important issue in integrating gender to the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. Creating more employment opportunities are something which the World Bank has missed in its work.

## **Chapter 2: THE WORLD BANK AND GENDER: OVERVIEW**

In order to make analysis of the integrating gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy, it is necessary to give an overview of the World Bank and gender starting with the importance of the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 for the World Bank and gender, then analyzing of the integration of gender into the World Bank's work from 1965 (as the World Bank claims that it has started to pay attention to gender from the late 1960-s) until 1985, from 1985 (which is associated with important events in the World Bank's work and gender such as the appointment of a senior economist from inside the Bank as the new WID adviser) until 1995, and from 1995 (when the new president of the World Bank James Wolfensohn was appointed, who had some influence in integrating gender into the World Bank's work, the Fourth World Conference in Beijing) until now.

Integrating gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy was not an easy and quick procedure. It took a long time for the World Bank to come near mainstreaming gender in its agenda. It is known that Marxist feminism can explain this slow procedure because there is a link between capitalism, patriarchy and women's oppression.

Firstly, it is necessary to find out why the World Bank has not desired to include gender in its agenda. It is important to start with the Bretton Wood Conference in 1944 in order to know why the World Bank is famous for the importance of its economic efficiency approach, and hostile to the importance of social provisions, and the human rights approach which is important for women. The World Bank's economic efficiency approach is suitable for capitalism and this is has link what Marxist feminism claims that capitalism is appropriate more for men, as many of them involved in business, and not women, as many of them are in free domestic work. The Bretton Wood Conference in 1944 was an attempt to achieve a balance between capital and people's well-being which is important for women as there are no many women who involved in business. Harris (1988), Killick (1984) and Oliver (1975) cited in Elson (1994) indicate that the important question of the appropriate balance between the power of money and the well-being of people was at the heart

of the discussions in the Bretton Woods conference in 1944. Surprisingly, at that time the World Bank had social goals in its agenda. However, because of the importance of the economic framework it was difficult to keep social goals for the World Bank. 'From the beginning on there was a tension between these goals and the interests of owners of private capital, who were interested in maximizing the returns to their assets, irrespective of social goals' (Elson, 2002:1). It seems that the World Bank from the creation was interested in growing capital and not interested in equality between men and women. As the World Bank was interested in growing capital, this means that according to Marxist feminism equal rights between women and men is just impossible. Elson (1994) states that 'during the Bretton Woods conference in 1944 employment were understood in terms of paid, full-time, long term jobs for male breadwinners, where women and children were expected to depend on husbands and fathers rather than to have independent entitlements'. The dependence of women on male breadwinners in capitalist society is what Marxist feminism trying to explain that there is women's oppression in capitalist society, where women's work are associated with free domestic work. This means that from 1944 on the World Bank has associated women with unpaid care works for male breadwinners.

After the Bretton Wood Conference in 1944 the World Bank has started paying attention to gender in its work again only in the 1970-s. Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002a) mention that the World Bank first turned its attention to Women in Development (WID) in the early- to mid-1970s, when US women first put WID issues on the agenda of American development institutions (such as AID, the Agency for International Development), and when the UN system as a whole began to pay attention to women's issues with the declaration of the Decade for Women. The important event which influenced the World Bank's attempts of integrating gender in its work was the First World Conference on Women in Mexico City, 1975. It was not the World Bank who started to highlight the importance of the gender equality. The reason of why the World Bank was not interested in integrating gender and this was mostly because of NGOs is as Marxist feminism claims that growing capital is what capitalist society needs. Therefore gender issues were no important in the World Bank's work.

From the period of the middle of the 1960s until 1985-s, the important steps of integrating gender into the World Bank's agenda are associated with appointing WID advisor in 1977, including WID in Operational Manual by the World Bank in 1984. Long (2003) indicates that the World Bank began its work on gender equality in 1977 by appointing a Women in Development advisor, followed by the establishment of a WID Unit in 1986. 'In theory, the WID's office played a monitoring and overseeing role: it reviewed all projects at the preparation and appraisal stages, providing criticisms and suggestions that would have to be addressed before the projects could advance' (Kardam, 1991). Nevertheless, until the middle of the 1980s, there was not much work and almost no progress was made by the Women in Development advisor. The progress was slow because women's oppression and patriarchy are suitable for capitalism as Marxist feminism claims. Another reason of this was that prior to the mid-1980s the office of the WID advisor was provided only with a half-time secretary, a half-time assistant and a small budget to hire outside consultants; perhaps more importantly, the WID advisor was located in the research and policy side of the Bank, not in the operational departments where lending decisions were made on a day-to-day basis (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002a:360). This means that in organisation terms, there was not enough staff to work with gender issues. An explanation can be that there were not many efforts

from the World Bank in this approach. Marxist feminism can explain that the reason why the World Bank was not much interested in making progress of integrating gender into his work is because women are associated as unpaid domestic workers, which are suitable for capitalist society. 'WID advisor's duties were to make staff members more conscious of the costs of not taking women into account, to provide operational support, and to respond to outside requests for information' (OED, 1994:10). Furthermore, Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002b) indicates that 'the World Bank has traditionally been a more closed and centralised organisation, with few internal allies on women's issues, a decision-making structure that places significant discretion in the hands of the Bank's management, an overwhelming majority of staff located in the Bank's Washington offices, and few links to the NGOs'. In addition, most observers agree that the dominant language in the Bank remains economics (Lexow and McNeill, 1989:74). Capitalism is interested in increasing capital, which is mostly received by men because not many women who are involved in this. This means women are in disadvantage position in capitalist society and therefore, there is women's oppression as Marxist feminism indicates. However, one of the good steps towards integrating gender by the World Bank was including the WID in the Operational Manual of the World Bank in 1984, as this some kind of guidelines of working for WID officer. What is also important is that these guidelines were drafted by the WID adviser and the informal sociology group of which she was a member (Kardam, 1991). Nevertheless, this was not enough. Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002a) indicate one of the main reasons for the slow procedure of the adoption of gender mainstreaming by the World Bank was that most of the Bank's early research on women, like that of other agencies, was directed at understanding the determinants of fertility, women were thus strongly associated with biological reproduction. This is the Socialist feminism explanation of women's oppression, and it criticises the Marxist feminism for excluding this from its theory of women's oppression. It can be an important additional factor in the inequality between men and women in capitalist society but the role of the material base and its influence on the inequality between men and women in capitalist society is still important. Consequently, the World Bank started paying attention to gender only in 1970-s and not the late 1960 as it claims. Furthermore, from the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 until the middle of 1980-s not much work was done by the World Bank in

terms of integrating gender into its agenda. Long (2003) mentions that ‘from the World Bank’s report from 1965-85: less than 10 percent of Bank-funded projects included specific gender-related actions’. The reason for paying attention to social issues such as gender could be that during the presidency of Robert McNamara (1968-1981), for example, the alleviation of poverty gained recognition as a major Bank objective and was also reflected in new areas of Bank lending (Ayres, 1983:5). Therefore, World Bank’s attention to poverty was a small positive step towards social issues and paying even a small but important attention to gender. However, it was only due to pressure from outside of the World Bank, as Marxist feminism states capitalism, which is associated with the World Bank’s economic efficiency approach, is quite hostile to equality between men and women because women sees as army of reserve labour in capitalist society.

From the middle of the 1985-s until 1995-s, the World Bank has made some slow progress towards integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy, which is associated with the appointment of a new WID advisor in 1985, the appointment of new president in September 1986, creation of WID Unit in 1987, the first official policy paper on gender as well as a new Operational Policy in 1994.

The first indication of what appeared to be a more serious approach came in September 1985 with the appointment of a senior economist from inside the Bank as the new WID adviser (Razavi and Miller, 1995:37). It was an important step as the new WID advisor from the World Bank’s staff could give more opportunities to the WID advisor to influence the integrating gender into the World Bank’s agenda. However, this some kind of progress was only a small step of the World Bank. Nevertheless, within months her mandate was narrowed down: project monitoring, advice to operational staff, external relations, information dissemination and staff training were scaled back. Instead a two-pronged strategy was delineated: (i) demonstrating how attention to WID contributed to development objectives in a language that is acceptable to economists; (ii) providing clear operational guidelines (OED, 1994). The reason of the some kind of success of the World Bank in institutional terms can be associated with new President of the World Bank. In September 1986 the new president announced the Bank’s emphasis on WID, which in 1987 became one of the four formal areas of special emphasis, along with poverty reduction, environment, and private sector development (World Bank, 1992a). At the

same time, it is necessary again to indicate that this little success of the World Bank was again mostly because of pressure from outside of the World Bank. Razavi and Miller (1995) mention that the 1985 World Conference on Women in Nairobi had an influence on many agencies in that, if they had not already done so, they issued formal WID policy statements and WID plans of action. It seems that the World Bank tried to slow down WID policy statements and WID plans of action in order to keep, as Marxist feminism indicates, women's oppression in capitalist society.

In institutional terms, the WID Office grew into a unit with three professionals in January 1987. After the 1987 Bank-wide reorganization, the unit became a WID division in the Population and Human Resources Department (PHRWD), maintaining its association with what is seen as a soft area in the Bank's human resources and social sector planning Razavi and Miller (1995:37). Finally, in 1994, the Bank issued its first official policy paper on gender (World Bank,1994b) as well as a new Operational Policy which provided specific guidance for efforts to 'reduce gender disparities and enhance women's participation in the economic development of their countries by integrating gender considerations in its country assistance program' (World Bank, 2000:2). This means that only the first official policy paper on gender appeared in the World Bank's agenda in 1994. And at the same time, the World Bank claims that it included gender in its work from the middle of 1960-s on. This is one piece of evidence that the World Bank has not been very interested in integrating gender in his work as Marxist feminists can explain this that women are seen as an army of reserve labour in capitalist society.

Furthermore, on the one hand, from the middle of 1980s the World Bank has started implementing its idea about investing in women. On the other hand, at the same time the neo-liberal approach has started to become the main approach in development or particularly in the World Bank's agenda, which can be characterised as 'feminisation of poverty.

From the middle of 1980-s the World Bank started its new strategy of investing in women in such familiar spheres as health care and education. This investment is associated with the necessity of the World Bank in having more population for growing capital, which Marxist feminism can explain this that women are considered as an army of reserve labour in capitalist society. Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002a) indicate that from the mid-1980s onward, the Bank produced study after study

demonstrating the gains in economic efficiency to be realized from investments in women. The World Bank started to pay attention to investment in women not because it was necessary for equality between women and men and for having the same rights as men. It was just because of the opportunity to have benefits for the economic framework of the World Bank. 'Investments in health care for women aged 15–44, for example, were shown to provide the greatest return on health care spending for any economic group; and investments in women's education, provision of micro-credit to women entrepreneurs and other investments were shown to make sense, not only in terms of social justice, but also —and primarily — in terms of the Bank's primary development mission' (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002a:361). Thus the World Bank's work is associated with having reserve army of labours, particularly women, as men still have more access to business.

On the other hand, from the middle of the 1980-s the neo-liberal policy agenda has become important in the World Bank and in development in general which is associated at the same time with globalisation. Globalisation with the neo-liberal approach can be reason of 'feminisation of poverty' as economic efficiency approach is interested in growing capital, increasing the role of private companies, to which women do not have access. Razavi (1997) states 'that a number of recurring hypotheses can be identified in a variety of policymaking institutions, both multilateral and bilateral, as well as in Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)' and women's organizations and networks writings: first, that women are overrepresented among the poor; second, that the incidence of poverty among women has been rising at a faster rate than that amongst men; a third related feature is the combined argument that an increasing number of households have become female-headed (over time) and that the poorest households are more likely to be headed by a woman than a man'. The reasons why women are overrepresented among the poor, that the incidence of poverty among women has been rising at a faster rate than that amongst men is as Marxist feminism can explain that in capitalist society women's works is associated with free care work and women are as army of reserve labours. It seems that the World Bank's economic efficiency approach can be the real reason of 'feminisation' of poverty. Beneria and Feldman (1992) state that among the consequences of post-Keynesian and post-communist transition to neoliberal capitalism was the feminisation of poverty or the growing female share of

the population living under the poverty line. It seems that when the World Bank put neo-liberal approach firstly on the agenda, it was from beginning impossible to reduce poverty for women. Marxist feminism can explain this that capitalism emphasises the importance of the growing capital, which men have access more than women. Therefore there is women's oppression in capitalist society. UNDP (1999) indicates that the period of capital market liberalization was also a period of growing inequality, both between and within countries. As the World Bank is the main organisation which is responsible for the process of globalisation, moving from liberal to neo-liberal policy agenda, it seems that the reason for the feminization of poverty is the World Bank's economic framework, which is not taking into account human rights. It is the opposite that the World Bank claims that investing in people is also designed to reduce 'the barriers to women's economic participation' (World Bank, 1994b:20). This claim of the World Bank is disputed and opposite to Marxist feminists approaches which state that the economic framework, particularly capitalism makes women's position worse than men, especially in labour market. Increasing women's economic participation in fact means the commercialisation of women's work and is a mixed blessing for women, often meaning a considerable extension of their working day for little financial return, even though it may give them some money of their own (Elson, 1994:519). Massiah (1993) indicates that it is by now well documented that women around the world have not benefited from development efforts to the same extent as men and in effect, domestic service is contributing much more than employment for significant numbers of women. Women's work, especially in informal sector, seems invisible. The explanations why the women's work in informal sector is invisible, Marxist feminists can give as women sees as army of reserve labour in capitalist society.

Consequently, even though, there were some steps by the World Bank in terms of changing the organisational structure of the WID officer, implementing the first gender policy paper in 1994, there were still many disadvantages in the attempt of the World Bank in integrating gender into the World Bank's work. The World Bank's idea about investing in people and in particular in women seems to bring benefits only for the World Bank, in particularly to men, who have more access to capital, and at the same time this keeping women's oppression which Marxist feminism explains as there is a link between patriarchy and capitalism.

In order to make an analysis of the integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy from 1995 until now, it is necessary to examine the influence of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, the move from WID to GAD approaches, the influence of the Asian crisis in the 1990s on the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy, the effectiveness of the Poverty Reduction Strategies Papers (PRSPs) of the World Bank, and if implementing SWAps (sector wide approaches) and participatory approach are appropriate for the World Bank's integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy.

1995 is one of the important years for the World Bank's attempts of integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy, first of all, because of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing and also because of the appointment of the James Wolfensohn as the new president of the World Bank. Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002a) mention that the Clinton appointee and former Wall Street entrepreneur, Wolfensohn came into office promising to re-focus the Bank's attention on the reduction of poverty, to simplify the loan-approval process, to decentralize the management of the Bank (with an increasing percentage of staff in the field) and to open the Bank's operations to include NGOs and members of civil society in the developing world. James Wolfensohn was a president who reacted to critiques of the World Bank by NGOs, and civil societies. As a result, he included gender mainstreaming into the World Bank, but again it was done after pressure from feminist groups during the Beijing Conference in 1995 and not by desire of the World Bank. World Bank (2000) indicates that the results of the Bank's efforts in implementing reforms in the Bank which were promised by Wolfensohn since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing are described in a series of Bank reports and publications since Beijing. Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002a) consider that the World Bank has made some success with the appointment of the Wolfensohn. Nevertheless, 'the structural and ideological changes introduced within the Bank during Wolfensohn's tenure have clearly accelerated the mainstreaming process that had begun rather more tentatively during the previous decade, and even the Bank's persistent critics acknowledge the significant progress made by the Bank in the five years after Beijing' (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002a:362). However, this progress of the World Bank was not enough. The World Bank continues looking at women as techniques or, as Marxist feminism claims, as reserve army of labour,

which can bring benefits mainly for men who have access to capital. Some progress of the World Bank's integrating gender in its policy was also because of pressure of feminists advocates. Long (2003) reports that at the Beijing conference representatives of women's organizations presented President Wolfensohn with a letter signed by over 800 people urging the Bank to increase participation of grassroots women in Bank-funded initiatives, to institutionalize a gender perspective in Bank programs, to increase Bank investments in women's health, education, agriculture, land ownership, employment and financial services, and to increase the number and diversity of women in senior Bank management. This means that the World Bank by itself has not had much desire in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. All of the work done by the World Bank in terms of integrating gender was only in the interests and for economic profits of private capital, for which there is no access for women. It was, as Marxist feminists say, that capitalism is interested of in growing capital, which at the same time means women's oppression. It is a famous fact that mostly men are the head of business companies and not women. Women are still in the role of a reserve army of labour. Many Southern gender specialists also think that 'the Bank is promoting gender mainstreaming while it supports macro-economic policies that further the interests of transnational corporations in search of new markets and new sources of cheap labour, thus reinforcing the exclusion of disadvantaged social groups, especially women' (Long, 2003:VI).

After the Fourth Conference on Women in 1995, Gender and Development (GAD) had to become the main approach in developmental organisations. The move from Women in Development to Gender and Development created problems in many development organisations, including the World Bank. Akerkar (2001) indicates that GAD aims to look at the social relations and interactions between women and men, and the contexts and constructions of masculinities and femininities and not look at women as separate from men, as others. Nevertheless, the World Bank is having problems with implementing the GAD approach. Furthermore, Whitehead and Lockwood (1999) state that GAD has not happened in the World Bank. One of the most important problems of the World Bank is that, as Moser (1998) contends, there is no agreement on what the term gender means in Bank policy documents. Arguably, this complexity and lack of coherence in gender language and gender

approaches arises out of the relatively weak commitment to gender issues within the Bank (Whitehead and Lockwood, 1999:3). It seems that the World Bank was very slow with WID and not moved to GAD because women were not central in the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. Marxist feminists can explain that the World Bank has still not moved to GAD because in capitalism supports patriarchy and women's oppression. Furthermore, women are at risk in a financial crisis as they work mostly invisible in capitalism. Irene van Staveren (2000) claims that the burden of excessive financial risk-taking is also shifted to the people, mainly women, who provide the unpaid care that keeps families and communities going; particularly in poor and middle income families, women are called upon to spend more time and effort in providing non-market substitutes for marketed goods that their families can no longer afford to buy, and providing substitutes for public services that are no longer available. Marxist feminists can give the explanation why women can be in worse positions than men after financial crisis as because for capitalist society women are associated with unpaid care work. Therefore, any financial crises dangerous for women as many of them are involved in free domestic work.

A good example of the failure of the World Bank's the strategy of economic efficiency and ignorance of social issues in its strategy was the Asian financial crisis in 1990s which has brought many disadvantages to women. For instance, example of this can be South Korea where the World Bank was involved in development. 'Data from the National Statistical Office show that between 1997 and 1998 employment declined by 3.8 per cent for men and 7.1 per cent for women in South Korea' (Lee and Rhee, 1999). This has shown that the World Bank's economic efficiency approach in development is not appropriate for women many of them are in informal sector of employment, whom are sensible for any kind of financial crisis.

Even after the Asian financial crisis, the IMF and the World Bank still take the view that the position of poor people can only be improved through economic growth (IMF/WB, 1999). This means that the World Bank is still indicating the importance of economic growth as a means of decreasing poverty all over the world. Elson (2002) mentions that the idea that financial liberalization can lead, in a financial crisis, to irreparable loss of human well-being is not entertained by the World Bank. Furthermore, 'the World Bank has been less than satisfactory in promoting gender equality in its policy and operational initiatives; however, the recent steps taken by

the Bank are encouraging' (Long, 2003:20). The less than satisfactory progress of promoting gender equality in the World Bank can be explained by Marxist feminism that there is a link between capitalism, patriarchy and women's oppression in which capitalist society or the World Bank are interested in. Even now the World Bank's Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) have not integrated gender perspectives. The World's Banks PRSPs are clearly weak on gender issues and this is exacerbated by policy evaporation and the lack of connection between different sections of the document, where the most elaborated gender policies are mainly informed by rights and empowerment frameworks (Whitehead, 2003:16).

It seems that not much has been done from the 1995 up to now. The World Bank has not changed much in its economic efficiency approach to towards poverty and gender. 'The World Bank has merely used the arguments of conservative social-capital theorists to integrate social and cultural concerns into its market-centred approach, while it continues to frame its interventions through an economic and paternalistic lens' (Bergeron, 2003:414). Marxist feminism explain why the World Bank has not changed its economic efficiency approach is because women's oppression is relevant for capitalism. Therefore, the World Bank is still not integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy in a way this should be done. For instance, Schech and Vas Dev (2007) indicate that their analysis of the World Bank's development report 2000/01 and its key implementation tool, the PRSPs, the World Bank's approach to poverty is unlikely to deliver gender justice, because there are large discrepancies between the economic and social policies that it prescribes. Furthermore, it is contrary to what the feminist mean by GAD. Woodford-Berger (2004), for example, argues that gender mainstreaming has become an instrumental technique that is fitted into the requirements and routines of development bureaucracies, rather than the socially and politically transformative process that GAD feminists had intended it to be. The World Bank's not desire to move to GAD Marxist feminism can explain that there is a link between patriarchy and women's oppression in capitalist society. This indicates that 'the Bank is challenged when it comes to incorporating men into its analysis without losing the focus on addressing women's subordination' (Asante, 2002:292). It seems that the World bank's PRSP's failed in integrating gender. 'Drawing lessons from the first 19 papers, the gender section in the World Bank's Poverty Reduction Strategy Sourcebook' (Klugman

2002) notes that ‘gender issues were most commonly discussed in relation to poverty diagnosis (41 per cent of the papers) and least in relation to the participation process (21 per cent), and monitoring and evaluation (10 per cent)’ (Bamberger et al. 2002:338). It seems that the World Bank is not so successful in integrating gender into the poverty reduction. Marxist feminism explain not success of the World Bank in integrating gender into his poverty reduction strategy as because capitalist society is interested in growing capital and at the same time keep women as reserve army of labours. Furthermore, it seems that sector-wide approaches (SWAps) (‘SWAps - a sustained partnership, led by national authorities, involving different arms of governments, groups in civil society, and one or more donor agencies, whose goal is to contribute to national human development objectives by focusing on the development of a coherent sector, defined by an appropriate institutional structure and national financing programme’ (adapted from Norton and Bird 1998), which is one of the main approaches in PRSPs are not that successful. The World Bank considers that the problem lacks the desire of the governments of the donor states to participate in integrating gender into the PRSPs. ‘The Bank’s view of gender discrimination is the result of ‘so-called traditional arrangements’ and the barriers placed by state institutions within developing countries, rather than the result of global capitalist structures and processes’ (Bergeron 2003:409). Nevertheless, the lack of accountability, transparency and deficit of democracy in the World Bank with the power mostly belonging to the US can be the reason for not giving opportunities to the governments of the development-country to integrate gender into PRSPs. Germain (2002) claims that every significant architectural development, successful or unsuccessful, revolved around American efforts to shape the global context within which financial transactions occurred and as a result, the world entered the last few years of the twenties century with an international financial architecture firmly centred on U.S. wants and demands. Therefore, participatory processes are limited in their impact because developing-country governments cannot allow them to result in a poverty-reduction strategy that conflicts with the macro-economic policy prescriptions of the World Bank and the IMF (McGee 2003). Consequently, the World Bank’s procedure of integrating gender into the World Bank’s poverty strategy was very slow. The main reason of this is the World Bank’s main economic strategy which is useful only for transnational corporations but not

for women. Marxist feminists can explain the slow procedure of the integrating gender into the World Bank's work's as capitalism supports patriarchy and women's oppression. The World Bank's poverty reduction strategy is not human-centred but sees women as just an army of labourers or a population which they need to grow capital. It is possible to say that the World Bank's has made some progress in integrating gender in its work from 1960s such as a growing number of staff who is working on integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy, trying to integrate gender into the more projects. However, this was done mostly by pressure from outside of the organisation. The PRSPs have shown that the World Bank has almost failed to integrate gender perspectives into the PRSPs . And as Marxist feminism can explain is that in capitalist society women are associated with the army of reserve laborers. Thus the World Bank continues to increase the 'feminisation of poverty' and to use women as techniques to grow capital for the wealthiest countries. The World Bank only claims that it has done much but it can do much more. Therefore, it is necessary to give some recommendations to the World Bank in order to better integrate gender into the poverty reduction strategy.

### **Chapter 3: POVERTY REDUCTION AND GENDER: HOW IT MIGHT BE DONE AND THE CONSEQUENCES**

The World Bank is far from succeeding in integrating gender into the World Bank's poverty strategy as it claims. The Marxist feminism ideas about the link between patriarchy, women's oppression and capitalism can explain why the World Bank has almost failed in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. Therefore, it is necessary to give some recommendations to the World Bank what it needs to change in terms of integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy such as implementing a human rights approach to development; starting to include the importance of social provisions; giving importance to employment opportunities; improving the attitude towards sector-wide and participatory approaches; changing the understanding of the way of investments in education and health sectors; make the real steps from WID to GAD; being accountable, transparent and democratic in order to give women an opportunity to influence the integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy

Firstly, the World Bank needs to change its attitude to the understanding of development, particularly by moving from a purely economic efficiency approach to a human rights approach. This will help to achieve equality between men and women, and to reduce poverty by providing women the same rights as men. For example, 'the World Bank, which works consciously and somewhat successfully to place itself in a position of ideological hegemony over the discourse of development professionals worldwide, recognizes growing world economic inequality, but sees poverty rather than inequality as the central challenge to development' (Murphy, 2005:7). It is opposite to what is mean by human-centred development and what is necessary to be in the development. Sen (1999:146-159) emphasizes that 'political equality and democracy gives us control over our lives; ending political marginalization and bringing the voices of all those affected into the process of collective decision making, is at the core of real development. It seems that the World Bank's economic framework can be a reason for women's oppression in society as Marxist feminism says. Therefore, some feminist advocates consider that a human-centred agenda is should be important in gender equality. For instance,

Beneria (1995) thought about 'a more radical reformulation of a conception of development that is human centred and conducive to gender equity'. Sen and Grown (1988) 'laid out the main contours of an alternative policy agenda that is human-centred and responsive to the needs of the poor in general, and to poor women in particular'. It seems that capitalism is hostile to a human-centred approach and accepts inequality between men and women in society as Marxist feminism indicates. The World Bank is more associated as an actor who imposes its own ideas about equality, democracy and other characteristics of the development to poor countries, where women are influenced. All of these as Marxist feminism indicate because of the destructive role of capitalism for working people, especially women. Therefore, it is necessary for the World Bank to include not only the economic efficiency approach but a human-centred approach in development because the World Bank's understanding of development is closer to economic efficiency goals than human-centred. Elson (1994) states that 'the World Bank's agenda sounds more like business-centred development than people-centred. Unfortunately it started many years ago and is still continuing to be'. During the Bretton Woods conference the human-centred approach was not suitable for the World Bank's development agenda. Marxist feminism explains this with women's oppression being suitable to grow capital where women look as reserve army of labours for capital. As the World Bank is responsible for the first Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, it seems that is necessary for them to take into account the Millennium Declaration where the human rights approach to development is central, including the equality between men and women. Elson and Keklik (2002) mention that the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were agreed to in September 2000 when world leaders met at the Millennium Summit at the United Nations. Probably the reason why the World Bank has officially tried to convince that it is necessary to integrate gender into its poverty reduction strategy is because as a forthcoming World Bank report notes that 'because the MDGs are mutually reinforcing progress towards one goal affects progress towards others. Success in many of the goals will have positive impacts on gender equality, just as progress toward gender equality will help other goals' (Carlsson and Valdivieso 2003). Nevertheless, it seems that this is only claim of the World Bank that it has integrated gender into its poverty reduction strategy,

which in practice has shown that much work need to be done in order to include gender perspective in its work. It seems that the World Bank should include core values of Millennium Declaration. Abyesekera (2000) emphasises that equality, including “equal rights and opportunities of women and men,” is one of the core values of the Millennium Declaration, in which member states of the UN resolved to “respect all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms,” and to strive for the “full protection and promotion in all our countries of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all;” as well as to “combat all forms of violence against women and to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. This means that a human rights approach, including economic and social rights, should be the central approach in the World Bank’s poverty reduction strategy as it is important for women and men. This is what Marxist feminism means by changing capitalism to something like socialism as a good way to end women’s oppression.

A human rights approach in development; particularly in the World Bank's integration of gender into its poverty reduction strategy is very important. Elson (2002) claims that there is not one path to gender equality, but that there can be no gender equality unless all the different paths and different issues are confronted; economic empowerment without reproductive rights and health care will leave women less than full citizens; education without an end to harassment and violence against women will make it difficult for girls and women to make full use of their education.

Secondly, it can be a good idea to change the World Bank's association of the end of poverty with an economic efficiency approach (which is characterised by growing capital for rich people (most of them men) and the feminisation of poverty) to reducing the power of capital and to increasing social provisions, which can help to reduce poverty for women. Kabeer (2003) indicates that while a number of studies suggest that there is indeed a relationship between gender equality and economical growth, there are conflicting findings as to whether the relationship is a synergy (greater equality translates into economic growth) or trade-off (greater inequality fuels higher level of growth). It seems that 'trade-off' is the consequences of the neo-liberal approach of the World Bank. The World Bank is interested in economic growth which can be a reason for the growing level of poverty among women and inequality as Marxist feminism indicates that capitalism and gender equality are opposite to each other, and women are the reserve army of labours in capitalist society. Chen, Vanek and Carr (2000) claims that 'those who argue that economic growth and global integration tend to erode the incomes or livelihoods of the poor, while at the same time increasing the costs of public goods and services and thus increasing rather than reducing poverty'. This means that the World Bank's integration gender into the poverty reduction strategy is inconsistent and create the 'feminisation of poverty' and the inequality between women and. Beneria and Bisnath (1996) mention that 'within the current global economy, technological changes often lead to transient poverty (due to cyclical or temporary factors, such as with cyclical unemployment, inflation, macro-economic policy shifts, or natural disasters) among women with low education and skill levels'. Marxist feminism explains that capitalism can bring only disadvantages for women, including free care

work and women's oppression. Elson (1994) states that 'lack of money in a money-centred economy certainly leads to poverty but there are two contrasting ways in which poverty can be tackled: one seeks to reduce the power of money through extending social provision; the other seeks to extend the power of money by introducing financial criteria into the operation of all public services, and by deregulating labour markets'. It seems that it is necessary to reduce power of money thorough extending social provision in order to stop women's oppression. Therefore, the World Bank needs to change its understanding of poverty by reducing the power of money and trying to provide a more social approach, which can help in integrating gender into its poverty reduction strategy and have more equality between men and women. Under Marxist feminism it also can be explain as an important step to gender equality. Furthermore, the World Bank (1993) claims that household expenditure patterns, as revealed in the Household Budget Survey, confirm that gender inequity within the household is an extremely important dimension of poverty. This means that the World Bank's analysis of the importance of the gender inequality within households should be analysed not only with an economic but also with a social approach. Folbre (1996) claims the need to analyse the household as a system of a social relations.

Thirdly, it can be useful for the World Bank start paying attention to the importance of employment opportunities with rights, protection and voice for people in poverty reduction strategy too. It is also useful to stop creating an informal sector of employment where women are seen as a reserve army of labour. Instead, the same social provisions should be given to the informal and formal sectors of employment. Equal employment opportunities for women and men, especially in the informal sector, can be one of the important steps to reduce poverty all over the world. Marxist feminists claim that equal rights for women and men in employment is one of the possibilities for equality of women, which together with the end of capitalism can put an end to women's oppression. Chen, Vanek and Carr (2000) claim that today there are several broad approaches to conceptualising and measuring poverty; income and basic needs: which focus on income, expenditures and basic needs for poor; human development; which focuses on health, education, longevity and other 'human capabilities' for the poor; and social inclusion; which focuses on political

participation, social dialogue and the 'voice of the poor. However, none of these focus on employment per se; even the income poverty school pays surprisingly little attention to the source of income. During the World Bank's attempts of integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategies, this opportunity was simply not included. However, Chen, Vanek and Carr (2000) argue that hopes for poverty reduction largely hinge on the creation of more employment opportunities, particularly those accompanied by rights, protection and voice. It seems that the World Bank has been blind of these changes because is interested in growing capital for wealthiest countries and a reserve women's army of labourers. Marxist feminism indicates that capitalism is associated with inequality between men and women; women as reserve army of labour are what are suitable for capitalism. Nevertheless, more employment opportunities with rights, protection and voice should be the main approach in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. The more employment opportunities for women, the more chances women have to be wealthier and independent from men. Therefore, Marxist feminism's idea about struggling women as class of workers against capitalism should be central to the World Bank's integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is an organisation that claims the importance of employment opportunities by giving a definition of decent work which can be the key in a poverty reduction strategy for both men and women. ILO (2002) defines decent work as employment opportunities accompanied by rights, protection and voice. Nevertheless, 'decent work' is not included in the main option for reduction poverty strategy. Unfortunately, employment creation is not one of the Eight Millennium Goals, and employment is either a target or an indicator under the first major goal of eradicating extreme poverty and hunger (Chen, Vanek and Carr, 2000:IX). As a result it can have the bad consequences for people who are working in an informal employment, especially for women. This also means that the World Bank's idea of investments in key sectors such as education, health care, increasing women's access to land and credits seems to fail in a poverty reduction strategy for people in general and especially for women. As the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy is interested in growing capital, which means that what the World Bank's attentions in its poverty reduction strategy are not suitable to create employment. A result of this can be an increasing amount of poverty for women. Marxist feminism

mentions that in a capitalist society women are at the bottom of social hierarchy this can have consequences of increasing amount of poverty of women too. ILO (2004) estimates that there are 550 million working poor and that these numbers may double before 2015 (the target year in the Millennium Development Declaration for extreme poverty). Therefore, the idea of decent work by the ILO is the most important agenda for stopping poverty all over the world. The World Bank should include this in its work and listen to advice of the ILO. Nevertheless, it can be a problem for the World Bank to do this, if it not move from economic efficiency to more social approach, because as Marxist feminism mentions that capitalist society is interested in reserve army of labours, especially women, most of them who in informal sector. Social protection for both formal and informal sectors is what is important for working people. However in reality, people, mostly women, who have been working in the informal sector, are famous for lack of social protection. Chen, Vanek and Carr (2000) claim that within the international development discourse, there is a dominant school of thought that argues that the demand of labour should be left to the market and that social protection is affordable only for the formally employed. There are many women who work in informal sector who do not have any social provision. Marxist feminism can explain this that many women sees as reserve army of labours and associated with free care work. Therefore, the World Bank's neo-liberal agenda can be the reason for the growing inequality between women and men in employment in particularly with the creation of an informal economy, where mostly women are employed. Priore and Sabel (1984) state that mass production was giving way to 'flexible specialisation' or, in some contexts, reverting to sweat shops production. This means that the World Bank's neo-liberal agenda is a reason for the growing inequality on the labour market and the growing of level poverty in general. As Marxist feminism can explain existing inequality in labour market is because women's oppression is suitable for capitalism. The new patterns of capitalist development were (and are still) associated with informalisation of employment relations – standards jobs being turned into non-standard or typical jobs with hourly wages but few benefits, or into piece-rate jobs with no-benefits - and sub-contracting of the production of goods and services to small scale informal units and industrial outworkers/homeworkers (Chen, Vanek and Carr, 2000:18). As the World Bank is the main actor promoting globalisation and a poverty reduction strategy at the same

time, it seems that the World Bank has more influence on growing poverty and inequality of women. The informal economy becomes a permanent, albeit subordinate and dependent feature of capitalist development (Portes et al., 1989). The World Bank has done little in analysing the labour participation of poor and non-poor as Marxist feminism argues that there is strong link between capitalism and women as a reserve army of labourers. Data on differential labour participation of poor and non-poor women have been compiled for a small number of countries using the World Bank poverty assessments report (Lampietti and Stalker, 2000). Nevertheless, this result is controversial. For example, Bravo (2003) states that in a study of Peru, more poor women than non-poor women participate in the labour force, except in the 25-44 age group where economic activity rates are slightly lower for poor women. Furthermore, the World Bank with its neo-liberal agenda, has an influence on creating informal employment, the reason for the gender gap, and the growing poverty among women. The globalisation fact is that, around the World, there are significant gaps in wages and earnings within the informal economy: on average, employers have the highest earnings; home-workers have the lowest; and own account workers and wage workers earn somewhere in between, depending on the economic sector and country (Chen, Vanek and Carr, 2000:18). It seems that the World Bank should change its neo-liberal agenda with free markets, and the prosperity of informal employment to some more social agenda, with protectionism by the state in macro policy, with the creation of decent work and rethinking of informal employment.

Consequently, there is a need to change the attitude of the World Bank towards employment opportunities in its poverty reduction strategy, too, providing more and equal social provisions for informal and formal sectors. Renewed attention needs to be paid to employment in economic planning, including in the Poverty Reduction Strategies Papers (PRSPs) for heavily-indebted countries and the MDGs for the world at large; more specifically poverty reduction strategies need to address the 'decent work deficit' in the informal economy as well as gender differentials within it (Chen, Vanek and Carr, 2000:XXII).

Fourthly, it can be a good proposal for the World Bank to improve on using sector-wide approaches and to pay more attention to a participatory approach in integrating

gender into the poverty reduction strategy, by including gender perspectives in these approaches. The World Bank is famous for implementing sector-wide approaches to integrate gender into its poverty reduction strategy. However, it is controversial whether its sector-wide approaches are successful. Bell (2000) states that the move towards sector-wide approaches is based on their potential for building a coherent policy and focusing goals at the national level - thus improving implementation throughout sectors – and increasing national ownership. The World Bank has made some efforts to include governments and civil societies in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. However, it is not enough and the World Bank's sector-wide approaches have nearly failed. Experience to date shows that while sector wide approaches have the potential to assist the effective mainstreaming of gender, they have largely failed to include a gender perspective (Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and WHO studies). Whilst sector wide- approaches are still in their early days, and evidence of impact is scarce, the World Bank's sector wide approaches, for example, have been criticised for their failure to establish national ownership resulting from a lack of policy dialogue with partners, including civil society organisations (Bell, 2000:2). It is necessary to mention that for the better result of the integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy is important that governments, civil societies should make more efforts from their part, too. Robb (2000) states that it had become clear that, to succeed, poverty reduction programs needed to be developed by the countries themselves—rather than imposed from the outside—and that the input of the poor was critical to the development of effective poverty reduction strategies. This means that the participatory approach can play a positive role in integrating gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. Cornwall (2003) argues that the participatory approach 'stresses changes in the behaviour and attitudes of outsiders to become not teachers but facilitators, not lecturers but listeners and learners, which can help reduce poverty of both men and women'. In terms of the civil society, organizations need to be more proactive in challenging the globalization process; to demand greater transparency and accountability from government and donor institutions alike; and to demand a more democratic processes of decision-making within donor agencies as well as governments and it is important to increase the participation of self-organized people living in poverty, especially women, and to involve them in policy debates

(Abeyesekera, 2000:6). However, a participatory approach also needs to include a gender perspective. Though participatory approaches are promoted as inclusive, they are also subject to criticism for often ignoring women's worlds, needs and contributions to development (Bell, 2002:4). This can also mean that a participatory approach can be working on the condition of including gender perspectives into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy and also women's commitment to increase the understanding and to include their needs. Therefore, women also need to be more involved in the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy, including measuring and monitoring. Women's organizations will need to be vigilant in international and national monitoring of achievements (Elson, 2002:55).

Fifthly, the World Bank should change its approach of claiming that investments in education and health sectors are key strategies in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. The World Bank's ideas about investments in women's education, health care, land rights, and access to financial credits in order to reduce poverty are not enough and not integrating gender at all. Marxist feminism explains that in capitalist society women seem to be a commodity, a technique for growing capital. Therefore, the World Bank in them. Most of the World Bank's poverty assessments' indicate the importance of increasing the numbers of women in World Bank's work in order to reduce poverty. However, there are some problems with this World Bank's claim. It seems that it can work with some cases. For instance, Whitehead and Lockwood (1999) in analysing the reduction of poverty on the condition of investment in education in Sub-Saharan Africa claim that first, the evidence is often weak (for example, data in the Uganda I Household Budget Survey (HBS) show that 70 per cent of the poorest household heads are literate, as opposed to 80 per cent of non-poor household heads (World Bank, 1993) and education is argued to raise productivity, but how it does this is never investigated. The World Bank should continue to pay attention to the growing number of women involved in education but it should take into account that it is necessary to put an end to women's inequality, giving social and economical rights, and only then to think about growing capital for the wealthiest countries. Whitehead and Lockwood (1999) mention that an analysis of female education in the World Bank's integration gender into its work is based exclusively on efficiency arguments how female education is

more efficient than male education in increasing child and household welfare, and development indicators more widely but it is not an analysis that says anything about the reproduction of structural gender inequalities, or anything substantive about how gender inequalities underlie educational outcomes. The reason why the World Bank is not thinking much about gender equality is as Marxist feminism indicates because women's position at the bottom of the social hierarchy, which is relevant to capitalism. This means that it the World Bank's investments in the two main sectors education and health do not mean that it gives benefits and equality for poor people. Elson (1994) states that investment in health and education do not by themselves ensure that the poor are in a position to take advantage, rather than be taken advantage of, which depends on how far health and educational provision develop capacities for self-assertion and decision-making and how far those qualities are valued and developed in the forms of labour process in which people are employed. Furthermore, there is a need to analyse the relation between poverty and gender. It lies at the level of process and relations and for this link to be established, poverty must be analysed as a relation and process, as must gender (Whitehead and Lockwood, 1999: IV).

Sixthly, the World Bank also needs to move from the not successfully implemented WID to GAD approach not only officially, but practically as well. After the Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing, 1995 there was a new approach to gender mainstreaming such as Gender and Development (GAD) in development organisations, including the World Bank. Nevertheless, GAD is not practically included into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. The absent of the World Bank's desire to move to GAD Marxist explain that for capitalism women are as an army of reserve labourers. Since 1970-s Women in Development (WID) was a main approach in development organisations, including the World Bank, with the aim of including women in market economy. However, it has taken much time in order for this approach to be included into the World Bank and this approach was not implemented by the World Bank in the right way. For instance, Akerkar (2001) states that women are already working hard, particularly poor women, and women's labour was already a part of economy, although not necessarily recognised as such, or remunerated and increasing their 'involvement' in project and market at times

meant primarily increasing their labour burden. This is one more piece of evidence that Marxist feminists claim that women's work, particularly in domestic service is not recognisable. Furthermore, Razavi and Miller (1995) indicate reasons for the hostile attitude of the World Bank to WID:

First, its relative independence from, or lack of accountability to, the more obvious WID constituents, such as women's NGOs. Second, the organizational goal of growth/economic efficiency, which does not seem to mesh with WID's equity mandate. Third, an institutional culture and a set of procedures dominated by economics, and technical and economic analysis, that seem hostile to WID's footing in sociology, and its methods rooted in social analysis. And finally, operational staff working under pressure to move money, reluctant to consider yet another set of conditions/guidelines.

This means that the World Bank's project papers have not implemented GAD. Akerkar (2001) claims that to some degree the GAD approach has brought about a real change, however in practice some 'GAD' interventions may continue WID's distorted focus on women in isolation from their context. The World Bank is still working more with WID, to which it was hostile. This means that until this approach is the main approach, women will get many disadvantages from development. Rees (1998) argues that international organizations have generally adopted an integrationist approach to gender mainstreaming, integrating women and gender issues into specific policies rather than rethinking the fundamental aims of the organization from a gender perspective. It can be for the reason and result why the World Bank has not moved to GAD, which Marxist feminism explains that for capitalism women are as just reserve army of labourers.

Seventhly, it also seems necessary to make changes in the inside the World Bank such as having more accountability, transparency and democracy. This can help to include women's opinion in general about the way of integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy to not only northern but also southern feminists. True accountability and democracy is what the World Bank needs. The most powerful donor state is obviously the United States, which now controls 16.39 percent of the votes on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (giving it de facto veto power over any charter amendment proposal) and 13.44 percent of the votes on the International Development Agency board (Weaver, 2007:499).

Therefore, it is possible to assume that the World Bank takes into account more the north feminists ideas but is blind to southern feminists. For instance, feminist critics have highlighted the origin of WID advocacy in Northern feminist movements, especially those of the United States because of the productivity bias which informed both the efficiency and the anti-poverty approaches. This paralleled the concerns of feminist activists in the United States, who in their own national campaigns for equal rights were highlighting women's productive contributions (like men) while they downplayed biological differences and the reproductive sphere. This what Marxist feminism means by branding capitalism as racist because the opinion of South feminists is not taken into account.

Consequently, there much needs to be done by the World Bank to integrate gender into the poverty reduction strategy. A human rights approach in poverty reduction strategy, and generally in development, is the most important step towards changing the inequality between men and women and to reduce poverty. Women need equal rights to men in every sphere of life which gives them an opportunity to reduce poverty and to put an end to patriarchy. Given the importance of social provisions and not only the economic efficiency approach, reduction of poverty have the opportunity to succeed because women have less access to capital and they need social protection. What the World Bank needs the most in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy is to provide more employment opportunities for women with rights, protection and voice. This should be the key idea in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy, which Marxist feminism indicates, too. Only on the condition that women have the same employment opportunities as men, poverty can be reduced as women have the same access to jobs as men. There is also need to improve sector wide-approaches and participatory approaches in the World Bank's integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. The most important step of the World Bank should be including gender perspectives in these approaches. Education and health sectors should also be important for women's access to decent work but not only for growing capital of the wealthiest countries as the World Bank is doing now. GAD but not WID approach should be at the centre of the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy as this strategy should include gender needs from the beginning of projects and not integrating only later. Accountability, transparency and

democracy in the World Bank are a way of taking into account feminist ideas both from North and South.

## CONCLUSION

To sum up, integrating gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy is an important agenda which needs to be analysed by the World Bank and other development agencies as well.

The World Bank's claim that it has had success in integrating gender in into its poverty reduction strategy in general, and particularly in non-social sectors is very controversial. It seems that the World Bank has had some success growing capital for private business companies, the head of which are mostly men, at the same time creating more inequality between men and women, when women are still among the poorest population in the world. The World Bank's economic efficiency approach is a real reason for the 'feminisation of poverty' and the growing inequality between men and women.

Marxist feminism as a theoretical approach is a good explanation why integrating gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy almost failed and there is no efficient integration of gender into the World Bank's work. Marxist feminism states that the reason for women's oppression is because there is a link between patriarchy and capitalism, which is the key answer why the World Bank with its neo-liberal agenda is not relevant for integrating gender into its work. Furthermore, the connection between capitalism and patriarchy is creating racism, which is creating more inequality between men and women from different nationalities. This also can be a reason for the slow integration of gender into the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. The material base of patriarchy can give an explanation and more evidence that in a capitalist society men are seen as 'breadwinners', where women are seen as a reserve army of labourers and free domestic workers.

All these ideas of the Marxist feminism can be seen in the overview of the World Bank and Gender. The World Bank is very slow in integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy and has failed in integrating gender perspectives in its work. The Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 was the beginning of the World Bank's failure to integrate gender as a business-centred approach but not a people-centred one was taken. The World Bank has indicated that it had started to work with

gender in the late 1960-s, but only in 1977 was the Women in Development advisor appointed. Furthermore, from 1965-85: less than 10 percent of Bank-funded projects included specific gender-related actions. After 1985 there was some progress by the World Bank such as the appointment of a senior economist from inside the Bank as the new WID adviser in September 1985. In September 1986 the new president announced the Bank's emphasis on WID, which became one of the four formal areas of special emphasis in 1987 along with poverty reduction, environment, and private sector development. The WID Office grew into a unit with three professionals in January 1987, but only in 1994 the first gender policy paper was implemented. All of these successful steps by the World Bank are mostly in institutional terms which have not much influenced the reduction of poverty for women in all countries. Furthermore, from the beginning of the 1980-s there is widespread of globalisation and neo-liberal approach, the main approach of the World Bank, the consequences of which can be 'feminisation of poverty'. It seems that the World Bank with economic efficiency approach agree with the growing number of informal employment, which has disadvantages for women with making them more poor and creating inequality between men and women. From 1995 until now there has not been much success by the World Bank either. The Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing and the appointment of James Wolfensohn as the president of the World Bank have pushed the World Bank to pay more attention to integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. Nevertheless, the World Bank's PRSPs have shown that the World Bank is still far from appropriately integrating gender into its work. There is still too a weak a commitment by the World Bank to integrating gender into the PRSPs. The World Bank has also not made the important move from WID to GAD. Accountability, transparency and democracy in the World Bank's work is what need to be done in order feminists from both North and South can be involved in the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy. All explanation of the World Bank's slow procedure of the integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy can be given by Marxist feminism.

Consequently, there is much work to be done by the World Bank in order to improve integrating gender into the poverty reduction strategy. Firstly, the World Bank needs to move from an economic efficiency approach to human rights. Secondly, there is a need to increase social issues in the World Bank's work, as social provisions are necessary, especially for women and help reduce poverty. Thirdly, the World Bank needs to take into account idea of the ILO of decent work in terms of creating more employment opportunities with rights, protection and voice for people, which was also the Marxist feminism idea of the women struggle as working class against the capital. Fourthly, it seems relevant to the World Bank to improve the use of sector-wide approaches and to pay more attention to a participatory approach by including gender perspectives in these approaches, which can create more equality between men and women and can help to reduce poverty all over the world. Fifthly, the World Bank should change its approach of claiming that investment in education and health sectors are the key strategies to improving women's opportunities in employment. Sixthly, the World Bank's needs to change WID to GAD as this can be necessary for an appropriate integration of gender into the poverty reduction strategy. Seventhly, the World Bank should take more into account the opinion of feminists from North and South in its integrating gender poverty reduction strategy with providing accountability, transparency and democracy inside of organisation.

Only on the condition that the World Bank has taken all of these recommendations into account, it is possible to integrate gender into the poverty reduction strategy in appropriate way. Women would be more involved in the World Bank's work and had more influence on its work. There would be gender equality with all equal rights, where both women and men would look as human beings but not commodities. Social provisions could help women to be more protected from any financial crisis. The access to decent work could provide equal opportunities in labour market. All of these could put an end to poverty all over the world.

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