



INSTITUTIONAL BUREACRATIC REPRESENTATION IN GENDER MAINSTREAMING

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Abstract

The theoretical framework of theory of bureaucratic representation is used to explore the stances on which gender mainstreaming is being implemented in development administration in the 21st century. This paper argues that, in order to ensure effective gender mainstreaming in development administration, national machineries should not only focus on increasing the head counts or women's (quota) representation in politics and policy making positions but that active bureaucratic representation of both men and women with shared values and goals on gender equality issues. Second, the paper argues that gender mainstreaming in development administration should not only be focused on policy agenda setting but also in all other stages of the policy process (agenda setting, implementation and evaluation). Third, the paper also argues that gender mainstreaming in the national machineries should focus on active representation at all levels of national machineries bureaucracies (policy makers as well as mid and street level bureaucracies).

Key Words: Bureaucratic Representation, Gender Mainstreaming, Democracy.

Introduction

This paper presents a theoretical exploration of the state of gender mainstreaming in development administration. The role of national machineries in promoting gender equality has been framed since the United Nations World conference on the International Women's year in Mexico 1975. Following this event subsequent United Nations International Women's' conferences developed the agenda to improve the status of women internationally. Of these events, the Fourth World Conference on Women, in 1995, held in Beijing China established the foundations of gender mainstreaming through national machineries. The role of national machineries in gender mainstreaming expanded to ensuring that gender equality is promoted in every policy areas nationally and these machineries are assumed to be strategically situated to ensure that necessary resources, both human and financial are being made accessible for the same reason. Gender mainstreaming in development administration is primarily a function of two factors: the position of gender mainstreaming national machineries in influencing policy making as well as the active representation of women in the national machineries.

This paper explores on the theoretical foundations on which the concept of gender mainstreaming is being framed in development administration. The paper has four main sections. The first section establishes the assumptions and theoretical frameworks on which gender mainstreaming is envisioned to stand. The second section presents a critical reflection on the theoretical gaps in the frameworks established for gender mainstreaming in development administration. Third, from the perspective of representative bureaucracy, this paper critically explores the stances of gender mainstreaming through national machineries in development administration. Fourth, the paper presents a discussion on the way forward in gender mainstreaming in development administration.

Research Thesis

This theoretical paper establishes three independent but also inter-connected factors in gender mainstreaming in development administration. First, is that, effective gender mainstreaming in development administration is heavily dependent on the state of active representation of both men and women within national machineries. The paper argues that active representation and not the head count (quota) or passive representation of women engenders effective gender mainstreaming in development administration. Second, the paper argues that active representation in gender mainstreaming should be realized at all levels of the policy process with in national machineries: including policy agenda setting, policy implementation as well as policy evaluation stages. Third, the paper argues that active representation in gender mainstreaming with in national machineries must consider active representation at the different levels of government institutional bureaucracies: elected officials as well as mid and street level bureaucrats.

Relevance of the Paper

Gender mainstreaming strategies have been developed for the last two decades. This paper also presents that theoretical frameworks which have been adopted and developed for gender mainstreaming have matured through continuous theory and conceptual debates. On the other hand, the paper adds to the dialogue on the theoretical frameworks of gender mainstreaming through established national machineries. Democratic governance which is one of the foundational frameworks required for gender mainstreaming through national machineries has been exhaustively discusses since the establishment of the role of national machineries. However, this paper argues that, in order for gender mainstreaming to be realized in development administration active bureaucratic representation must be aggressively pursued. Hence, the relevance of the paper lies on its critical analysis of the important linkage between gender mainstreaming strategies and national machineries from the perspective of theories of bureaucratic representation.

Objective and Context of the Paper

Within the context of development administration in developing countries, the paper aims to provide a theoretical argument on the gap in the theoretical framework of gender mainstreaming. This particular paper emerged from an interest in the intersection of institutions (in the context of this paper, national machineries), gender mainstreaming and the position of democratic governance through representative bureaucracy. The context of this paper is also limited to the critical analysis of gender mainstreaming in developing countries. This is particularly because, addressing gender inequality issues in most developing countries faces the challenge of institutional development and application of active bureaucratic representation. This paper argues that representation through increased presence of women in policy making, implementation or evaluating institutions does not necessarily engender increased gender equality. Although there is no internationally agreed upon classification of developed versus developing countries this paper adopts the United Nations (UN) Classification of Developed and Least Developed nations. The logic behind adopting the United Nations classifications of developed versus developing nations is primarily because it is the only development administration institution which classifies nations based on three major spheres: economic, social and environmental vulnerability. The World Bank is another institution which classifies nation states based on Gross National Product per capita (GNP). Although this system is also helpful it singularly looks only into the economic state of a country. For the purpose of this paper the United Nations approach to development classification of countries will be adopted. The United Nations classification framework takes three major factors into consideration (UN-OHRLLS, Para 2):

- 1- Gross National Income per Capita (GNI)
- 2- Human Assets Index and
- 3- Economic Vulnerability Index

Because the economic, social and political state of a country determines the nature of the policymaking process in general and gender mainstreaming process in particular, this paper is limiting the scope to discussing the condition of gender mainstreaming in sub-Saharan African developing states.

Gender Mainstreaming and National Machineries

To help define the scope and context, in this section of the paper, working definitions of the concepts of “gender mainstreaming” and “national machineries” will be provided. Gender mainstreaming according to the United Nations (UN) is defined as:

...the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. (UN-DAW, 1998, p. 4).

The above definition of gender mainstreaming highlights three major issues. First, is the fact that the main goal of gender mainstreaming is to close the gap in gender inequality so that both men and women could be given equal opportunity as citizens. Second, is that the emphasis of gender mainstreaming is on promoting gender equality in all spheres of citizen’s life: political, economic and social. Third, the process of gender mainstreaming also requires that gender-mainstreaming process is integrated at all three stages of the policy process: policy design, implementation and evaluation stages. Most development administration focused institutions which adopt the UN definition of gender mainstreaming also focus on the issue of creating equal opportunity through increased gender justice. This paper also analyzes gender-mainstreaming initiatives through the lens of the theoretical framework of representative bureaucracy, which are theories that promote the democratic process in governance, hence promoting gender justice.

National Machineries

The concept of national machineries was first developed at the 1975 United Nations World Conference of the International Women’s year in Mexico City. This concept was eventually developed at subsequent United Nations conferences on gender equality in development administration. Finally the concept and role of national machineries was established at the Fourth World conference on Women in Beijing. The United Nations defines national machineries as “the central policy-coordinating unit inside the government. Their main task is to support government-wide mainstreaming of a gender equality perspective in all policy areas” (Platform for Action, para. 201). Rai (2003) also define national machineries as “catalyst for promoting gender equality and justice.” (p. 17). Therefore, national machineries are the main functional bodies that facilitate the implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies. In this regard Rai (2003) also argues that “ the hierarchical nature of state bureaucracies and political parties, the presence of lack of auditing mechanisms within state machineries, leadership commitment to gender mainstreaming and, of course, increasing the presence of women within state bodies at different levels.” all contribute to determine the effective implementation of gender-mainstreaming in development administration (p. 16). The above definition of national machineries indicates that the level and extent of influence of the machineries determines the extent to which gender mainstreaming is effectively engendered.

Most national machineries in developing countries which have been adopting gender-mainstreaming frameworks have focused in increased women’s participation in the political process, the policy process in particular. Therefore, most nation states have been focused on increasing the number of women in politics, predominantly through the quota system which insures that a certain number of women are represented in politics and policy making. The focus of this paper, therefore, will be on the systemic gap with the assumption that increased number of women in politics will in effect result in closing the gender equality gap in development administration. This paper will present a critical analysis of how the

democratic governance in national machineries promotes gender equality process through increased active bureaucratic representation.

Representation of Women in the National Machineries

Gender mainstreaming strategies strongly advocate for increased women's representation in national machineries, hence, in politics and the process of developing public policies. It is also a fact that women's representation in politics and in the national machineries significantly varies across the different geographic regions of the world. The UN Atlas of Women in Politics (1999) indicates that globally women represent only 13.4% of the total members of parliaments, of these numbers Nordic Countries score the highest representation of women in politics (38.8%) and Middle Eastern Countries representing the least number of women in parliament (3.5%). Based on the 2013 report published by the Inter Parliament Union *chart 1* below compares the trend in gender representation in parliament from the year 1995 to 2013. The trend shows that representation of women in higher elected offices such as representation in parliament has increased from the year 1995 (11.3 %) to 21.8% in the year 2013. Although, some argue that 10.5% growth in the last 16 years shows a positive growth pattern, most argue that this growth is rather slow and discouraging, hence, becoming a deterring factor in the successful realizations of gender equality through gender-mainstreaming. The second and significant indication of the numbers in the below chart is the fact that regional differences in women's representation in politics, (in parliament) differ significantly across regions. According to the Women in Parliament Report (2013) Nordic countries score the highest in women's representation in higher elected office representing 42.1 % (in 2013) of the state parliament members and women in Arab States representing 16% (in 2013) of the state parliament members (p. 3). In the same report, Arab States which have been criticized for the poor representation of women in politically influential positions has increased almost 4 times from 4.3% to 16% in the year 2013. Now, the main focus of this paper is developing countries, and particularly, Sub-Saharan African countries. The same report shows that the percentage of women in elected Parliamentary position has increased from 9.8% (in the year 1995) to 22.5% in the year 2013. This figure is comparable to the state of women's representation in all European countries (24.6%) and the Americas (25.2%). However, in this case one can confidently argue that the number of women in parliament does not directly materialize into increased or comparable state of gender equality between Sub-Saharan African countries and other countries within Europe or the Americas. The next logical factor to look into will be to see if gender inequality gaps are comparably low in the regions where women's representation in higher elected offices (representation in parliament) is high. For this, the paper is refereeing to the 2013 Global Gender Gap Report produced by the World Economic Forum. This particular Gender Gap Report bases its analysis on four major factors: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment: which basically looks at the number of women in higher offices. (World Economic Forum, 2013, p.5). *Chart 2* below indicates that based on the four major factors¹ taken into consideration the regional higher office participation (participation in parliament) does not necessarily materialize in increased gender equality. *Chart 2* shows that, women in Arab Countries (Middle Eastern countries as referred in the Global Gender Gap Index) have the least participation in higher level public office (16% in the year 2013) as well as exhibit the most gender gap or increased gender inequality compared to all other regions. However, when it comes to Sub-Saharan developing countries (which are also the interest of this paper), although this region had comparable women's representation in parliamentary position to European countries and the Americas it fails to have comparable state of gender equality to the same regions. *Chart 2* below shows that next to Middle Eastern and North African Countries (Arab Countries), Sub-Saharan countries hold second place in global gender inequality. One of the four main factors taken into consideration to compute the Gender Gap Index established by the World Economic Forum is the Political Empowerment. Political empowerment takes the following factors in to consideration in the analysis:

- 1- Ratio: females with seats in parliament over male value
- 2- Ratio: females at ministerial level over male value
- 3- Ratio: number of years of a female head of state (last 50 years) over male value (Global Gender Gap Index Report, 2013, p. 5)

The conclusion established in this section of the paper is that head counts of women's participation in higher-level offices does not necessarily materialize in increased gender inequality at a national level. Therefore, this paper argues that, in terms of women's participation in decision-making, gender-mainstreaming within national machineries should look for more factors than increasing women's participation in higher-level public office.

¹ The four factors are: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment

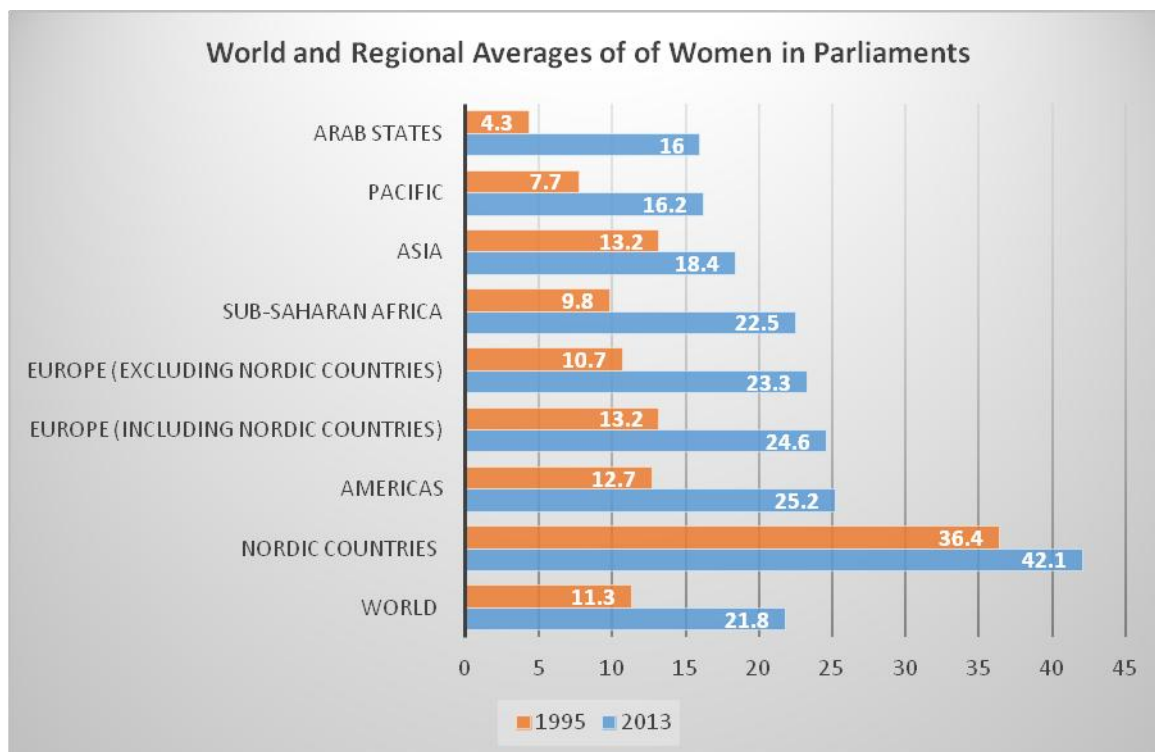


Chart 1: World and regional averages of women in parliaments, 1995 to 2013 (Women in Parliament Report in 2013, p. 5)

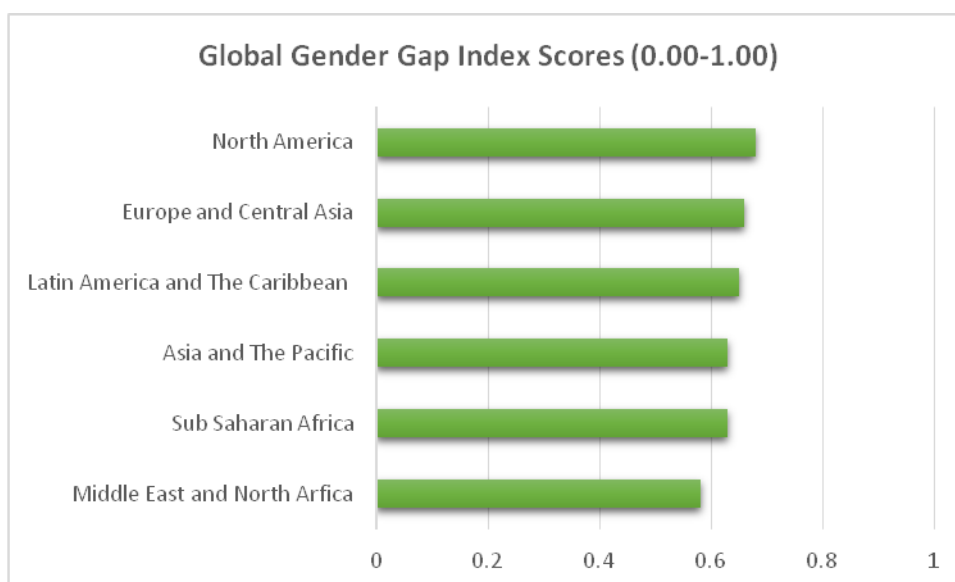


Chart 2: Regional performance on the Global Gender Gap Index 2013 (Global Gender Gap Index 2013, p. 22)

The second possible argument in this regard is the fact that gender mainstreaming process requires more than the focus on increased women’s participation in politics and policy decisions, when it is only a single factor counting into the gender gap index analysis. This paper argues that gender mainstreaming machineries should perhaps give equal attention and work on the other two important factors determining the success of gender equality in society (women’s equal opportunity in health and education). Third, the paper also argues that gender mainstreaming through bureaucratic representation currently looks into the representation of women in higher offices through increased number of women in policy decision making and politics. However, this paper argues that the increased participation of women in gender mainstreaming machineries should also emphasize on women’s participation at different levels of office and not only in higher level parliamentary positions.

The following section of the paper presents an alternative argument to women’s participation in higher office: active representation of women in politics and the policy process. Before discussing this argument the paper first presents the main thesis of bureaucratic representation in general and active and passive representation in particular. Following that the paper presents how gender mainstreaming in national machineries of developing countries must focus on active representation of women and men with shared value of gender equality rather than just focusing on the head-counts (quotas) of women in parliamentary or elected office position.

Bureaucracy Representation

Several studies have explored the intersection of bureaucratic representation and institutions. Some have also looked into the intersection of gender, institutions and bureaucratic representation in the context of the United States.

However, not much research has been done on the intersection of the two concepts of active representation and gender mainstreaming within the context of gender mainstreaming institutions in development administration. Three functional assumptions stand in the argument for representative bureaucracy. According to Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard (1999): "Representative bureaucracy suggests that if a bureaucracy is broadly representative of the public it serves, then it is more likely to make decisions that benefit the public" (p. 1026). A more recent definition of representative bureaucracy suggests that:

The theory of representative bureaucracy suggests that diversity within the public workforce, especially in terms of characteristics such as race and ethnicity will help to ensure that the interests of diverse groups are represented in policy formulation and implementation processes (Bradbury and Kellough, 2008, p. 697).

Kennedy (2012) also argues that "The basic premise of representative bureaucracy is that a diverse bureaucracy will lead to more responsive public policy." (p. 2). This theory assumes that representative bureaucracy in a way ensures that the public's policy interests are being represented through the political process of policy making (Selden, 1997).

Another early scholar Van Riper (1958), who studied and attempted to define representative bureaucracy argued that:

A representative bureaucracy is one in which there is a minimal distinction between the bureaucrats as a group and their administrative behavior and practices on the one hand and the community or societal membership and its administrative behavior, practices and expectations of government on the other. Or to put it another way, the term representative bureaucracy is meant to suggest a body of officials which is broadly representative of the society in which it functions and which in social ideals is as close as possible to the grass roots of the nation. (p. 552)

One of the foundational assumptions of representative bureaucracy in public institutions is the notion that democracy is a common interest of all involved in the politics of policy making and/or policy implantation and government administration. In the same line of argument Hale and Kelly (1989) present that "There is widespread acceptance of the notions that in a democracy public bureaucracies ought to be representative in meaningful ways of the citizen-clients they serve, and that representation based on demographic characteristics can lead to meaningful representation" (p. 9). In many instances representative bureaucracy, particularly active representative bureaucracy has become a "powerful symbol" with which government and institutions assume value sharing that results in policy influence (Meier and Nigro 1976; Rehffuss, 1986). The paper will shortly discuss two distinct types of bureaucratic representation: active and passive representation. Studies in representative bureaucracy commonly address the representation of public interest as "career bureaucrats" such as mid and street level bureaucrats in public institutions (Saidel and Loscocco, 2005). This particular paper expands on the argument of representative bureaucracy from representation by both mid and street level bureaucrats as well as higher-level elected and non-elected offices. This is because most gender mainstreaming strategies particularly assume that effective gender mainstreaming is recognized at higher office such as parliamentary positions.

This paper argues that increased representation of women in parliamentary positions alone does not insure that women in elected/non-elected higher office will support policy priorities that advance gender equality. Therefore, when analyzing gender mainstreaming through the theory of active bureaucratic representation in development administration, this paper holds two positions. The first is that, representation should be realized at all levels of the work process of public institutions and not only at the higher level of office but also at mid-and street level bureaucracy. This particular argument arises from the need to avoid the common misconception of overstating the influence of an individual (such as a parliament member) involved in bureaucratic decision-making process in national machineries (Meier and Stewart 1992; Meier 1993; Moore 1995). Second, this paper analyzes gender beyond an individual variable but as an institutional perception and vessel for value sharing. In the same line of argument Saidel and Loscocco (2005) contend that "scholarship on gender and institutions prompts us to analyze gender not only as an individual variable, as traditional research on representative bureaucracy has done but also as an organizational principle of social institutions." (p.159).

Having defined and discussed the positions of representative bureaucracy in public institutions and the way in which it is being adopted in this paper. The following section will present two distinct forms of bureaucratic representation in public institutions: passive and active representation. Both active and passive representative bureaucracy fall under the general framework of the theory of bureaucratic representation. For this particular paper the critical analysis of the paper reflects on gender mainstreaming process from the perspective of active representation. However, it will be important to first present the positions of both active and passive representation and establish the just for adopting active representation as a framework of analysis of gender-mainstreaming in national machineries.

Passive Representative Bureaucracy

The major position of passive representative bureaucracy is on the shared demographic characteristics between the bureaucracy and the population being represented and being served by the bureaucracy. This type of representation assumes that demographic correspondence between bureaucracies and citizens being served will naturally result in policy outcomes that represent the needs and interest of the public. In the same line of argument Hambrick and Mason (1984) contend that passive representative bureaucracy indicates public service where public servants share common demographic characteristics as the population they represent. Saidel and Loscocco (2005) also argue that

Passive representative bureaucracy is the condition of congruence between the demographic characteristics of the bureaucracy and the general population and, therefore, the presumed congruence between bureaucratic decisions and the policy preferences of the general population. (p. 160)

Within the context of passive representative bureaucracies within the national machineries which administer gender mainstreaming, the assumption is that the very fact that bureaucracy shares demographic character with the public eventually results in shared public values. In the context of this particular paper, passive representative bureaucracy could

be manifested in that women in decision making positions within the gender mainstreaming national machineries for the very fact of their shared demographic characteristics represent public policy interest of other women in society. The scholarly literature on passive representative bureaucracy presents us with different arguments on which shared demographic characteristics are most important (Meier, Wrinkle & Polinard, 1999). Krislov (1974) who is one of the most exhaustive on his list of shared demographic characteristics argues that: race, language, gender, education, income, religious orientation, age, veteran status, disabilities status and origin of a person (rural or urban metropolitan region) area are important shared characteristics. However, more recent contemporary scholars in the field argue that race and gender are the two most important shared characteristics in passive representative bureaucracy (Kennedy, 2012). Kennedy also argues that:

A variety of other descriptors such as age, attitudes, marital status, party affiliation, language, and sexual orientation are found scattered throughout the literature. Although multiple characteristics appear, pieces linking active and passive representation focus almost exclusively on race and gender. (p. 12).

In this particular paper we argue that shared characteristic of gender in representative bureaucracies is not enough to establish the foundations for effective gender mainstreaming in national machineries. Therefore, the paper argues that gender mainstreaming institutions should perhaps look into active representation (with shared value) beyond shared demographic representation. The following section presents the main stances of active bureaucratic representation followed by an argument supporting active representation within gender mainstreaming institutions.

Active Representation

Active representative bureaucracy also falls under the theoretical framework of bureaucratic representation. Active representative bureaucracy is different from passive representative bureaucracy in that it pursues more than just shared demographic characteristics. Active representative bureaucracy particularly argues that passive representation through shared demographic characteristics in itself is not adequate in itself to ensure shared policy interest between policymakers and citizens. Therefore, theory of active representation calls for an “active” form of representation, which advocates for shared common values between the bureaucracy and the public (citizens) being served. In the same line of thought Saidel and Loscocco (2005) argue that “Active representative bureaucracy suggests that government officials will act in ways that benefit those in the general public who share their gender or race group membership.”(p. 160). According to Saidel and Loscocco (2005) passive representative bureaucracy is the foundations for active representation to be present. Hence, active representation occurs when individuals have shared demographic characteristics: gender, race...coupled with shared values and policy interest between the bureaucracies and the public being represented.

Two groups of scholars also present us with important perspectives into representative bureaucracy. The first, groups of scholars argue that in order for active representation to be realized passive representation is a necessary element (Kennedy, 2012). These scholars argue that, because of the shared demographic characteristics, bureaucracies are more prone to actively share the values and interest of the public hence disposing active representation. The second group of scholars however argue that in order for active representation to be present passive representation is not a necessary factor (Kennedy, 2012). Scholars such as Mosher (1968) argue that it is possible that higher elected officials may not share the demographic characteristics with the public they serve but they still exhibit shared values and interest and still advocate for policy agendas that concern the population they serve.

In the context of gender mainstreaming in development administration, this paper contends that shared demographic characteristics are foundational to effective active representation. The just to our argument are twofold. First is the fact that global gender gap in education gender, economic or political empowerment continue to be prevalent, and it is also a fact that women’s representation in the political arena and in the national machineries in particular has been limited, therefore, this paper argues that part of the increased gender gap should be explained by the fact that women are mostly missing from political decision making positions in the national machineries. Second, this paper supports the findings from preceding studies which indicate that gender representation as a contributing factor to closing gender gap. However, this paper brings in a third perspective into the argument of passive representation as a precondition for active representation in that, gender representation does not necessarily mean same sex representation. What this paper mean by that is that, not only women share the value or policy interest of other women but that men who have the political interest in issues of gender inequality can clearly and actively dispose active representation. The argument also holds true the other way, where, some women just for the very fact of shared demographic characteristics do not necessarily share the same value or policy interest as that of the population they represent.

Active Representative Bureaucracies with in National Machineries

In order to explore the concept of active representation within national machineries, it is important that we first briefly discuss the major functions of the national machineries. That way the discussion will present how this paper argues active representation will result in increased effectiveness in gender mainstreaming through national machineries in developing countries. Therefore, the following discussion will first present the four fundamental functions of national machineries. Second, supported by examples the discussion will present why active bureaucratic representation is even crucially important within the context of developing countries: socio-economic and political landscape. Although this paper argues for increased active representative bureaucracy neither are we ignorant of the challenges of assuming active representation in the national machineries responsible for gender mainstreaming in any public organizations.

Location of national machineries within a state administrative structure is one of the many crucial factors which determines the effectiveness of these institutions. Location of the national machineries, concerns with whether the national machineries are located, either in government or non-governmental institutions (Goetz, 2007). The second aspect concerning the location of these institutions is where they are situated in government institutions, whether they are located in more active and influential government institution or not. A good example of this comparison is where a

national gender mainstreaming machinery is located with in regulating or earning ministries such as a ministry of home and foreign affairs or industry ministry. On the other hand, the alternative would be when the national machineries are located in passive/low status ministries such as the ministry of social works. Studies argue that the position of influence of these national gender mainstreaming machineries is significantly influenced by the location of the machineries (Rai, 2003).

However, this paper argues that, what is even more crucial to gender mainstreaming besides the location of national machineries is the need for active representation with in the central roles of the national machineries. This section will argue how active representative bureaucracy is a significant factor in the three main roles which national machineries play in gender mainstreaming. According to Goetz (2007) national machineries paly the following major factors in gender mainstreaming:

- Policy advocacy or policy advisory
- Policy oversight or policy monitoring
- Policy implementation

The following section reflects on the need for active representation within the national machineries from two perspectives: the location from which the national machinery functions within the state government and second, the role played by the national machinery (policy advocacy, monitoring and/or implementation). It is also oftentimes the case that the role which the national machinery play is determined by its location within the state government. National machineries located in the office of the prime minister or the president perhaps paly more of a policy advocacy role hence influencing the policy agenda setting process and those located in the policy monitoring positions may have more of a project oversight role which determines the outcome of gender mainstreaming initiatives.

Policy Advocacy/Advisory

Depending on the location of the national machinery, the role which it plays may differ accordingly. National machineries located in the state central political unit such as the office of the prime minister or office of the president. In this context, the national machinery plays gender focused advocacy role and this is machinery coordinates its efforts with various government units (Goetz,2007). Examples of cases where the national machinery is located in a state's central political unit are countries such as Ethiopia, Chile and Vietnam. This paper argues that besides the location of the national machinery in the state government the level in which the machineries involve in policy making (policy formulation, implementation and monitoring/evaluation) also determines the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming strategies. In the case of national machineries located in central political unit, these machineries are often times concerned with more on policy advocacy than monitoring of gender mainstreaming policy implementation.

This paper argues that active representative bureaucracy in the context of policy advocacy becomes even more crucial because shared values and policy interests determine national gender mainstreaming policy agendas. Active representative bureaucracy in policy advocacy is also very important because national gender mainstreaming policies determine the national agenda for gender mainstreaming, hence, missed opportunity to address gender inequality issues at this stage will have a detrimental effect nationally. Although a great opportunity for effective gender mainstreaming when policy interest of the public and national machineries align in policy advocacy this paper also argues that, the fact that national machineries are only focused on policy advocacy/advisory and not much involved in policy implementation or policy monitoring/evaluation means that the level of influence of these national machineries is limited to only initiating policy talks and not ensuring policy implementation or follow up policy impact. Therefore, this paper argues that the location of gender mainstreaming machineries has a significant impact on the extent to which policy issues are being sought through from the policy inception stage all the way to policy implementation and evaluation.

Policy Oversight or Policy Monitoring

Goeth (2007) argues that national machineries with the role for policy oversight or policy monitoring "have rather more robust powers to the degree that they may be granted automatic rights to review projects before approval by central economic planning units, to review submission for Cabinet decisions." (p. 72). Of the three different roles which national machineries play this particular role (policy oversight or policy monitoring) coupled with a form of active representative bureaucracy is the most effective form of gender mainstreaming with in national machineries. When national machineries take up on the role of policy oversight they have the autonomy to oversee policy projects and evaluate their impact on closing or even widening gender inequality gap. Again in this circumstances, active representative bureaucracy becomes very crucial in that government officials who are responsible for the over sight have parallel issues in line with gender mainstreaming and those which are contextual to the public they serve. In this context, this paper also argues that not only common value and interests are important but also the bureaucrat's local contextual knowledge and understanding of gender inequality issues will determine the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming initiatives.

Policy Implementation

National machineries responsible for implementation of gender mainstreaming policy initiatives also play a significant role in addressing gender inequalities in development administration. National machineries invested in policy implementation are particularly effective when it comes to implementing policies which could have otherwise been ignored or not given much attention by other institutions. Active representative bureaucracy becomes even more crucial in this context of gender mainstreaming initiative because of the commonly competing demands for resources: both human and financial. In this case, national machineries responsible for gender mainstreaming should be in a position to make the call for which projects should be given priorities based on the contextual need and interest of the public. This scenario is even more prevalent in gender mainstreaming in developing countries where both human and financial resources are scarcely limited.

This section of the paper also presents that passive representation alone cannot ensure effective gender mainstreaming in policy implementation. Context, shared values and interest by the bureaucrats and the public are all significant factors in determining the policy outcome of gender mainstreaming policies. The second argument in this section of the paper is that gender mainstreaming through the national machineries is more effective when pursued at different levels of the policy process. Even when active representative bureaucracy structures are well established, this paper argues that when only focusing on policy advocacy and not much on policy implementation or policy monitoring, it becomes difficult for these machineries to ensure that gender mainstreaming policies are being realized. In the same manner, when national machineries are primarily involved in policy implementation and monitoring the degree to which these institutions influence policy agenda setting through advocacy work becomes limited and hence making limited impact on closing the gender inequality gap.

Conclusion

This paper argues that the effective implementation of gender mainstreaming national machineries is heavily dependent on two factors. First, is state of active bureaucratic representation with shared value, context and interests between the public and bureaucrats at all levels. Second, is that for national machineries to be effective in their policy outcome delivery gender mainstreaming strategies should be integrated at all levels of the policy process: policy advocacy, policy implementation and policy monitoring stages. This would also mean that active representation of bureaucrats is crucial at higher elected/unelected office level as well as at mid-level and street level bureaucracies where policy implementation and monitoring take place.

What makes gender mainstreaming even more uniquely challenging within the context of developing countries is limited human and financial resources at the disposal of gender mainstreaming national machineries. This also depends on the level to which state government officials making budgetary decisions believe in the pressing need for increased efforts to close gender inequality gaps in societies. This paper also argues that gender mainstreaming is not limited to active representation of women bureaucrats with shared value and interest as that of the public concerning gender issues, but also that the effort also needs men, young and adult as well as all forms of demographic representation to collaborate on the work to close gender inequality in society. Therefore, this paper argues that within the context of gender mainstreaming in development administration will demand active bureaucratic representation but not necessarily passive representation at all levels of the policy process and all levels of bureaucracies.

Direction for Future Research

The theoretical argument of the role of active bureaucratic representation in gender mainstreaming presents that representation in the context of shared values and policy interest must be exhibited in national machineries. Not only that, but the paper also argues that active representation must be realized at all levels of the policy making process as well as the different levels of institutional bureaucracies. This paper proposes a comparative study of cases where national machineries have active representations in all the three areas of arguments established by this paper with comparative case studies where active representation is not realized in all three forms. This would help empirically test the theoretical argument for active bureaucratic representation in the policy process as well as at different levels of bureaucracies and its implication on closing gender inequalities in developing countries.

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