### Community development and ELR: a gender-aware perspective

The Jefes y Jefas program in Argentina



70 years later... the piqueteros [Berni, MALBA]

### Goals

- The Jefes y Jefas program is an emergency employment policy created after the 2001 crisis to provide a job (community work) to the poorest heads of household.
  - prevented the Argentinean society from collapsing.
  - The economy is now recovering: ELR is still needed to promote sustainable development.
- The ELR is a multi-dimensional program that can be applied in developing countries:
  - to promote overall economic development (Pastoret 2005)
  - To promote community development (dimension studied in this paper)

#### • Women:

- main beneficiaries (>70%) of the Jefes y Jefas program (work, education, emotional support, childcare...)
- major actors making welfare-enhancing community projects possible and relatively successful.
- Method: surveys (August 2006) in the poorest neighborhoods of Buenos Aires.

### 1. Field work

### Methods

Interviews (research methods approved by the IRB):

- in general: 45 participants were interviewed during ~ 30 minutes, in a separate room (recording)
  - At their workplace or in employment offices
  - at home: we interviewed one woman at home with her family
  - Mostly women, we interviewed 5 men participants.
- a few collective recordings: weekly participants meetings
- interviews with managers

### **Projects visited**

- Neighborhoods: high poverty, violence, drug, unemployment and informal jobs are the rule
- ....but immense solidarity and generosity and high "sense" of community
- Many projects visited are on the Lomas de Zamora municipality: this municipality can be taken as a model for linking ELR and community development.

### Lomas de Zamora

- Municipality with a global project that goes far beyond the initial "Jefes y Jefas" program:
  - The "Municipal Institute for Production, Labor and Trade employment office" (IMPTCE) is a fundamental institution; it includes an employment office
  - articulates all the needs of the community (employment, financing of "productive" projects, women's rights, education and training, poverty reduction, housing, violence prevention...).
  - The ELR theory can integrate all these priorities.

# 2. Women and the Jefes y Jefas program

perar las voces, ncias y acciones mujeres en el laboral para ender la historia pajo y la producción.



"CONSTRUIR TRABAJO DIG ES TAMBIÉN HISTORIA DE

eres y varones en condiciones de libertad, igualdad, seguridad y dignidad humana.

a hora de la mujer que piensa, juzga, epta, y ha muerto la hora de la mujer tada e impotente, a la caprichosa olítica de los destinos de su país".

Eva Duarte de Perón 12/3/47

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#### ASEGURAR EL EJERL EFECTIVO DE LOS DE LABORALES

Su cumplimiento se garantiza co oportuna del Estado y de las orgi empresariales.

Ley de Contrato de Trabajo Nº 2 Artículo: (Prohibición de hacer d Por esta Ley se prohibe cualquie tipo de discriminación entre los l por motivos de sexo, raza, nacionalidad, religiosos, políticos, gremiales o de edad.

CONSTRUIR UN TRABAJO DIGNO ES TAMBIÉN HISTORIA DE MUJERES<sup>8</sup>

### Women's reaction to the 2001 crisis

- Women relied on social networks to survive in a very hostile environment: high unemployment –both on formal and informal markets", insecurity, violence, malnutrition....
- Women have played a major role:
  - to avoid the disintegration of their family and their community by developing an alternative economy based on solidarity (new institutions)
  - the Jefes y Jefas program (70% are women) provided the financial means and the infrastructure to make individual projects possible and to promote education, training and productive activities.
    - The state alone cannot do everything : the state, communities and individuals worked together at two complementary levels (individuals-structures positive interaction).

# Women's high participation in the Jefes y Jefas (>70%)

- <u>Strategy within the household</u>: men have an easier access to the informal and formal labor markets (cartoneros)
- In men's mind, The Jefes y Jefas program is associated with women's "duties"
  - Not men's responsibility to be involved in community projects.
  - But men do think that women's works (public kitchen, nurseries, microenterprises) are crucial for women, their family and their community.
  - Division of labor within the community clearly based on gender.
- <u>Men in the program</u>:
  - They are usually older and lost their job (formal or informal) after the crisis and were then unable to find a new job.
  - They feel ashamed, desperate, feel they should not be here (except if receive education, training or work in some of the micro-enterprises).
  - They acknowledge that the Jefes y Jefas program provided them "a second family"

### Women's involvement in the success of the projects

- Women are a major factor promoting economic development, solidarity, knowledge sharing...
  - Create their own projects
  - Or are very involved in the success of the projects they work in: work more than required or even work when are not required to (women who moved to familias)

### How the J&J improves women's lives in very poor neighborhoods

- Work close to their home
- Women are relatively independent (Eva Peron's legacy?)
- The well-being of their children (and of all the children of their community) is their main motive for being involved in the J&J program. They spent most of the money they receive for their children
- Increase self-confidence, empowered women: most are proud to work and to bring better living conditions for their community
- The Jefes y Jefas projects also provide psychological and emotional stability ("second family" type links) to women in the poorest communities
- Prevention of violence and drug abuses (posters on the sites) and discussion groups (meetings)
- Political involvement (barrios de pie) and social consciousness (ideology, progressive policy, anti-imperialism)
- Better access to the private sector for women who want to work outside: training, counseling, new skills (occupacion plan)

## Interactions with the traditional productive sector

- <u>Children are not a real constraint</u> preventing women to find a job (older children, neighbors, family takes care of them if necessary)
- <u>Better access to the private sector</u> for women who want to work outside: training, counseling, new skills (occupacion)
- <u>Young women with children</u> prefer to find a job in the private sector to buy a house, provide a better life for their family.
- <u>Most women feel they would not be respected</u> if they find a job outside the Jefes: many mentioned how they were "badly" considered when they were working in the informal sector (housekeeping...). They also mentioned the bad experiences they had when looking for a job. At least in the Jefes, they felt they are respected.

### 3. ELR and community development

### ELR: a multi-dimensional program

#### The employer of last resort program can be implemented in:

• <u>Developed capitalist countries</u>: ELR plays the role of buffer stock to absorb employment fluctuations generated by business cycles. The ELR supports demand in the economy and improves workers' skills.

#### <u>Developing countries</u>:

- <u>The ELR can be a long-term tool for development (see Pastoret 2005)</u>, in order to support full-employment developing policies.
  - The state defines the overall development goals and guarantees full employment.
  - The state can implement specific infrastructures, training and education.
  - PRODUCTIVE SECTOR (traditional definition of "productive" activities)
- <u>The ELR can also promote community development</u>, especially in the poorest neighborhoods. The state or the community supports projects or programs that are PRODUCTIVE IN A GENERAL SENSE (non-monetary factors).
  → ELR becomes a buffer stock with an important social dimension

### Solidarity-based economy

- Micro-enterprises
- Jefes y Jefas productive projects
- Feria or direct sales between neighbors
- Possible alternative monies (creditos)
- Profit/money is not the only motive for producing
- Strengthen the community

# 4. Detailed presentation of the projects