LDCS: BUILDING CAPACITIES FOR MAINSTREAM GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

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NOTE

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FOREWORD

Message to all those who are concerned about poverty reduction in Least Developed Countries

Ministers of gender/women's affairs, governmental representatives, development partners, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector met on 21-23 March 2001 in Cape Town, South Africa, to discuss capacity building to mainstream gender in development strategies with the aim to reduce poverty and increase gender equality in the least developed countries.

The workshop focused on the links between gender equality, poverty reduction and development and the underscored necessity to empower women and mainstream gender in LDCs' national policies and programmes. Obstacles to gender mainstreaming, including lack of capacity and opportunities were discussed. The debates led to the adoption of a declaration and formulation of recommendations to the preparatory committee of the LDC III on gender policy and capacity building, specifically focusing on poverty reduction using entry points such as gender review of national budgets and national statistics.

The contributions made to this pre-LDC-III event by participants, through speeches, background papers, and case studies are consolidated in this report. The variety of inputs is presented according to the six thematic sessions of the workshop: (i) Gender, Poverty Reduction and Economic Development; (ii) Engendering National Budgets and Development Strategies; (iii) Gender Equality and Trade; (iv) Engendering Statistics; (v) Microcredit; and (vi) the Way Forward.

This draft will be launched on 15 May 2001 at a Panel on Gender Equality in LDCs in connection with the United Nations Third Conference for the Least Developed Countries, to be held on 14-20 May in Brussels. The highlights of the report are intended to lead to discussions and inputs that will be used in its finalisation. Any suggestions and remarks are welcome and should be sent to gender@unctad.org. The final report will be published during fall 2001.

Geneva, April 2001

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The UNCTAD secretariat is grateful to the Government of South Africa for hosting the pre-LDC-III event in Cape Town and to the Government of Denmark, Finland, Japan (through its Japan/UNDP Women in Development Fund within UNDP) and Sweden, as well as to the Industrial Corporation of South Africa for their financial contributions to the preparations and realization of this workshop.

Contributions made by all the participants in various forms, background papers, case-studies, input to the discussions and for formulation of recommendations are greatly acknowledged.

OPENING SESSION

OPENING ADDRESS

by

Mrs. Lindiwe Hendricks Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, South Africa

When we were approached by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to host this workshop we did not hesitate as we saw this as yet another opportunity for us to ensure that the concerns of the millions of people from the developing and least developed countries are addressed by the multilateral trading regime. We, as South Africans, have taken the challenge to host this preparatory meeting based on our conviction and experience that gender equality is an important element in driving socioeconomic development of nations, we are taking a lead to ensure that gender equality is put high on the agenda of the forthcoming 3rd United Nations Conference on the LDCs and any global program of action that will emerge.

With that salutation I welcome you all to my country on behalf of the Department of Trade and Industry and of my government. We are happy to have you here and are proud that such a groundbreaking workshop for the LDCs is held on African soil. We are ready and prepared to share with you many of our successes but would also be willing to learn from some of you who have advanced further than us in this area of main streaming gender in trade.

The challenges facing women are well known but what is emerging is the realisation that whilst globalisation itself is a positive development it can have very adverse effects on the vulnerable groups in particular women and children. Whilst we recognise that there are opportunities for women in regional and multilateral trade agreements in particular under the WTO in sectors such as agriculture, textiles, clothing and the service sectors we are also mindful that those benefits would be lost to women unless governments start taking serious measures to enable women to participate fully in the economic discussions and are placed in decision making positions that influence the outcomes of trade negotiations.

It is very important to state that we have come a long way in the struggle for gender equality but the road ahead remains a long and difficult one and this is because of the misconception that gender equality will automatically fall into place once you have enacted the necessary legislation and policies. What most governments then do is to focus on the development of macroeconomic policies forgetting that the majority of women are located in the microeconomic sectors of our economy and that even at that level they are struggling with all kinds of obstacles and societal prejudices not to mention the attitude of financial institutions. Experience has shown that as important as the larger national economic policies maybe it is equally that where girls are not able to go to school and women farmers and SMMEs cannot access finance to start or expand their businesses, or the technology necessary to help them get their products to the market development of the nation become slow and difficult. What this means therefore is that for successful development to occur economic benefits must extend to women who make 50% of the world's population and who comprise approximately two thirds of the world's poor.

Governments therefore need to invest in areas that will have particularly high social returns for girls and women in health education and training, specialised and targeted assistance for women entrepreneurs and services that identify markets and business opportunities. Over and above governments, the private sector and NGOs can also play a role in ensuring that the benefits of trade reach women and that the playing fields of the world trading system are leveled so that they are more hospitable to women and that skills and talent, not gender determine the norms.

Deliberations in the next three days will assist us in finding solutions to these problems, I am hoping that very concrete proposals will emerge from this workshop that will form part of the program of action of the Brussels Conference, and that means that our strategies and recommendations must be

implementable so that benefits of our deliberations filter down to the citizens of the developed countries sooner rather than later.

In conclusion I would like to than first the Secretary General of UNCTAD, Mr. Rubens Ricupero, who is the driving force behind these programs, all officials from his Geneva office in particular, Masoumeh Malmberg whom we have worked with closely, the Department of Trade and Industry under the leadership of Minister Alec Erwin for all the support in hosting this workshop, in particular the gender officer in the department, Mmabato Matiwane who as usual made sure that the next three days are a success together with her team, our funders who have and will continue to be proud to be associated with gender equality and empowerment of women in general and last but not least all of you present here today for honouring us with your presence.

I wish all of us fruitful deliberations and hope we will emerge from here with a consensus that says in order to combat poverty and move towards sustainable development it is critical that both men and women are empowered to contribute, if this is not achieved development will be slow and painful.

I thank you.

OPENING STATEMENT by Mr. Rubens Ricupero Secretary-General of UNCTAD

Ladies and Gentlemen

What better day than today when South Africa is celebrating the Human Rights Day; what better place than Cape Town where discrimination was for many generations a hard reality; what better venue than Mt Nelson where so few have enjoyed the fruit of the labour of so many, can we be more inspired to reflect on equal rights and equal opportunities. Equal rights and equal opportunities consolidated in a framework of tolerance and empathy to take us towards a better future for all. A better future for all, and in particular for the weakest in our global village, for the citizens of the LDCs. For both men and women, the two pillars that need to stand equally to keep our societies in equilibrium. We are grateful to be able to meet in South Africa, a country where many for a long time have suffered discrimination but achieved so much in so short a time. It provides us with a model and with valuable experiences to learn from.

It is a great pleasure for me to be with you. It is a great pleasure for me to see so many of us from so many places coming together to take a hard look at what we have learned and what we have experienced about gender equality to try to put it in the centre of future development strategies, in particular in the LDCs.

We are emerging from the disappointments of previous conferences on the LDCs which although full of good intentions, have fallen short of expectations and had minimum impact. The disappointment that has made us more determined to dig deeper into the causes of poverty and try to understand its various dimensions to better address them. The international community can no longer stay indifferent to the marginalization of so many countries - 48 LDCs - and within these countries marginalization of over 50 per cent of the population. We have come a long way, for the first time in the preparation of an LDC conference, to dedicate an event to addressing the issue of gender equality. This has created a great opportunity for us to focus on this important development issue with the aim of taking very concrete and meaningful proposals to Brussels.

I am confident that what we will take from here to Brussels will be one of the major elements that could potentially make the LDC III a different conference. It will inject the power of empowerment of over 50 per cent of their population into the LDCIII's aim of promoting sustainable socio-economic development, an element that has played a significant role in the development of the rest of the world.

The focus of this meeting will rightfully be on the link between " quality growth and gender equality" to fight the rising incidence of poverty which places a disproportionate burden on women.

This meeting is about empowering women and men. It is about understanding men and women's contribution to economic and social development and mechanisms that hinder this. It is about identifying what it takes, by whom, and how to render the ambition of societies free from gender discrimination a reality, societies where people (men & women) will have the opportunity and means to realize their potentials.

This is certainly ambitious but we have to be ambitious to achieve. I know that the result of your deliberations here will send a strong message to Brussels: that gender equality should be at the heart of our common endeavor to rise out of poverty.

I have no doubt that you here in Cape Town will make LDC III focus more on how we can jointly liberate forces - tear down barriers, be they trade or gender barriers, into a new World Order

without barriers - to empower and liberate nations and citizens alike in LDCs, so that both men and women can contribute equally to lift the yoke of poverty off their shoulders.

There is a growing consensus that for any poverty reduction strategy to be effective it has to be lead and owned by the national governments. The role of the international community is shifting towards assisting the building of the national capacity to fight poverty. During this workshop, it is therefore important for us to identify the areas where capacity building would be needed, as well as by whom and in what form, so that we can bring this to the conference through very practical and very specific proposals.

I am glad to see that this is a gathering of many major development partners, from the governments of LDCs to the representatives of the UN system, other international organizations, private sector, academia and NGOs. All of us pulling together with the the growing number of women in the LDCs, who are trying to take charge of their fate, the well-being of their families and the development of their countries, can only succeed.

In the next three days, we will hear how including mainstreaming gender in development strategies is a step in the right direction. But first, let us clarify something. Gender does not mean woman. According to O'Regan-Tardu, of the Commonwealth Secretariat, it "describes the social differences between women and men, which are acquired from infancy, are changeable over time and have wide variations both within and across cultures". Thus, mainstreaming gender is not solely a woman issue. Men and women alike are concerned by this, which means that women are given the same rights as men but also that men are given the same rights as women. Taboos have to be broken on both sides.

Policies and strategies need to take into account the local realities and the different and some times conflicting needs of women and men. They need to also be based on critical analyses of the political economy of class, markets, and work processes. For example, the incorporation of women in the labour market is not necessarily sufficient to allow them to escape poverty. Another important element to take into account would be not to overlook the fact that using the household as the centre of analysis may not be sufficient but that analyses need to go down to the level of men and women within the household. Income and consumption at the level of household is not always equally distributed.

The declining support for agriculture, which employs up to 70-90 per cent of women, is extremely damaging to efforts to reduce poverty and hunger. Poor rural women and girls need to be targeted by policies, as they constitute the majority of the rural poor whose poverty is often reinforced through cultural and/or legal obstacles.

Finally, gender equality is a question of economic efficiency as it could increase output, development, leisure and well-being.

The task of helping 10 per cent of the world population to come out of the vicious circle of poverty is a huge one. Furthermore, as every case is specific, we can already safely assume that we are all going to have different opinions on the best way to address this question. However, if we want to be productive, we all need to pull together. What we are doing here is trying to identify effective policies and practical solutions with the recognition that they would need to be adapted to each case. So please, let us commit ourselves to make this workshop a success. Let us ensure that men and women can work together and succeed.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

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Hon. Janat Balunzi Mukwaya Minister for Gender, Labour and Social Development Kampala, Uganda

Today, we are assembled here at this workshop to discuss an important issue of building capacities for mainstreaming gender in development strategies. It is indeed an honor and privilege for me to address you in your capacities as policy makers and gender experts from Government ministries, members of the UN system, the academia, private sector and international organizations. I thank the organisers of this workshop for according my country this privilege

I bring to you greetings from the women and men of Uganda and in particular the Vice President, H.E Dr. Specioza Wandira-Kazibwe, who was not able to attend due to other State functions, but eagerly awaits the deliberations and recommendations of this strategic workshop on a wide range of issues relating to Gender, Poverty Eradication and Economic Development in the third world countries.

The purpose of this workshop is to promote gender mainstreaming and to specifically highlight the issues surrounding the gender mainstreaming process in LDCs.

Despite the global economic progress, more than a billion people in the developing world are struggling to survive on less than \$370 a year, i.e. about one dollar a day. Close to half of the population of south Asia and sub-Saharan Africa is experiencing increasing poverty, with the rising numbers of people living below the poverty line, the majority of whom are women and children in these two regions. Poverty eradication has thus been brought back as a top priority on the national and international agenda, first as a moral obligation because every one has a right to life of dignity where one is able to develop and realize one's potentials and capabilities to the fullest, and secondly, because of the need to ensure the well-being of the majority in the developing world.

At the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), the strategy of gender mainstreaming was explicitly endorsed by the member States which adopted the Platform of Action. The Platform for Action calls for the promotion of the policy of gender mainstreaming, and it repeatedly states that "governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programs, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively".

Although it does not give any guidelines on how to develop and implement gender mainstreaming policies, some countries have moved forward and adopted national plans for gender mainstreaming in order to implement the Platform for Action.

The reasons for this initiative are because:

- Gender mainstreaming puts people (both women and men) at the heart of policy-making and it is a way of placing very crucial facets to women's and men's lives on the agenda, facets that have not been items of attention in the past.
- Gender mainstreaming leads to better governance in that it leads to better-informed policy-making and therefore better government. It will challenge the assumption that policies are gender neutral which they never are and reveal the hidden assumptions on reality and values. This leads to a greater transparency and openness in the policy process.
- Gender mainstreaming involves both women and men and makes full use of human resources, acknowledging the shared responsibility of women and men and thereby removing the imbalances in our countries.

- Gender mainstreaming makes gender equality issues visible in the mainstream of society and gives a clear idea of the consequences and impact of political initiatives on both women and men, and of the balance between women and men in the areas concerned.
- Gender mainstreaming takes into account the diversity among women and men, and acknowledges that women and men are not a homogenous group.

In order to pay due attention to this diversity, policies and policy instruments have to allow for taking diversity into account. Gender mainstreaming targets better the particular situation of different groups of women where specific equality policies have so far not been successful, because it leaves room for diversity.

Usually in developing countries, when we mention gender mainstreaming, the ultimate interventions end up focusing on women and girl children because certain common gender gaps and discrimination can be identified. To mention some, women and children account for over half of the population in LDCs. Yet they:

- constitute the majority of the vulnerable people;
- are marginalised from the political apexes where important laws governing allocation of resources and instruments for safeguarding human rights and relationships of citizens are formulated and adopted;
- are involved mostly in the informal sector and are usually confined to small scale enterprises and cottage industries;
- constitute the majority of the illiterate and semi illiterate with limited or no skills to enhance their productivity;
- have limited and inadequate access to and control over resources, opportunities, benefits and privileges; and
- are involved heavily in the reproductive economy (the unpaid economy, which underpins social reproduction and human development through the provision of care for family and community members).

For these marginalised groups, building of capacities for gender mainstreaming in development strategies would provide an opportunity to address both their practical and strategic gender needs and interests. Although capacity building for developing countries has been identified as a major strategy for mainstreaming gender, it is not an end in itself. It however facilitates the protection and promotion of rights of the marginalised groups and promotes behavioral change and communication for gender equality in unequal situations which we all witness in most of our LDCs.

We all know that most economies of LDCs have depended on women for ages through their contribution to farming and business related activities. Women have continued to play a vital role in promoting and sustaining livestock and crop production. These agricultural related activities are the mainstay of most developing countries economies where 90 per cent of the population earn a living.

In most of our countries, the statistics that women provide about 70 per cent of the agricultural Labour force and are responsible for 70-80 per cent of food crops, more than 50 per cent of cash crops and work for 18 hours a day are very well known to us. We also know that all the productive, reproductive and community roles carried out in the sectors where women are involved, provide inputs and have an impact on the global market. Their roles in the economic sector and the global market have therefore attained unprecedented attention in all countries. Integrating women as contributors to the global market is now highlighted as a

weapon in reducing poverty, creating jobs and enabling women in LDCs to collaborate with others while developing sustainable income generating projects.

In this era, we also know that women's productive activities in LDCs are essentially about survival at the household, community, national and international levels. We cannot therefore talk about gender mainstreaming unless we talk about and try to resolve the following issues. These are:

- How do we in our countries reallocate productive resources in order for more women to be targeted? As long as women are discriminated against by being denied access to land, credit, education, labour and employment, gender mainstreaming becomes an elusive agenda.
- How do we approach the stiff competition faced by our women from imported cheap products including food which erode the competitiveness of local products and thereby slowing growth and threatening self sustenancy.
- How do we address the continued discrimination against women in products markets.
- How can we ensure that women are in control of household incomes in view of the fact that
 many of the LDCs have not yet implemented the Beijing recommendations on economic
 empowerment.
- How do we address the issues of diminished access to social incomes in form of education and functional literacy, health, environment, and water and sanitation to ensure that they are not grossly inadequate.
- How do we enhance women's business growth and opportunities in order to integrate them into the mainstream new and modern economies?
- How do we link women to participate and benefit from the electronic age of E-commerce and e-business? The global push of transparency has been accelerated by global commerce, the rapid movement of capital around the world and financial market challenges. In all these new developments, where are the LDCs entry points?

Today, the world is going through economic and political transformation. Global trends are molding humanity's destiny in the new millennium. It is true that globalisation has ushered numerous opportunities for our countries and to some extent some women do benefit from this. It is also a truism that globalisation has engendered new risks. While we need to address the issues arising out of globalisation in general, I want to specifically point out the following, which need our attention:

- We need to address the effect of privatization of women's knowledge where women's indigenous knowledge (especially on plant varieties, seed and pharmaceutical products) which are patented by large transnational corporations and are used to dominate markets.
- The deregulation of labour where it is the women in the LDCs who are exploited.

The choice of the theme is, therefore, very relevant because it recognizes the fact that women play a significant role in the development and sustenance of the LDCs. Gender mainstreaming should therefore aim at providing an opportunity for the marginalised groups to position themselves in a changing world, while also reaping from the benefits of these initiatives. It is my ardent hope and desire that within the next three days we shall focus among others on how to ensure that gender mainstreaming is a strategy that can;

• increase the productive capacity and competitiveness in LDCs through enacting special measures to assist marginalised groups adjust to dislocations caused by economic reforms and liberalization;

- create an enabling environment for growth of marginalised groups by investing in socioeconomic infrastructure, trade facilitation and business development services for the benefit of the maginalised groups;
- ensure consistent and efficient productivity gains in production; and
- facilitate and increase access for marginalised groups to finance and technology through appropriate channels.

The starting point and biggest challenge is that of engendering our national budgets. Engendered budgets would show who does what so that the persons are facilitated to do even better. We know that national budgets are our Government's most important policy instrument, and therefore, it would be useful in increasing the women's status and recognition through documenting what accrues to women vis-a-vis what women put in. Attempts should be made to disaggregate governments' main budgets in order to measure their impact on marginalised groups. Building capacities to be able to generate gender disaggregated data would be the key to policy making, as it would clearly show the gender gaps and disparities that exist and not be based on hearsay. It is important that capacity building for gender mainstreaming should also target men particularly those who occupy influential positions.

I know that there are definitely certain constraints that gender experts and policy-makers face in their efforts to guide the gender mainstreaming process. Some of these, which need our attention, include:

- bureaucratic resistance, where hidden aspects of structural inequality illustrate that institutions and Governments themselves perpetuate discrimination against women and become a main obstacle in promoting women's advancement.
- Difficulties of collaboration, which arise because of lack of awareness of the role of the national machinery for the advancement of women and gender mainstreaming in furthering action;
- Structural changes common in LDCs, particularly the reduction of the number of staff to articulate and follow-up on the process of gender mainstreaming.
- Inadequate funding from our governments as well as Official Development Assistance (ODA). Because of this, although the policies in LDCs might be positive, translation of the policies into actions often leaves much to be desired.
- As developing countries adopt a Sector Wide Approach to national development, there is an element of marginalisation of national machineries for gender mainstreaming, especially in ensuring that they play their role of coordination and monitoring of progress and obstacles to the advancement of women and gender mainstreaming.

Actions, commitment and accountability to gender mainstreaming should, therefore, be the key words in discussions, dialogues, lobbying and caucusing at this workshop. This meeting is not expected to re-account the LDCs profiles, because we all know it. But how do we strategize to position marginalised groups to contribute and benefit from the opportunities created by Foreign Direct Investment. I say this because Foreign Direct Investments has become an important source of external finance for developing countries in general and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular. Women and men influence and are influenced by investment activity within their countries in a number of ways as consumers, producers, workers and income earners. The gender dimension of investment domestic or foreign, in terms of what role women and men play in making decisions that influence investment, why and especially how their respective roles affect the size and distribution of investment, cannot be underrated. Access to technology and possession of competitive skills determine whether a woman or man is employed in the transnational corporations that are being set up in our countries.

I highlight these salient issues because once the LDCs are left a step behind in the economic development process, it becomes difficult for them to relate with their other economic partners and worse still, difficult and costly to bridge the gap created. Consequently, our economies in the developing world will suffer checked growth because sustainable and meaningful development will depend on how marginalised groups access factors of production, including the markets.

We should not forget the adverse effects and impact of Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights Agreement of the World Trade Organisation and how it affects the economic empowerment of people in the developing world, which has left our economies at the verge of collapsing. In most of our countries, national budgets depend on budget support from external sources. This situation is not conducive for economic empowerment but can be influenced to be gender responsive. Enhancement of the technical, managerial and entrepreneurial capacity is crucial. Capacity building in communication, trade and information technology and training would enhance links regionally and internationally. Without these capacities being built, marginalised groups cannot participate as equal proactive and efficient partners in the global market.

Once again, let me stress the importance of information, communication and education as being largely responsible for enhancing the success of gender mainstreaming. The challenge here is to develop strategies that would link LDCs to be able to benefit from modern telecommunication facilities such as e-mail, e-commerce, e-business and e-governance.

Ladies and gentlemen, we all know enough in order to act. We must remove the inertia to act. We must start from the known and take workable solutions and programmes with innovative ideas. Ideals will not change the situation of women and men in LDCs. We must develop timeframes for the gender mainstreaming actions to bridge the existing gender gaps that inhibit, especially women's participation as proactive players in the development process.

As the world moves towards a global village, I strongly believe that there is a genuine need to carefully target and build on the levels of skills, resources and experience of women to make best use of opportunities and facilities offered by others.

It is with these thoughts that I would like to wish you fruitful deliberations.

Thank you,

FOR GOD AND MY COUNTRY.

THEMATIC SESSIONS

A. GENDER, POVERTY ERADICATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

OPENING ADDRESS

by

Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka Executive Director, UNCHS (Habitat)

The Chairperson,

Hon. Mrs. Hendricks, Deputy Minister of Trade,

Your Excellency Madam Mbeki, First Lady and President, Women's Development Bank, Republic of South Africa.

H.E. Ambassador Scavee, President of the Intergovernmental Preparatory Committee,

Distinguished delegates, friends and colleagues,

It is a great pleasure to join you here today, to participate in a workshop that combines two themes very close to my heart, namely the development of women and that of the least developed countries. I have spent a good part of my professional carrier working towards finding permanent and effective solutions to these causes, and I am happy to be here where I shall try to give further contribution.

Let me therefore a the outset take this opportunity to thank very sincerely, the Secretary General of UNCTAD and Secretary General of LDCIII, Mr. Ricupero, for extending to me the invitation to come to this event and to moderate this theme on "Gender, Poverty Eradication and Economic Development". It is now 6 months since I left UNCTAD, where, as some of your might be ware, I was in-charge of making preparations for the Brussels Conference, in my capacity as Special Coordinator for the Least Developed, Landlocked and Island Developing Countries. The Secretary General of the UN, Mr. Kofi Annan, subsequently bestowed upon me the honour of appointing me as a Executive Director of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT) based in Nairobi. Clearly I was very happy to take in this new challenge of coordinating the global HABITAT Agenda, which is about, securing adequate shelter for all and promoting sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world. However, believe me, I left Geneva, with a sense of anxiety, wondering how the preparations for LDCIII would continue. This meeting here is a living testimony that my worries were not necessary. The preparatory process has continued smoothly, and it gratifies me to see that my former colleagues in UNCTAD, have successfully carried the process forward under the able leadership of the Secretary General, Mr. Ricupero and Mr. John Cuddy, who took over as Executive Secretary for the Conference.

When I left Geneva in September, it was not certain that the Task Manager for the Gerder Dimension, Ms. Masoumeh Malmberg and Anna Fälth would find the resources needed to undertake this pre-conference event. I am delighted and impressed that 6 months down the line, they have made considerable progress, and here we are, participating in what I believe to be one of the most high-profile preparatory events for LDCIII. I would like to to recognize and commend the efforts made by the Conference Secretariat. I am convinced that the success made so far, augurs well, for what is to follow in Brussels. The output of this meeting should far shed further light on how to mainstream gender into the New Comprehensive Programme of Action in favour of the LDCs, to be adopted at the Brussels Conference.

Madam Chairperson,

At the risk of cutting into valuable time to discuss from our esteemed panelists, I have to mention that I am doubly happy that this event is held, in no less a place than in the Republic of South Africa. In June 1999, I was in this country, at Sun City, Johannesburg in my former capacity in UNCTAD, in preparation for yet another important global conference, namely, the Third Ministerial Conference for the World Trade Organization, WTO, which took place in Seattle, USA in December

1999. With a generous support from the Government of South Africa, UNCTAD was able to conduct a High Level preparatory meeting for LDCs trade negotiators, for that Seattle meeting. We all know that things did not go very well at the Seattle Conference. However, from the LDCs perspective, things actually went well. Mr. Ricupero launched a book, a manual for trade negotiators from LDCs, which was a handbook developed at the Sun City meeting, guiding trade negotiators on what kind of favourable position they might wish ot make, in furtherance of the interest of the LDC countries. For the first time in WTO history, LDCs as a group presented their common negotiating position, and were able to argue their case in the areas of market access, health standards, agriculture, intellectual property, etc. ON this note, therefore, let me join Mr. Ricupero in thanking the Government of South Africa for its support of the work of the United Nations in general, and in particular for UNCTAD's progressive causes in favour of the LDCs. There is a Swahili saying to the effect that "one gives from the heart, not from abundance". The Government of South Africa has demonstrated this spirit of support, once again, in hosting this event, thus making the preparations for yet another important conference meaningful, this time for LDC women.

Distinguished participants,

With those introductory remarks, let me now call upon our first panelist to give her presentation. As you will note, I have circulated a more comprehensive statement. At this discussion progresses I will highlight relevant issues as they unfold.

The United Nations has developed a clear focus on the Least Developed Countries, because only when these countries are empowered to achieve their potential can the UN goals embodied in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights come closer to realization. As a citizen of one of the least developed countries I am acutely aware of this.

African countries figure prominently among the least developed countries and it is fitting that we meet in Africa to deliberate on the theme of gender mainstreaming in development strategies. I think a clear analysis will reveal to us that gender issues may hold the key to unlocking LDCs' potential. African countries in particular need such an analysis to guide their policies.

The United Nations defines gender mainstreaming 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. Its goal is equality. Any reasonable analysis will show that women, in the Least Developed Countries in particular, and in Africa especially, do not have equal opportunities and an equal status with men. In countries like South Africa, great strides have been made in recent years to establish equal rights, including for women even in the constitution. This is commendable. But us reality, it is the beginning of a long process for true women emancipation, and the mainstreaming of gender.

So what are the steps that need to be taken to ensure realization of those equal rights? What is that our policies and programmes need to encompass to achieve equality in reality, and how will this affect our overall development? Specific for this theme, *how do we engender the eradication of poverty, and economic development?*

I am mindful of the intensive preparatory work that has been done by UNCTAD on the theme of Trade, Sustainable Development and Gender, in preparation for UNCTAD X, held in Bangkok last year. This provides us with a framework for thinking and many useful ideas. It is the kind of firm ground needed on which to deliberate and come to sound conclusions, on the theme of gender, poverty and economic development.

UNCTAD has identified that a fall of over 20 percent in Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) between 1992 and 1999 undercuts developing countries' trade potential. At the same time, we have experienced global economic integration on an unprecedented scale. It is necessary to review what effect this has had on women.

In some ways global economic integration has reduced gender disparities, particularly in incomes, but in other ways theses disparities have increased, with women absorbing a disproportionate share of economic shocks. They are often the first to be ejected from employment in times of crisis, and they form the core of the rural poor, with responsibilities for family food security. As a whole, women's labour is mobilized without proportionate reward. Women have been termed the "shockabsorbers" of economic adjustment.

There is general consensus that female participation in trade and employment must be carefully re-examined in the light of the Uruguay Round which established WTO and the impact of economic globalization. The impact on women of patterns of foreign direct investment must also be examined. In this respect it is heartening to note that there is an inter-agency United Nations initiative to include gender considerations and events in the preparations for the International Conference on Financing for Development (FfD) in 2002. The outcome of the LDC Conference in Brussels should be brought to the attention of, and be an input into, that preparatory process.

The excellent groundwork from UNCTAD in 1999 further identified specific gender priorities for Least Developed Countries. These include the need for active interventions for the economic empowerment of women. Given the important role of women in agriculture, it is essential that this sector be modernized and transformed to raise productivity and reduce poverty, but not in a way that will exclude and marginalize women.

At present, when it comes to business and commerce, women are concentrated in the small and medium scale of operations. Micro-credit is all very well, but big business should also not be "off-limits" for women. We have to wonder why micro-credit is for women and macro-credit for men? The truth is that a person discriminated against in the factor markets (such as those for land, labour and capital) cannot effectively engage in business, trade and commerce. This is common sense. If you do not or cannot own land, then you cannot own property, and shelter. If you have no requisite education, you are automatically excluded from professional employment. If you cannot run for political office, you are excluded from political decision making. If you are excluded from credit, you cannot exercise entrepreneurial skills. It goes without saying that, poverty eradication and economic development for women simply means making efforts to empower women economically, politically, and culturally. The Beijing Platform of Action, the road map for women advancement, is clear in all these aspects. But the challenge facing all countries, and notably the LDCs, is translating the Beijing Agenda into practice. The issue in Brussels is not whether but how empower LDC women and bring them into the mainstream of economic development.

Madam Chairperson,

To make a careful analysis of women's lack of access to factor markets we have to join the discourse on rights, and look at what societal endowments are and how and why people get them. Endowments are the rights and entitlements that people have in any society. Limited realization of endowments lowers the capacity for productive activity and therefore causes poverty. Women and men attempt to realize basic rights, entitlements, and degrees of citizenship, but women face a greater likelihood of experiencing "endowment failures."

If endowment failures impact negatively on the economic abilities of women, what brings about endowment failures? **Why** are women denied basic rights enjoyed by men? The differences and relationships between male and female are continuously elaborated by every society and can be observed in such things as family structures, inheritance patterns and cultural practices. This is done culturally through beliefs and ideologies, institutionally through laws and organizations, and interpersonally through family and community. These are not always coordinated and the process of social change operates through all of them.

Distinguished delegates, friends and colleagues,

I suggest to you that our real concern, if we are to effectively mainstream gender in development strategies, must be to take a good hard look at these social mechanisms, and at how they change. If these are the real hidden constraints to economic development in Least Developed Countries, and I suggest that they are, it is our responsibility to work on changing them.

Let us take the social patterns, which prevent women from inheriting property in numerous places, especially in Africa. I want to give you an interesting example, which I have taken from a recent issue of "Habitat Debate". It is from Europe to emphasize the universality of the problem at hand. In the Albanian highlands, which lie partly in Kosovo, women could traditionally not inherit or own property even though statutory laws of the 1970s granted them that right. The "Kanun", a customary law text from the 15th Century instilled in men and women the belief that property rights were a male privilege. Women who exerted their legal rights risked social exclusion for contravening cultural norms as well as interpersonal pressures from family and neighbours. Similar processes still prevent women from inheriting property in many other societies, based on oral tradition, unwritten or even unspoken understandings about the way things should be done.

If such are the underlying conditions that create barriers to women's access to factor markets, what does it take to change them? I suggest that having a large proportion of the population — namely women — engaged in food and other agricultural production but without entitlements, is a brake on development. We may make many recommendations at this workshop, but I believe that most of them must be grounded in an understanding of women's rights and entitlements, and how to increase them, if we are to make progress.

Thus I am talking about making recommendations that address social change. You cannot legislate social change, although a good legislative framework is essential. Policies that mainstream gender in development strategies have to encompass the difficult and complex areas of changing societies' views about the roles of men and women. These have to be up-dated to match the real needs of economic development.

Distinguished delegates, friends and colleagues,

As I pointed out before, I have recently taken over as Executive Director of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. Perhaps, it would useful to inform this gathering on what I am doing to mainstream gender in the HABITAT Agenda. I am glad to acknowledge that the task of mainstreaming gender in the HABITAT Agenda has already been started by my predecessors. But I am committed to intensifying those efforts.

In 1999, UNCHS (Habitat) developed a new strategic vision, which involves focussing down on key elements of the Habitat Agenda that will help achieve its twin goals of "adequate shelter for all" and "sustainable urban development" in an urbanizing world. In reality, this boils down to fighting urban poverty, manifesting itself in sprawling spontaneous unhygienic settlements popularly known as slums: homelessness and street families, urban crime, pollution, and the like. These key elements involve global campaigns to address the two goals, the Campaign on Secure Tenure and the Campaign on participatory Urban Governance respectively.

Each campaign highlights the role and importance of women, and the impact on women is taken as an indicator of the success to Habitat's interventions. I am happy to inform this enlightened workshop that last year, the theme of the World HABITAT day was no less than "Women in Urban Governance". The global celebrations were held in Kingston, Jamaica, and, in addition to a variety of community and civil society actors, a number of women mayors and parliamentarians attended the event. It was celebrated grandly here in South Africa, in Durban, Kwa Zulu Province, in cooperation with the South African Homeless People's Federation, a nationwide movement of the urban poor established in 1990 to find solutions to the problems of inadequate housing and landlessness, with the support of People's dialogue for Land Shelter, the Durban Metropolitan Council, the Provincial

Government of Kwa Zulu-Natal, the Ministry of Housing and UNCHS-Habitat. In the presence of Housing Minister, Mrs. Mthebi-Mahenyele, the launch was inaugurated during a public mass meeting at King's Park Sports Complex, and was attended by 7,000 slum dwellers, of whom 70 per cent were women. The meeting affirmed that security of tenure is a fundamental requirement for the progressive realization of the urban poor of full citizenship of the cities in which they reside. The granting of secure tenure to the poor, particularly women, is an important catalyst in stabilizing communities, reducing social exclusion, improving access to urban services, leveraging corporate and individual investment, and improving the urban environment. In short, the global Campaign on Secure Tenure addresses not only the needs of marginalized urban populations for security of tenure, but also the rights of women to ownership and control of property, and their inheritance rights in particular.

That, Ladies and Gentlemen is gender mainstreaming of the HABITAT Agenda, which is the responsibility of my agency. I was long convinced, and have always argued, that women's access to property, land and housing, on an equal basis with men, is a major factor in enhancing economic development. Land and buildings are key factors for economic growth and development. If women do not have easy access to them it is surely not surprising that we see a phenomenon described as "the feminization of poverty".

There are those who still hold the view, that *women's place is in the homes*. If you subscribe to this view, but I hope you do not, then at least you have to join the struggle if only to *ensure that women, do have a HOME in which they could have a place!!*

Think about it. If the old inheritance patters are followed in society, whereby boys inherit land and other immovable property, whereas girls do not, where does that leave women in a monetized economy? Male children inherit capital free whereas female children do not. We cannot eradicate poverty in a situation where the only way for women to access land and property is to buy it.

Finally, as you might be aware, the Special Session of the General Assembly to review the implementation of the Habitat Agenda, commonly known as Istanbul+5, comes on the heels of LDCIII, in New York, 6-8 June. I am very happy that UNCTAD, UNCHS (Habitat) and UNDP are collaborating with mayors from around the world in holding consultations on City to City Cooperation. A preparatory event was held in Nairobi at the 2nd PrepCom for Istanbul+5 last month, an event attended by the UNCTAD LDCIII Secretariat Task Manager. This meeting provides us with another opportunity to explore together, how the gender dimension can be brought into this aspect of our cooperation. Local Authorities are the major Habitat Agenda partners. Therefore, the outcome of this meeting and LDCIII will be important inputs at the Special Session for Istanbul+5.

Distinguished delegates, friends and colleagues,

You have an important task ahead of you in this workshop, and I am confident that you will generate the ideas and approaches needed to build capacity for mainstreaming gender in development strategies in the Least Developed Countries. I have attempted to touch on some of what I believe to be key considerations that link gender, poverty reduction and development from the perspective of my agency which is responsible for shelter and the living environment, the Local Agenda. I did not discuss the international dimension of the LDC problematique, which also impacts on women, such as market access, the debt burden, falling ODA and commodity prices and inability to attract Foreign Direct Investment, as those fall outside the responsibilities of Habitat. I know my former colleagues from UNCTAD will more than adequately address these issues at this meeting. But I do hope that my remarks have provided you with critical insights on what I call the domestic and local agenda in mainstreaming gender. I believe, they encompass some important elements for the new programme of action in favour of the least developed countries to be agreed in Brussels.

I thank you for your attention.

ENGENDERING POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGIES

by
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Madam Chairperson, distinguished colleagues,

I am very glad to be with you today. There can be no more important topic than working towards the mainstreaming of gender in the global development effort. Because mainstreaming gender principally (though not exclusively) involves righting pervasive and persistent disadvantages in the position of women, we are talking about working towards liberating half the world's population to participate increasingly fully in all aspects of the development process--economic, social, intellectual, political. And because gender imbalances are particularly (though again not exclusively) prevalent in the developing countries of the world, and especially among and within the poorest countries, supporting efforts towards gender equality is central to the fight against world poverty, which is in turn at the core of the development effort as a whole.

I intend to divide my remarks into three parts. First, I plan to discuss some features of the background to the debate about mainstreaming gender, briefly offering some illustrative facts about both the progress that has been achieved and the imbalances that persist with respect to gender equality. Second I shall summarize where the World Bank now stands with respect to mainstreaming gender. And third, I shall share with you early experience and future prospects with respect to engendering country poverty reduction strategies, specifically in the context of the recently introduced program of nationally-owned Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, which was endorsed by the shareholders of the World Bank just 18 months ago.

I. BACKGROUND—THE UNFINISHED GENDER AGENDA

There can be no denying that substantial progress has been made with respect to the status of women and in gender equality in the last half of the 20th.century. Let me give you just a few examples.

- Girls' access to education has improved, almost doubling in South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa. And because girls' enrollment rates have risen faster than boys', gender gaps in schooling have been reduced in most regions, sometimes substantially.
- Women's life expectancy in developing countries has risen by 15 to 20 years, thanks to greater investment in women and girls and better access to health care.
- Women's labor force participation has risen—for example, by an average of 15 points in East Asia and Latin America. Since women's participation rates have grown faster than men's, the gender gap in employment has narrowed. Gender gaps in wages have also fallen.

But gender disparities persist in all countries, and across all dimensions of economic and social life. And these disparities are not just a matter of moral concern, though that they surely are: they also exert a drag on the development process and on societal as well as individual well-being. Again, let me list a few examples, grouped under four categories—economic opportunity, human capital, issues of vulnerability and social protection, and empowerment (or lack of it).

With respect to economic opportunity, very substantial male-female imbalances remain. For example:

• While I noted a moment ago that women's labor force participation had risen, and faster than men's, women's participation varies sharply across regions, from 25 per cent in the Middle East

and North Africa to about 45 per cent in Europe and Central Asia and in East Asia and the Pacific.

- And while the gender gap in earnings has narrowed, it remains substantial. Data from 41 developing countries show that women's earnings are, on average, more than 25 per cent lower than men's—and that very little of this gap can be explained by differences in education, experience and job characteristics.
- Women's access to or control of productive assets is limited compared to men's. For example, women play a very large role in agriculture in Africa, but their ability to own land is constrained in many countries—and this adversely affects their access to credit because of the importance of land as collateral.
- A similar picture of some improvement but persistent imbalances applies with respect to human capital, specifically with respect to education and health.
- The gains I noted with respect to education have been slow and uneven. For example, women in South Asia still have, on average, only half as many years of education as men. And in Sub-Saharan Africa, the female-to-male ratio of total years of schooling—0.6—barely changed in the two decades between 1970 and 1990, while the decrease in the gap between male and female primary enrollments in the 1990s tended to reflect absolute declines in boys' enrollments rather than improvements in girls'.
- In health, absolute increases in female life expectancy have been significant over the past 30 years in most regions. But female-to-male life expectancy ratios have risen far less (and have actually declined in Sub-Saharan Africa, because men's life expectancy has risen faster than women's.). In the transition economies of Europe and Central Asia, the ratio improved slightly, but this reflected declines in male life expectancy rather than absolute increases in female life expectancy (and I would venture to suggest that a genuine concern for gender equality must make efforts to redress this decline among men an issue for policy along with efforts to improve the status of women). Meanwhile estimates of "excess" female mortality levels associated with gender discrimination in some countries range from 60 to 100 million women. And a recent WHO study indicates that women lose more healthy life years to disability than men. Finally, data for HIV/AIDS in Africa show that women account for 55 per cent of all infected adults, and that the position is far worse for the young--there are four or five infected young women in the 15-19 age group for every infected young man.

Let me mention just three of the many disproportionate difficulties women face with respect to vulnerability:

- Economic shocks: women command fewer resources than men with which to cushion shocks, and public and private employers often let go female workers earlier and in larger numbers than males in difficult economic times. Meanwhile, some safety net programs meant to offset shocks, such as workfare, can have negative—and unintended—gender discrimination consequences, excluding women because they fail to take account of the different types of work typically done by men and women.
- Old age: women are also more vulnerable than men in their old age. On average, women live longer than men and typically have lower pensions because they have fewer years of pensionable service (partly reflecting early mandatory retirement ages). If old age pensions are not inflation-linked, women's greater longevity also increases their vulnerability. And finally, many women work outside the formal sector or do not participate in the labor force, making them ineligible for employment based pension schemes.
- Violence: the full extent and severity of violence against women within the household and community, and as a consequence of military conflicts, is only recently becoming recognized. Women are particularly vulnerable because the acknowledgement of domestic violence has been taboo in many societies; and because the full impact of war and conflict on women and their children is still not fully appreciated by policy-makers and planners.

A very large number of issues can be grouped under the general category of empowerment. Again, I shall single out only two of them here.

- Rights: in no region do women and men have equal economic and legal rights. While the position is formally less inequitable in terms of legal rights, women in many countries still face discrimination in practice. Even where constitutions or legal codes enshrine equality, research into the incidence of violations of these rights show that women frequently do not enjoy them in practice. And in many cases, legal constraints, customary law or social practices subordinate women to men with respect to such basic questions as the right to marry or divorce, to inherit, even to travel. Economic rights, for example to own or manage property, or to undertake work outside the home, remain limited, notably in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. While the position with respect to rights has improved somewhat in the past 15 years, especially since the 1995 Beijing Conference, much remains to be done—and real progress will depend not simply on legislation, but on attitudinal change.
- Voice and Participation. This issue is closely linked to, but not synonymous with, that of rights. Constraints on rights evidently impose limits on voice and participation, but so do purely economic factors such as lower earning power or access to resources (ranging from, e.g., farm implements to extension services to credit). Inferior economic power means that women's voices are less heard than men's in decision making processes of all kinds—social, economic, and political—and in fora ranging from households to national legislatures. While political participation and voice have been enhanced by the right of women to vote in nearly all countries, and while the gender gap in participation in elections is declining, large gender differences remain in male and female representation at all levels of government. With respect to Parliamentary representation, women's participation was below 10 percent in all non-OECD regions except East Asia and the Pacific in 1995.

II. THE WORLD BANK'S APPROACH TO GENDER.

This extremely limited and selective set of examples of the unfinished agenda with respect to gender offers just a tip-of-the-iceberg glimpse of the tasks ahead if we are to make substantial progress with respect to gender equality. But as I noted at the very beginning of my remarks, working for such progress is at the heart of the development effort. We at the World Bank fully share the conviction that gender inequality strikes at the roots of development, because it imposes heavy costs on human well-being (including that of men as well as women) and adversely affects the prospects of future generations as well as our own—through a range of effects, of which the negative consequences for children of poor education levels among mothers is only the most generally cited.

Gender inequality also imposes costs on economic growth and productivity, for example through lost earnings and inefficient allocation of labor. World Bank research indicates that there is a significant and positive correlation between the female share of the working population in the formal sector and economic growth (although the direction of causality is difficult to establish –i.e., does higher women's employment raise growth, or does growth raise women's employment?). The same body of research also suggests that growth rates in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and the Middle East and North Africa would have been 30 to 45 per cent higher if these regions had closed gender gaps in years of schooling at the rate achieved in East Asia between 1960 and 1992.

Finally, Bank work has yielded suggestive findings about the relationship between greater gender equality and better governance—specifically that higher levels of women's economic and social rights, and greater participation by women in the political process, are correlated positively with lower levels of corruption. And I think that we can intuitively accept that reducing exclusion and discrimination against large segments of national populations improves the prospects for social cohesion and for the effectiveness of a society's institutions, both of which are increasingly being understood as critical components of effective and sustainable development.

Given all these factors, where does the World Bank stand today with respect to mainstreaming gender in its work?

Broadly speaking—and I will not trouble this audience with the details of the sequence of internal directives, processes and organizational changes that have evolved since we first started to pay serious attention to gender issues in the 1980s—the answer must be one that is familiar from students' report cards across the globe: "Doing much better, but still room for improvement".

Self-evaluation. About 9 months ago we completed a fairly self-critical internal evaluation for the Executive Board of how far we had come with respect to integrating gender into World Bank assistance. The evaluation found that there had been notable gains in the way gender was treated in Bank work, especially since 1994, when a strategy paper on "Enhancing Women's Participation in Economic Development" was discussed by our Executive Board, and was followed up by an Operational Policy guidance document for staff on "the Gender Dimension of Development". The effort to integrate gender into our work was further strengthened by the establishment of a Bank-wide Gender and Development Board in 1997, which provided a focal point for analysis, policy development, training, and action on gender across the institution.

We also identified a set of sectors considered to be of importance for women—population, health and nutrition (PHN); education; agriculture; social protection; environment; and water supply and sanitation. In most of these sectors, especially PHN, education and social protection, Bank assistance has increased sharply in the 1990s compared to the 1980s. And when we reviewed the strength of gender analysis and gender-specific actions in a number of these and other sectors during the 1990s, we found that PHN and education operations scored well, with gender analysis and/or action being a feature of over 85 per cent of PHN operations and of about 70 per cent of education operations.

But this review also showed that only about 40 percent of all operations Bank-wide included meaningful reference to women or gender at the time that they were approved. While this finding may be unduly narrow—for example, it does not include progress with respect to implementation, where gender issues may have been considered—it does suggest that we still have a long way to go in integrating gender across the board with respect to our operations. The picture is brighter for analytical and business planning work. For example, 90 per cent of Bank Poverty Assessments had some reference to gender or women's issues. And the Country Assistance Strategies (CASs) that provide the conceptual and business planning basis for our operational assistance to individual countries have shown a dramatic improvement with respect to the treatment of gender during the past decade: prior to 1994, no CAS was rated satisfactory on this score; since 1994, 63 per cent of the sample of CASs reviewed were rated satisfactory.

To sum up, we have come a long way since we first began to consider gender in our work, but we remain stronger in our analytical and conceptual work than in specific actions. And action is heavily concentrated on human capital sectors, with relatively little focus on gender aspects of traditional "hard" sectors such as transportation or power, or on operations that promote income-earning opportunities for women.

The new Policy Research Report, and Beyond. In order to both sharpen and broaden our focus on gender mainstreaming, the Bank has just completed a Policy Research Report, "Engendering Development". This report provides a comprehensive review of the status, challenges and opportunities with respect to the gender dimension of development. The report is designed for the development community as a whole—countries and their external partners—not just for the Bank. It assesses where the world stands with respect to gender equality, shows how inequality hinders development (and how development can in turn support greater equality), and concludes with a broad-based, three-part strategy for working towards greater equality.

The strategy comprises: (1) reforming institutions to establish equal rights and opportunities for women and men; (2) fostering economic development to strengthen incentives for more equal resources and participation; and (3) taking active policy measures to redress persistent gender disparities in command over resources and political voice. Let me quickly mention some of the components of each of these elements of the strategy.

- Reforming institutions: a fundamental step in working towards gender equality is ensuring equality in basic rights—legal, social and economic. Rights provide an enabling environment in which women and men can participate productively in society, attain a basic quality of life, and take advantages of the new opportunities that development offers. Equality in rights is also associated with greater equality in education, health and political participation. But legislating rights is only the beginning; customary law and entrenched patterns of social behavior can undermine its effects in the absence of efforts to strengthen the application of rights legislation in practice. Reforming institutions also involves making markets work more effectively; evidence suggests that firms operating in competitive markets discriminate less against women in hiring and pay than those operating in highly protected markets. And finally, it is critically important to put in place arrangements for the delivery of services in ways that facilitate equal access. Improvements in service delivery range across the board—from gender-sensitive provision of schooling to banking and credit services geared to women's access to them
- Fostering economic development: available evidence suggests that gender equality generally increases with income. Hence, economic development and growth can be a powerful tool for promoting equality. The mechanisms through which this process occurs include higher expected rates of return to human capital (providing incentives for families to invest in girls' education and health); labor market effects (including greater female participation, and the use of hired labor to substitute for female family labor); and additional investment in infrastructure (for example, safe water, roads and transport services that can reduce the time women and girls devote to household maintenance activities and enhance their access to markets). And recent research suggests that growth-oriented and rights-oriented approaches to gender and development can be mutually reinforcing in many dimensions, from education to political representation
- Active policy measures: the pay-off to the combination of institutional reform and economic development takes time to be realized. Hence the need to supplement these aspects of a strategy for increasing gender equality with active measures in the short and medium term. Such measures include promoting gender equality in access to productive resources and earnings capacity; reducing the personal costs to women of their household roles; providing gender-appropriate social protection; and strengthening women's political voice and participation.

This is a very substantial agenda. It will require dedicated and persistent effort across a wide spectrum of activities. Because country ownership is critical for effectiveness and sustainability in this as in other areas, and because there can be no standard "one-size fits all" approach to gender issues, the process must start with decisions and actions taken by developing counties themselves, based on their own individual circumstances. But broad-based support will also be needed from countries' external partners. In order to optimize the contribution the Bank can make, we are as I speak preparing a new Bank-specific (and Bank-wide) gender strategy, drawing on the analysis and strategic recommendations of the Policy Research Report. The Bank strategy is expected to propose concrete actions, including capacity building and analytical work to support countries and help Bank staff to integrate gender issues into development planning and assistance.

III. ENGENDERING THE PRSP APPROACH

Let me now come to the third part of my remarks—engendering country poverty reduction strategies in the context of the recently introduced Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) program. I shall start by quickly outlining the conceptual underpinnings and processes involved. I shall then summarize aspects of experience to date with respect to the treatment of gender in country strategies

prepared to date. And I shall conclude with some thoughts about how engendering the approach can be enhanced

Conceptual Underpinnings and Processes. The PRSP approach originated with the concern of the shareholders of the Bank and the International Monetary Fund that concessional assistance provided by the Bank and Fund, and resources freed up by debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, be used for priority poverty reduction programs and actions. This led to the concept of PRSPs as documents that would be:

- country owned and prepared on the basis of broad-based in-country participatory processes (recognizing that effectiveness and sustainability would depend on country commitment, and on taking the views of a wide range of stakeholders—including women—into account, and that countries' individual circumstances must shape their strategies)
- holistic in approach and comprehensive in scope (recognizing the multidimensional nature of poverty);
- partnership oriented (recognizing that countries would need to supplement their own human and financial resources with support from external partners, multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental); and
- Focused on measurable outcomes and results for the poor.

It was decided that country strategies—along with Joint Staff Assessments of them by Bank and Fund staff--would provide the context for decisions by the Executive Boards of the two institutions with respect to (1) HIPC Decision and Completion Points (respectively the moments at which countries begin to receive interim debt relief, and at which debt relief becomes irrevocable); (2) assistance under the Fund's Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF); and (3) though not immediately, for all Bank concessional lending. PRSPs were to be prepared on the basis of a three year rolling cycle, supplemented by annual progress reports on implementation.

We recognized, however, that countries—especially those in urgent need of HIPC debt relief—might not be able quickly or easily to prepare fully elaborated PRSPs, and in particular might not be able quickly to undertake the broad-based participatory processes that were seen as essential for success. To address this problem, Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (I-PRSPs) were introduced. I-PRSPs were expected to be relatively short documents, for which participatory processes were not required, They would include: (1) a statement of the government's commitment to poverty reduction; (2) a description of the existing extent and pattern of poverty; (3) an outline of the main elements of any existing poverty reduction strategy; (4) a three-year macroeconomic framework and policy matrix; and (5) a timeline for preparing a full PRSP and a description of the participatory processes to be used to prepare it. Thus I-PRSPs were envisaged as an initial statement of strategy and a road-map for the more extensive content and the broad participation in its preparation expected for a full PRSP

Finally, the PRSP process--I-PRSPs and staff assessments, followed by full PRSPs, assessments, and annual progress reports, and by subsequent rounds of PRSPs prepared on a three-year cycle—was seen as a long-term iterative effort, in which all concerned (countries, the Bank and Fund, and other development partners) would learn by doing over time. Not only was it not expected that I-PRSPs would offer fully elaborated strategies; it was also not expected that the first round of full PRSPs would be countries' final and fully comprehensive expression of their strategies. They would need to be modified in light of experience and information, including the availability of more refined data, feedback from early implementation, and changing country circumstances over time.

Experience *to date*. The first I-PRSP, for Bolivia, was considered by the Bank's Board in January 2000. As of earlier this month, the Executive Boards of the Bank and Fund had considered 32 I-PRSPs and four full PRSPs. African countries have accounted for most of the total to date, with 21 I-PRSPs and all four full PRSPs (for Uganda, Burkina Faso, Tanzania and Mauritania). The remainder were made up of five I-PRSPs from transition economies in Europe and Central Asia, four from

countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, and one each from countries in the Middle East and North Africa and East Asia and the Pacific respectively.

What have we learned from initial experience?

On the positive side, all countries have approached the process with a considerable degree of seriousness and effort. All have used some form of consultative or more broadly participatory processes in preparing I-PRSPs, even though these were not required (though these processes have varied very widely in comprehensiveness and depth). Despite data problems in many cases, countries have also been able to frame, at least initially, both descriptions of poverty and national poverty reduction strategies (in some cases in some depth and with a degree of useful disaggregation). Several have set poverty reduction targets related to the International Development Goals for 2015. On the negative side, the quality of participatory processes has been variable, even in the first round of full PRSPs; much country documentation (including full PRSPs) has illustrated important gaps in both data and breadth of coverage, with coverage tending to focus mainly on social sectors (health and education) and on agriculture and rural development. And it has proved difficult for countries to cost their strategies and integrate them with a consistent macroeconomic framework.

Specifically with respect to gender issues, initial experience has been weak. Analysis of a sample of 13 I-PRSPs shows only limited gender-differentiated poverty diagnosis. Only six of the 13 documents were classified as having "some elaboration" with respect to gender in their diagnostics, and then only in diagnosis of the general incidence of poverty, rather than with respect to gender aspects of key sectors such as income generation, health, education, or governance. With respect to poverty reduction actions, monitoring indicators and consultative processes, the incidence of specifically gender-oriented material with some degree of elaboration is even more limited. And the picture for the first few full PRSPs is substantially similar. Particular weaknesses in both I-PRSPs and early full PRSPs include inadequate attention to income generating opportunities for women (compared to rather more—but still limited—treatment of gender issues in health and education); little or no treatment of governance/legal issues related to gender, or to gender aspects of social safety net provision; no consideration of gender issues in roads and other infrastructure sectors; and little apparent commitment to seeking the views of poor women in participatory processes. And finally, even where gender issues are raised in country documents, there is often little linkage between identification and action.

I must now be very frank and note that similar weaknesses with respect to treatment of gender apply to Bank-Fund Joint Staff Assessments (JSAs) of I-PRSPs and PRSPs. Only five of the 13 JSAs associated with the I-PRSPs reviewed identified the need for further work on gender, and where they did so, recommendations were usually vague and general. Since one of the functions of JSAs of I-PRSPs is to offer suggestions to countries about aspects of poverty reduction strategies that might helpfully be treated in greater detail in full PRSPs, this limited attention to gender issues is troubling—and is in contrast to comments by the Executive Boards, which identified gender as an issue for further elaboration in 11 of the 13 cases in the sample.

How to better engender the approach? I want again to stress that the PRSP approach is still in its very early stages, and that it is expected to evolve and deepen over time. It is important also to remind ourselves that the Bank and Fund are not and should not be in the position of telling countries how best to frame their strategies. We take the concept of country ownership very seriously. While we stand ready to be helpful to countries in a number of ways—through missions to discuss their strategies with country counterparts, through learning events for counterparts, and through the provision of source material on key aspects of strategy (including gender)—we cannot and should not impose our views on countries. Nevertheless, I believe there are a number of concrete actions that we can take to help countries to bring gender more to the fore in their strategies without infringing on the principle of country ownership. These include the following items, on several of which we are already taking action:

- Gender in the PRSP Sourcebook. A core resource prepared by Bank and Fund staff as an aid to countries in preparing PRSPs is the so-called PRSP "Sourcebook". I should emphasize that the Sourcebook is not a "how-to" guide to PRSP construction. It is designed to be of help to countries in preparing their own specific strategies, by bringing together information on international best practice and policies for a range of key aspects of poverty reduction. The Sourcebook includes a chapter on Gender, which we are currently revising in the light of initial experience, specifically noting in the introductory summary that "Experience from the first 30 I-PRSPs and PRSPs......reveals many missed opportunities with respect to gender......", and in particular including in the revision an expanded technical section that identifies 10 priority sectors (including "hard" sectors such as transport and energy), for each of which the text provides a checklist of gender questions and issues, along with a set of promising policy and operational approaches that could be used to address these issues from a gender perspective. Since the Sourcebook is a core resource for both countries and Bank and Fund staff, we hope that the updated gender chapter will help raise the profile of gender issues and sharpen the focus of treatment of them.
- Engendering Guidelines for JSAs of PRSPs. We are currently preparing a set of Guidelines for Joint Staff Assessments of PRSPs. The Guidelines are expected to be widely distributed, not only to staff, but also to countries preparing PRSPs (which seek information on what the Bank and Fund hope to see in country strategies and the documents that embody them). They are therefore a potentially important instrument for sharpening the focus on gender in countries' PRSPs as well as in JSAs. The Guidelines are divided into four sections, on ownership/participation; poverty diagnosis; targets, indicators and monitoring; and priority public actions. In all four sections, gender issues are singled out for specific attention.
- Engendering Learning and Training Efforts. Learning events, both for staff and country counterparts are a feature of the PRSP program. In light of weak initial experience with the treatment of gender in both country documents and JSAs, we expect to put more weight on gender in these events than hitherto. Meanwhile, the World Bank Institute, the Bank's focal point for learning and training, has recently launched a new program on "Attacking Poverty" which is strongly focused on PRSP countries. Gender is one of the topical courses and workshops included in the program.
- Engendering PRSP-Associated Lending. In addition to supporting PRSP countries with International Development Association (IDA) concessional lending in general, the Bank is introducing programmatic structural adjustment credits, known as Poverty Reduction Support Credits (PRSCs) specifically tailored to the needs of country poverty reduction strategies. Such lending has the potential for carrying forward the gender agenda. An example is the case of a proposed PRSC for Vietnam, which is currently under discussion with the Vietnamese authorities. Among the structural reforms being considered for support under the proposed PRSC is reform of state-owned enterprises (SOEs). The SOE reform component has included analysis of its gender implications (specifically in terms of consequences for laid-off women). As a result, the separation and severance payment arrangements recommended have been designed to minimize involuntary separations (which could create special difficulties for women) and to include a design for severance payments that would be favorable to women. I should emphasize that the details of the PRSC are still being worked out, and it will need to be approved in its final form by the Board of Executive Directors. But it could serve as an example of "best practice" attention to gender issues when supporting countries that are considering SOE reform as an element of the growth component of their poverty reduction strategies.
- Dissemination of "best practice" examples of gender treatment in country documents. More generally, despite the limited overall treatment of gender in I-PRSPs and full PRSPs, the Bank's Gender group has identified a number of specific cases where countries have in fact treated aspects of gender effectively, either in diagnosis or action plans or both. Examples include both diagnosis and proposed actions with respect to income generating activities for women in the Gambia and Honduras I-PRSPs; limited diagnosis but well-specified actions with respect to health in the Rwanda I-PRSP; a similar picture with respect to education in the Cambodia I-PRSP. It would be desirable to disseminate to other countries these and other examples of "best

practice" as they emerge, while still recognizing that individual countries must determine their own strategies and approaches..

- Bringing ongoing gender oriented work into the ambit of PRSPs. There have been cases where countries have in fact done useful work on gender questions, but where this work has not yet been taken up in the PRSP context. Gender budgeting in Tanzania is an example; a Government/NGO group has been working for some time on gender budgets, and has produced concrete recommendations for integrating gender into the budget process for the agriculture, health and education sectors, which did not find their way into the PRSP. Another case is that of the Rural Travel and Transport Initiative, which is working on gender and transport issues in a group of 10 African countries. The work is based on the fact that men's and women's transport needs differ significantly, and that the design of transport services needs to take account of women's needs. The poverty reduction strategies of several of the countries concerned have singled out transportation as an important area of focus, but none referred to the Initiative, which is of potentially great significance for poor women. The moral: E.M. Forster's "Only Connect".
- Engendering Participatory Processes. Commentators on the operation of the PRSP approach to date, notably non-governmental organizations (NGOs), have been adversely impressed by the quality of participatory processes used. While these processes have not been required for I-PRSPs, and while there have only been four PRSPs to date, inadequacies in participatory processes are likely to assume increasing importance as more and more countries make the transition to full PRSPs.

With respect to gender, it has been noted that many countries in fact have active women's associations and advocacy groups, but that they do not participate in country strategy definition, either because they are not appropriately represented or because they are brought into the process at too late a stage. One approach to this problem might be for governments to be more proactive in this area, or to seek help from development partners in taking steps at the very beginning of the process to facilitate women's participation (including familiarizing them with the objectives and modalities of the PRSP approach).

A related issue is that of the weight attached to women's views. While women's representatives may be invited to workshops as part of the participatory process, they may be reluctant to speak out in these fora—and even if they do, it is not clear what weight is given to their input as the strategy preparation process proceeds. A case in point is the Tanzania PRSP, where women accounted for a substantial proportion (22 percent) of all participants in preparatory grass roots workshops, and where their views were listed in some detail in the document—but where these views were not specifically reflected in either the diagnostic or the actions section of the paper.

I should note at once that this is a particularly sensitive area. It is the prerogative of countries to decide on how they manage participatory processes, and how they integrate the views of participants into their strategies. Engendering participatory processes, and hence ensuring that women have more voice in strategy preparation will not be an easy task. But all of us concerned with the success of the PRSP approach—countries, the Bank and Fund and development partners—need to be supportive of the maximum possible involvement of women and inclusion of gender-oriented perspectives, analysis and action plans in poverty reduction strategies.

IV. CONCLUSION

Madam Chairperson, I hope that my remarks have illustrated four simple points. First, the World Bank is very much aware of the large unfinished agenda with respect to gender questions in the development process as a whole. Second, we are fully committed to the principle of mainstreaming gender in development strategies. Third, although perhaps less rapidly than we would like, we are working to more fully integrate gender into our own work as a development institution. And fourth, the PRSP process is still at its very early stages but has the potential to be a powerful tool for working towards gender goals in the context of poverty reduction. The battle for engendering development is

far from won. But I believe that genuine understanding about its importance is growing—and in an area where attitudinal change is of crucial importance, this is a hopeful augury for the future that we all wish to see.

Thank you very much.

GENDER ASYMMETRICAL IMPACT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES

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I. INTRODUCTION

It is well acknowledged that macro-economics as well as macro-economic policy frameworks are not gender-neutral. Instead, they are formulated in a 'gender-biased' manner that ignores different, socially determined roles, responsibilities, and capabilities of women and men, within which women are viewed as main providers of non-marketed care production in the reproductive economy, while men as primary breadwinner in the productive economy. As a result, women are likely to be at disadvantage with less economic, social and political power compared to men (Elson 1995, Cagatay, Elson and row 1995, and Elson & Cagatay 2000).

During the 1980s, in the process of implementation of the stabilization and structural adjustment policies (SAPs) to overcome the devastated effects of maco-economic problems, many developing countries in the world, in particular, African, Latin American and the Caribbean countries carried out restructuring of nation-based macro-economic policies, community resources, and intrahousehold divisions of labor. The reallocation of national resources in concert with the policies of liberalizing the economy, for example, have resulted in an increase in the unemployed, the poor, and the malnourished. The policies intending to improve in economic "efficiency" and regain higher growth momentum obviously could not be consistent with those of enhancing people-centered human development in these countries. Women, in particular, have been affected more severely than men constituting the majority of the world poor, and forced to balance wage work with subsistence and domestic production in meeting household needs. Heavier burden of economic crises and persistent poverty, exacerbated by the SAPs, was shouldered by women (Dwyer and Bruce 1988, and Beneria & Feldman 1991). The concepts of equilibrium restoring market mechanism, social opportunity costs, efficiency, 'productive economy' and the like began to be questioned from a gender perspective.

Thus gender impact of SAPs became one of the hottest issues taken up at the World Conferences on Women since 1985, and it is reflected in "Strategic objective A.1" of Beijing Platform for Action to "review, adopt and maintain" macro-economic policies and development strategies that address the needs and efforts of women in poverty. At UN conferences of the 1990s the participating countries reached to the global consensus with regard to poverty eradication, gender equality and advancement of women, women's economic and political empowerment, and particularly emphasized the needs of poor women. The Platform for Action calls upon governments and other development actors to address these goals by integrating a gender perspective in all programmes and policies and their budgetary dimensions: mainstreaming gender in government policies.

Recent Asian economic crisis, however, was no exception to the rule: The followings are the major findings from the AIT/ILO project to identify the impact of the crisis (ILO 1998: 7-11):

- 1. Proportionally more women than men are hit by the crisis;
- 2. Seriously affected sectors include construction, manufacturing (textiles and garments, electronics, and machinery), real estate, retail and wholesale trade and financial services and insurance;
- 3. Falling real wages and deepening poverty;
- 4. Increase in child labor and teenage girls sex workers;
- 5. Jobless migrant workers returning home and loss of their remittances;

- 6. Business environment of the informal sector became more complex with keener competition and more open space for survival;
- 7. Cutback in social services and increases in women's responsibilities to meet the ends with unpaid labor:
- 8. Strengthening of cultural and ideological norm/definition of women.

The Outcome Document of the Beijing+5 points out that an important factor hindering the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action is insufficient financial and technical resources for gender mainstreaming. Unless macro-economic policies and resource allocation processes become more democratic and the content of such policies become more gender-aware, pro-poor and environment-sensitive, the goals of the World Conferences cannot be realized.

Paragraph 36–38 of the Outcome Document emphasizes the importance of gender analysis of budget state that:

"... (the effects of recent rapid changes in the world economic environment), these factors have contributed to the increasing feminization of poverty, which has undermined efforts to achieve gender equality. Limited funding at the State level makes it imperative that innovative approaches to the allocation of existing resources be employed, not only by Governments but also by NGOs and the private sector. One such innovation is the gender analysis of public budgets, which is emerging as an important tool for determining the differential impact of expenditures on women and men to help ensure equitable use of existing resources. This analysis is crucial to promote gender equality."

The same Outcome Document paragraph 53 continues to state:

".... Policies and programmes should be formulated to achieve the goal of people-centered sustainable development, secure livelihoods and adequate social protection measures, including safety nets, strengthened support systems for families and institutions as well as those responsible for resource allocation should adopt a gender perspective to ensure that development dividends are shared on equal grounds."

From viewpoint of gender-aware economic analysis, a new concern emerges about economic efficiency, in particular about the relationship between growth patterns and different dimensions of gender inequality. It is the relationship between gender inequality and growth on which by now well established research results are available. That is, some dimensions of gender inequality, such as in education and health, have adverse effects on the growth rate of an economy (Klasen 1999; Dollar and Gatti 1999). Thus, promoting women's education and women's health not only is relevant from gender-equity and poverty reduction goals, but also in a number of instances contribute to raise overall growth.

We need to reconsider some of the major economic concepts, e.g., production to include reproduction of human resources, efficiency to take into account longer-run as well as non-monetized benefit of unpaid work to improve efficiency and so forth. Further scrutiny is necessary into some of the premises of market, for example, market "incompleteness," fixed gender division of labor, deprivation of equal rights for women for economic activities.

II. GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN JAPANESE ODA

A group of us just initiated a research project of analyzing Japanese ODA budget. In Japan there is not yet serious attempt of applying gender-sensitive budget analysis at any level. Although recently NGOs demanded to the Government to set up a public meeting to explain the relevant items to advancement of women' status of the proposed 2001 fiscal year's national budget (Nihon Keizai Shinbun 2001), the demand only covered the Women-related budget, not gender analysis of the entire national budget. As an entry point we chose 1999 JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) budget, of which disbursement amounted to about 53 per cent of the total Japanese technical

cooperation of bilateral aid. The reason for selecting JICA is simply due to easier access to data among the ministries involved with ODA. The research is still in a preliminary stage, there are, however, some preliminary comments with respect to gender mainstreaming.

It is not a mainstream ministry of formulating ODA policies with its own budget but an implementation agency. It has, however, explicit commitments to support developing countries' efforts of mainstreaming gender concern by having appointed a woman to the position of managing director of Social Development Cooperation Department for the first time in the year 2000. In general policy evaluation is said not to be applicable to implementation agencies but she openly expresses her strong belief that JICA's cooperation projects also need to be evaluated.(1) I perfectly agree with her. In Japan the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is primary responsible for ODA decision-making. However, to a certain extent JICA participates in the decision-making process of identifying actual projects to be implemented where it can reflect its commitments on gender mainstreaming in developing countries.

The then Minister in charge of Women's Affairs announced the Japanese WID Initiatives at Beijing Women's Conference, and it resulted in the establishment of the Japan Women in Development Fund (JWIDF) within UNDP.

Despite the WID Initiatives, Japan has not yet been promoting gender mainstreaming aggressively. There are neither clear institutional commitments for JICA to disaggregate data by sex nor a great progress made among male-dominant senior officials in the recognition of the importance of gender issues for human-centered and environment-sensitive development. There is neither positive actions to raise a women's ratio of the employees to the total nor that of women managers. The ratio of women in managerial positions is less than 1 per cent.

Since the establishment of the Sectoral Committee on WID in 1990, JICA began to bring the WID perspective into development cooperation, rather late entry into OECD/DAC WID Committee. The approach was WID for a few years, however, shortly after the Beijing Conference, more integrated approach was adapted. The term "gender" began to be used, though cautiously since the enactment of the Basic Law of Equal Participation Society by Men and Women in the year 2000. It specifies national as well as local governments' positive roles to support developing countries' efforts to integrate gender perspectives into development strategies.

This is a rather slow response to the international movement to promote gender equality through development cooperation, which is consistent with the strong Japanese norm of fixed gender division of labor between women and men. Women are not identified as active players of development as change agents. However, this norm has been changing among younger generations and women in the middle-career started to assume managerial positions. Japanese women began to empower themselves economically as well as politically, which in turn, should be reflected in more supportive role of Japanese ODA to mainstream gender concerns into development strategies in a near future. In 2000 JICA conducted for the first time a comprehensive evaluation of its technical cooperation to Sri Lanka from gender perspective.

Final report is to be published shortly, however, over-all assessment is "insufficient promotion particularly in seemingly 'gender neutral' projects."(3)

As noted above, JICA began integrating WID/GAD "consideration" into development cooperation slowly since early 1990s. However, WID/GAD mainstreaming is not mandate leaving initiatives with those who are responsible for planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. A project can be approved without having any gender-sensitive components. This is especially the case if recipient countries do not "request" gender-sensitive project.

Table 1 indicates that in 1999 JICA allocated 19,986,527,000 yen (US\$1=107, roughly equivalent to US\$187 million) to "Technical Cooperation for WID/GAD." That was 13.4 per cent of JICA's total disbursement. The largest amount was allocated to "Development survey," to carry out basic surveys for implementing projects, most of which are related to rural and community

development, agricultural development, water resource development, urban transportation scheme, and so forth. The reason for being classified under this category is that benefits are assumed to reach both women and men, and contribute to poverty alleviation. However, there are neither data available in terms of sex-disaggregated data of number of people who receive the fruits of the projects nor those of experts, professionals, extension workers, technical and office staff, and so forth. Projects related to poverty reduction seem to be categorized under WID/GAD projects. So far "WID" experts are only women, so that when a project includes a WID expert, we know that there is a woman member in a dispatched team to a project. There is no detailed information to judge to what extent these projects are sensitive to gender equality.

Table 1: JICA's Technical Cooperation for WID/GAD in 1999

	Number of person/ project/ piece. Figure in parenthesis	Disbursement (Yen)	(%)
	indicate the number of women volunteers		
Development surveys	79	7 757 459 000	38,8
Project-type technical cooperation	48	6 337 707 000	31,7
Dispatch of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers	479 (429)	2 448 169 000	12,2
Acceptance of technical trainees	892	1 585 904 000	7,9
Dispatch of experts	88	652 701 000	3,3
Supply of equipment and materials	24	420 918 000	2,1
Expert training programs	6	37 746 000	0,2
Others	not applicable	745 923 000	3,7
Total	not applicable	19 986 527 000	100,0

Source: Unpublished data provided for the author by JICA Environment / Gender Office

Data of a single year do not provide a solid ground to evaluate the Japanese gender policies of ODA. However, a few more points can be raised.

First, in 1999 a new category of "welfare development support" was added to the existing ones although it was not shown in Table 1 due to the small amount of the budgetary allocation. The category is explained as it helps to support women and to reduce poverty at the grass roots including family planning, MCH, water supply and HIVs projects. The number of the GAD/WID projects under this category is 60 per cent of the total in the category indicating welfare nature of the projects where women are viewed as a target group for welfare rather than active producer in a community.

The second largest amount was allocated to "Project-type technical cooperation." These consist of water supply projects,, family planning and MCH projects, community forestry projects, agriculture training center construction, sericulture project, small-scale irrigation projects and so forth (see Table 2). The same comment on the "Development survey" can be made, although "women's" projects must surely meet at least women's "practical gender needs".

^() shows the number of women volunteers

Table 2: Top seven JICA Project-type Technical Cooperation of WID/GAD Projects in 1999

			Dispatch of e	experts	
Country	Project	Number of trainee accepted	Long-term	Short-term	Disbursed (1,000 yen)
Ethiopia	The Groundwater Development and Water Supply Training Project	2	6	3	280 607
Philippines	The Family Planning and Maternal and Child Health Project in the Philippines	4	6	5	241 964
Bolivia	The Afforestation and Erosion Control Project in the Valley of Tarija in Bolivia	3	4	3	217 315
Tanzania	The Killimanjaro Agricultural Training Center Project in Tanzania	2	6	4	210 339
Brazil	The Maternal and Child Health Improvement Project in North-East Brazil	3	5	6	205 871
India	The Project for Promotion of Popularizing the Practical Bivoltine Sericulture Technology in India	8	7	4	203 291

Source: Unpublished data provided for the author by JICA Environment / Gender Office

The third largest amount was disbursed for sending "cooperation volunteers." The number of the dispatched "cooperation volunteers" related to GAD/WID projects reached to 479, of which almost 90% were women although the total number of cooperation volunteers counted to 2288, of which female-male rate was almost 1:1 (JICA 1999: 135). The active areas of the GAD/WID volunteers include nursing, public and primary health, dressmaking, nutrition, rural development extension, food processing, and so forth. On the contrary to concentration of women volunteers in the more traditional women's areas of activities, the professional areas of the dispatched experts are more diversified extending to "capacity building" and "mainstreaming" as Tables 4 and 5 indicate. Unfortunately there are no sex-disaggregate data on dispatched experts either.

Table 3: JICA Dispatch of Gender Experts by Region

Region	Project	Long-term	Short-term	Disbursement
1 7 17	Category	_		(/1,000yen)
Asia and Pacific	С	7	4	107 344
Asia and Pacific	E	1	3	19 750
Asia and Pacific	EN	2	0	28 592
Asia and Pacific	GM	4	3	62 638
Asia and Pacific	Н	1	9	30 658
Asia and Pacific	M	0	3	5 454
Asia and Pacific	P	0	2	3 636
Asia and Pacific	R	2	1	30 410
Asia and Pacific	S	1	0	14 296
Latin America and Caribbean	Е	1	7	27 022
Latin America and Caribbean	Н	3	1	44 706
Latin America and Caribbean	M	1	1	16 114
Middle East	Е	0	1	1 818
Middle East	Н	0	3	5 454
Africa	С	3	2	46 524
Africa	EN	3	0	42 888
Africa	Н	1	3	14 296
Africa	M	0	3	5 454
Africa	R	4	2	60 820

Source: The same as Table 1 & 2

Note: Abbreviation

C: Capacity building (including skill and technical improvement)

E: Education, EN: Environment

GM: Gender mainstreaming, H: Primary and reproductive health

M: Microenterprise, P: Poverty, R: Rural development

S: Enhancement status for women

Table 4: JICA Dispatch of Gender Experts by Region

1. Individual Technical Cooperation Experts

Region	Total Experts	of which l	Experts for WII	D/GAD related pro	jects
		Long-term	Short-term	Disbursement (\1,000 yen)	%
Asia and Pacific	829	18	25	302 778	53,3
Middle East	96	0	4	7 272	1,3
Africa	113	11	7	169 982	29,9
Latin America	227	5	9	87 842	15,5
Europe	70	0	0	0	0,0
Total	1 335	34	45	567 874	100

2. Experts in the Project-type Technical Cooperation

Region	Total Experts	of which	of which Experts for WID/GAD related projects								
		Long-term	Short-term	Disbursement (\1,000yen)	%						
Asia and Pacific	1 049	121	125	3 232 674	51,0						
Middle East	138	8	3	254 333	4,0						
Africa	126	34	20	1 229 136	19,4						
Latin America	284	52	36	1 621 564	25,6%						
Europe	39	0	0	0	0,0						
Total	1 636	215	184	6 337 707	100						

Source: *Japan Internatinal Cooperation Agency Annual Report* 1999 Gender-related data are taken from the same data source as Tables 1 & 2

III. CONCLUSION

It is still premature to conclude a future policy direction of gender-related Japanese ODA. However, it is true that there are strong civil society's initiatives of formulating alliance with women of developing countries to achieve gender–equal society in the world, which surely monitor Japanese ODA with respect to gender-equity in the near future. And a big step has been taken by the enactment of Basic Law of Equal Participation Society by Men and Women which specifies the necessity of supporting women's empowerment of developing countries via ODA as well as local governments' cooperation for development efforts. By working closely with international colleagues, Japanese women will find more effective ways to promote gender mainstreaming for development efforts as well as their own empowerment.

Before concluding, I would like to introduce a successful Japanese example of gender-sensitive community development and watershed conservation project being implemented in a hill area in Nepal since 1994 to which at least one long-term WID expert has been dispatched all way through. This project emphasizes a participatory approach from planning stage to evaluation both by women and men. Another feature is sensitive and empowerment approaches not only to gender but also to socially disadvantaged groups. Once I myself interviewed several groups of women joining this project. They appreciated new experience of joining the project as individuals and gained self-respect and –confidence. They enjoyed group works and various kinds of individual skill development along with income generating activities. Most impressive statement was that they believe that they gained ability and confidence to write a fund raising proposal or to earn own fund if they find it necessary to build village facilities, village trail or community resting hut (see Appendix "Experience of JICA in Rural Development," prepared by Hana Kobayashi of JICA). This will become one type of model of future gender-sensitive poverty reduction-empowerment projects.

NOTES

- (1) Yumiko Tanaka expressed this view in her paper presentation at the first annual conference of Japan Society for Evaluation Study on Feb. 19, 2001 in Tokyo.
- (2) Unpublished data in Tables 2-5 are prepared by Environment and WID Office of JICA for the WID Advisory Committee meeting of Jan. 2001, of which I am a member.
- (3) One of the evaluating team members, Junnko Kuninobu presented a paper at above noted annual conference of Japan Society for Evaluation Study on Feb. 19, 2001 in Tokyo.

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CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN THE NATIONAL POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY PAPER (PRSP):

A CASE OF UGANDA

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

I take this opportunity to thank the organisers of this workshop for according Uganda a privilege to share our experiences on our efforts to mainstream gender in the National Development Strategy. In my discussion, I shall highlight the experiences of the National Machinery for Gender Equality – i.e. the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development in promoting gender equality in Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) which in the case Uganda is the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP).

Uganda Government, in 1996, resolved to prioritize Poverty Eradication as the major focus of its overall sustained growth and development strategy. To this effect, a Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) was formulated in 1997, and is built on four pillars, which are inter-linked with the national goals:

- (i) Fast and sustainable economic growth and structural transformation.
- (ii) Good governance and security
- (iii) Increased the ability of the poor to raise their incomes
- (iv) Increased the quality of life of the poor

PEAP provides a framework within which the government planning effort is conducted. The principles set out in the PEAP guide the formulation of the Sectoral Plans. Education, Health, Agriculture, Water and Sanitation were initially singled out by PEAP as priority sectors through which the overall national development goal of poverty eradication would be achieved. Through periodic revisions of the PEAP priority areas, other areas such as Adult Literacy have been included as priority areas.

PEAP provides agreed areas that are prioritized in pubic expenditure decisions. Each year's annual budget and investment programme is set in the context of the three-year Medium Expenditure Framework. (MEF). Annual Planning and Budgetary Cycle includes the preparations of medium term budget framework papers by sectors and districts. The underlying principle is to ensure purposeful strategy that is linked to a tight budget.

The activities for priority sectors identified are financed from the Poverty Action Fund (PAF) which was created in 1998 to utilize funds saved from Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief initiative as well as Government funds. PAF supports the basic services e.g. Primary Education, Primary Health Care, Agricultural Extension, Feeder Roads, Water and Sanitation and Adult Literacy.

In the context of PEAP and debt relief, and in recognition of Uganda's good track record in macro-economic and fiscal management, donors have increasingly moved from project aid towards budget support. PAF is thus funded by donor aid and HIPC debt relief funds.

Most of the PAF resources are channeled to the district as conditional grants since districts are responsible for delivery of priority services to the communities.

PEAP therefore, as a framework for government development plans and programmes, provides and excellent entry point for gender mainstreaming as discussed below in Annex 1.

II. OPPORTUNITIES TO MAINSTREAM GENDER IN PEAP

Many opportunities exist that have facilitated gender mainstreaming in the PEAP at both national and local levels. While some opportunities formed a basis for implementation of PEAP others are points that need to be advantage of.

Enabling Policy and Legal Environment: has enhanced institutionalization of gender in Uganda's Comprehensive Development Framework. The positive political will that that was ushered in 1986 led to creation of a National Machinery for Gender Equality (1988) as a Government Ministry directed by a Cabinet Minster. Prior to this, the National Machinery was the National Council of Women – a semi autonomous Women's Organization created in 1978 in response to UN Decade for Women. A National Gender Policy (NGP) was formulated and put in place in 1997. The overall goal of the policy is to mainstream gender concerns in the national development process in order to improve the social, legal/civil and political, economic and cultural conditions of the people of Uganda and in particular women. The policy forms an integral part of the national development policy framework and establishes linkages among all key actors in the development arena to purse the goal of gender equality. At the passing of the National Gender Policy, Cabinet directed that all subsequent laws made by Parliament should conform to the National Gender Policy.

The National Gender Policy is backed by the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995) that underlines the principles of equality between women and men in all spheres. Within this enabling policy/legal environment, the promotion of gender equality in Uganda is in essence institutionalized.

A. THE DEVELOPMENT OF POVERTY ERADICATION ACTION PLAN (PEAP)

The process of development and refinement of the PEAP provided an opportunity. It was a highly participatory process with wide circulation of drafts supervised by the Steering Committee, strong involvement from Civil Society and general consultative workshops for all actors. As a result the PEAP document contains gender issues which were identified throughout the process. However, since this was the beginning of the process, the identified gender issues were not concrete.

The revision of the PEAP in 2000 drew on the progress made since 1997 including the participatory research carried out by Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment and the constraints identified in the Poverty Status Report.

B. THE UGANDA PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT PROCESS (UPPAP)

The Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process (UPPAP) as an initiative of the Government of Uganda that seeks to bring together the perspectives of the poor Ugandans into formulation and implementation of policies and plans for poverty eradication provides another opportunity for gender mainstreaming.

Although PEAP was formulated as a result of abroad consultative process involving Central and Local Governments, Civil Society and Private Sector – the poor for whom the Plan was developed were not consulted. Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process was established to provide a mechanism for linking the perspectives of the different categories of the poor to the policy formulation process. UPPAP helps to assess the impact of macro-economic reforms and government policies on the poor because it brings out the qualitative information on poverty, from the perspectives of the poor. Unlike quantitative methods of data collection, UPPAP (2000) brought out the fact that poverty is engendered, since women and men experience poverty differently. This study brought out clearly that due to their different roles, responsibilities and entitlements in households and communities, men and women view and define poverty differently. As a result of UPPAP issues such as adult literacy targeted micro-finance have been designated as priority areas to benefit from Poverty Action Fund.

UPPAP is a three-year process designed to strengthen and complement quantitative data utilised to review national priorities of PEAP based on the priorities of the communities consulted. Government is in the process of planning for the implementation of the second PPA in Uganda. Gender is coming out as strongly as an apparently new variable that needs to be focused on its entirety in the second PPA. To supplement UPPAP, the National Machinery is about to embark on a study on gender and poverty, which will document the imbalances and discrimination both in terms of qualitative and quantitative measures. Like UPPAP, this information will be revised continuously and will feed in the PEAP to ensure that gender issues linked to poverty are taken into consideration at national level and hence also at the local levels.

C. MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN SECTOR WIDE APPROACH (SWAPS).

As a response to many years of project oriented development, government has adopted sector wide approaches (SWAP). This approach involves bringing together different actors in the sector to adopt the common approaches across the sector and all significant funding for the sector is channeled to support the single sector policy. This is another lightly consultative process with all stakeholders such as; investors, and civil society organisations including developmental agencies under the government leadership.

The SWAP evolves around the budgeting process as illustrated below:

SWAP is being applied widely in various sectors in Uganda and education sector is regarded as one of the most advanced sectors with regard to SWAP. An Education Sector Strategic Investment Plan (ESIP) for 1998-2003 was developed and includes gender responsive actions regarding access to education; quality of education and capacity building of teachers. A separate Girl Child Education Strategy has also been formulated to cater for specific needs of girl's education.

Further, collaborative efforts between National machinery and Ministry of Health during the formulation of the Health policy resulted in the National Health policy whose one of the guiding principles is:

A gender sensitive and responsive national health system, which shall be achieved through mainstreaming gender consideration in planning and implementation of all health programmes.

Other sectors that have adopted the SWAP planning processes but are still in the preliminary stages include Water, Law and Order, Transport and Social Development.

D. PLAN FOR MODERNIZATION OF AGRICULTURE.

Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) is another Sectoral Plan that has been evolved through consultations. This is a holistic, strategic framework for eradicating poverty through multisectoral interventions enabling people to improve their livelihoods in s sustainable manner. PMA is part of the Government of Uganda's broad strategy of poverty eradication contained in the revised Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) of 2000.

PMA recognises that gender has an influence on the division of labour and power relations within the households which bring about differences in access to and control over productive resources. PMA therefore ensures that gender concerns are routinely and adequately addressed in planning and other processes of intervention. Participation of both men and women is promoted at all levels. The role of the National Machinery is to monitor and build capacity of the implementers in gender analysis skills.

It is important to note that the SWAPs have eased the work of the National Machinery. Firstly it has built on the earlier collaborative efforts of the national machinery with key sectors such as

Education, Agriculture, Local Government, Health and Natural Resources. Secondly since SWAP encourages consultations, the demand for services of the National Machinery has increased.

E. MONITORING AND EVALUATION.

In the process of developing a framework for monitoring and evaluating gender mainstreaming, the national machinery identified Poverty monitoring as a valuable entry point for gender mainstreaming. To this end a framework for monitoring and evaluating gender mainstreaming was formulated with particular emphasis on the PEAP priority areas. It has been deemed relevant that gender monitoring is linked to poverty monitoring since there is a clear link between gender imbalances and poverty and all objectives of PEAP are related to crucial gender issues. PEAP is closely monitored, progress is analysed and feedback is used in the two yearly revision.

The National Machinery initiated dialogue with the poverty monitoring and Analysis Unit (PMAU) in the Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development to integrate gender monitoring within the poverty monitoring. The PMAU has established a poverty-monitoring group composed of line ministries, donors, NGOs and civil society organisations on which gender experts from the National Machinery are represented. To monitor gender mainstreaming in PEAP several entry points were identified. These entry points are linked to the budgeting process in SWAPS. These entry points are illustrated in the diagram in Annex1.

Each sector ministry is represented by a sector working group which works closely with the Ministry of Finance, Planning and economic Development in developing and refining the sector investment plans so that they become responsive to poverty issues. The National Machinery works closely with the respective sector working groups in order to influence sector Investment Plans as well as other activities regarding gender mainstreaming.

Among the sectors, there is a Poverty Eradication-Working Group (PEWG), which on one hand works in line with other sector working groups and on the other hand has a crosscutting role being a sector-working group, which acts as a "watchdog" and an advocate to ensure that the Sector Investment Plans are 'poverty responsive'. Hence the objective of PEWG is to ensure that the needs of the poor are addressed in all sector plans. The mandate of this group also includes reviewing sector investment plans and recommending changes and improvements where these plans are responsive to poverty. The PEWG collaborates through local government at the district level in its efforts to access and monitor poverty measures at local levels. This group provides a natural entry point for the National Machinery to monitor and advocate for gender mainstreaming. Through the collaborative efforts PEWG has included gender related questions in the criteria, which guide the work of other sectors.

These include:

- (i) Are gender inequalities addressed?
- (ii) Have you identified and addressed gender inequalities, differences and imbalances between men and women in your sector?
- (iii) Have social and structural factors that perpetuate differential poverty among women and men been identified as problems and addressed?

Such questions are directed towards the sector budgets papers during the discussions of the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). This ensures that gender is mainstreamed in the annual rolling three year expenditure plans which set out the medium term expenditure priorities upon which the sector plans are developed and refined and which guides all the expenditure including the use of resources committed by donors. Currently, the discussions are on going on the sector budget framework papers for 2001/2002 to 2003/2004 to include gender.

F. CONSTRAINTS AND CHALLENGES IN MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN PEAP.

Despite the various opportunities discussed above, gender mainstreaming in Uganda has not been without major challenges. As a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs gender mainstreaming calls for diffusion of responsibilities for gender issues from a small focal point in an institution to different sectoral and technical organisations.

In order to do this, there is need for capacity building of stakeholders to be able to advocate and institutionalize gender. For effective mainstreaming in PEAP gender experts are required in all sectors to ensure that actions to address gender concerns are brought on board with the sector investment plans. This can happen if staff in sector ministries such as policy makers, planners and implementers have adequate gender planning and analysis skills.

When Uganda adopted a gender mainstreaming strategy, Gender Focal Points (GFPs) were appointed in all line ministries. These were to act as in-house gender experts within their respective ministries. In order for the GFPs to perform their roles effectively, it was desired that they were placed in strategic /influential positions and be involved in influencing policy directions and agendas of the ministries. In practice, however, junior female officers were in the majority of cases appointed as GFPs possibly due to conceptual problems of not differentiating between gender and women or regarding gender equality as insignificant. This phenomenon largely rendered the strategy of GFPs less effective. From this experience the challenge is institutionalized gender mainstreaming in the existing structures such as the planning units of sector ministries who should be assigned the responsibility of integrating gender in the sector investment plans.

Related to the above is the training and sensitization at the Local Government levels. In response to the decentralization policy which Uganda government introduced in 1992, the National Machinery started to work with Local Government to influence the process of developing the three year District Development Plans. In the context of PEAP and SWAPS the challenge is to build the capacity of the district based staff on a continuous basis so that they can be able to identify and plan for integration of gender issues.

Other stakeholders that need to be targeted include civil society organizations, private sector as well as parliamentarians since these groups are crucial in the budget processes and allocation of resources. Through these capacity-building activities a critical mass of gender policy entrepreneurs and advocates will be created and will complement the National Machinery whose human resource has been reduced through the recent Civil Service Reform Exercise. This was part of the larger Structural Adjustment Program.

The budgeting process as described earlier puts great demand on the limited numbers of gender technical officers in the ministry. During the budgeting period a lot of activities are going on simultaneously. The gender staff is not able to participate in all these activities to provide backstopping and this often results in marginalizing gender issues in the sector plans.

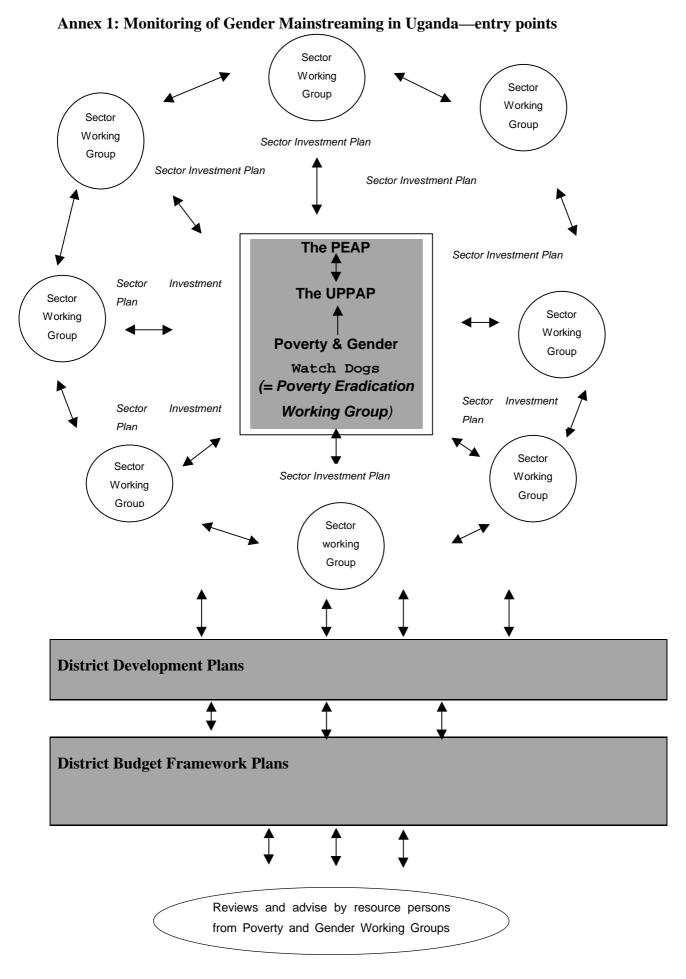
In addition our experience has taught us, the gender advocates and entrepreneurs have limited skills to assist them influence macro economic policies. The macro economic terms such as fiscal policy, economic growth, GDP, elements of world trade organization are in most cases not understood by the gender experts. This calls for imparting economic literacy skills to them.

The real challenge however, is to ensure capacity building for gender mainstreaming gets adequate funding in view of the fact that gender training and other advocacy activities are expensive. The meager resources allocated to the National Machinery from the National Budget are an issue. The question is how the National Machinery will address this important role of capacity building, monitoring and evaluation of gender mainstreaming in PEAP without adequate resources. This may

call for a stand-alone program for the National Machinery with clear ear marked resources to enable it play its role in PEAP effectively.

III. CONCLUSION

The reflections contained in this paper indicate that the gender mainstreaming as a key strategy in support of gender equality is crucial in the formulation, implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation of the National Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. Effective gender mainstreaming, however, requires employment of a multi faceted approach taking advantage of various entry points. Pursuit of this also requires involving and collaboration of many stake holders since gender is a broad cross cutting concern involving all sectors and strategic alliances need to be created to analyze and ensure that gender perspectives are integrated in the various priority areas of PEAP. Above all, the role of the National Machinery is very instrumental in back stopping, capacity building and playing the watchdog role. Otherwise gender will continue to fade away if there is no institution responsible for it.



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MOZAMBIQUE CASE STUDY by Alcinda Abreu Forum Mulher, Maputo, Mozambique

I. INTRODUCTION

Building capacity for mainstreaming gender in development strategies is one of the biggest challenges for this millennium.

When Mozambique proclaimed its independence in 1975, 95 per cent of the population was illiterate (Mocumbi 1999). After independence the country become involved in a destabilization war that ended first in 1992 with a General Peace Agreement. A million people died and hundred of thousands became disabled or orphans. Destruction of social and economic tissue was the result of that war, where women and children were the main victims. Women and children are today still the more affected by the problems of development. Schools, health centers and other infrastructures are being rehabilitated. Budgetary expenditures for health and education increased by 40 per cent in 1995. Roads are being repaired in rural areas.

More recently, in year 2000, the country was devastated by floodwaters and cyclones that caused serious damage in the south and central regions, affecting 27 per cent of the total population. Communications, land and social and economic infrastructures were destroyed. Land, a resource used mainly by women in family agriculture, was ruined in a large scale. More than 10 per cent of the country's cultivated land and 90 per cent of its operational irrigation structures were damaged (GETNET 2000). This year natural calamities are destroying and killing in the Central and Northern parts of the country.

Mozambique is in the list of the ten Less Developed Countries in the world with a GDP per capita of US\$230 in 1999 and the impact of the disaster is shown in the rising in prices of the basic food products. The economic growth is in a slow progress and the inflation more elevated. Mozambique is also the third most populated country in Southern Africa, with a population of 15,740,000 habitants (1997). Women constitute 52.66 per cent of the total population and 66,5 per cent of the women are economically active. Some 91,3 per cent of the women are working in agriculture, fishery and sylviculture (INE 2000). The majority of the Mozambican people are poor peasant farmers leaving under very difficult circumstances, which is related to (i) the high level of illiteracy (the illiteracy rate was 74.1 per cent for women and 44,6 per cent for men in 1997); (ii) poor health conditions (infant mortality rate in a thousand was 152,9 for men and 137,8 for women in 1997; and maternal mortality rate was 300 in a hundred thousand); and (iii) excessive work for women.

Economic development strategies in Mozambique focus on eradicating absolute poverty, particularly in the social vulnerable groups, with actions that increase GDP and promote sustainable development. For social development, improvement and extension of education and health services at all levels, giving priority to the regional and gender balances is the main goal (Republic of Mozambique 2000). In the context of public administration, the primary objectives are to reform local organs of the State, consolidate the democratization process, implement a management system, and to develop human resources through education and training.

In the context of gender division of labour, women remain in the households, being the main producers of food and survival strategies. Men on the other hand play traditionally different roles. For example, men are clearing agriculture fields, hunting, building houses, going to the mines and plantations, bringing industrial tools, etc.

Nowadays, women are much more attracted to self-employment than men. Women are more flexible than men in adapting to new situations. That is one of the reasons why we find so many women in the informal sector with their dependants, the children. On the other hand, women are learning to do other things while traveling within or outside the country to neighboring countries to buy and sell goods at the market. Following these market activities, women fulfill the family/household needs for food and other basic goods. In this kind of activities women are also developing their negotiating skills, which is important as many of the economic policies and programs do not promote these skills.

Like in many other African countries the social and economic conditions of women in Mozambique are at a very basic level, as a result of their social and cultural ascribed roles and responsibilities. Gender differentiated rights and privileges are ascribed by traditional attitudes and practices, as well as gender differentiated access to socio-economic resources, often to the disadvantage of women. Because of these rigid roles women are prevented from overcoming prevailing gender imbalances, thereby making it more difficult for them to improve their socio-economic condition.

Although the Constitution of the Republic and other laws such as family law, which ensures equal rights for both men and women, have been reviewed there is still a lot to be done to change gender power relations. To illustrate this an example of what may happen to many women is given below (Instituto GEDLIDE 1999):

Boneze is a primary teacher that has been proposed by her political party to run the local elections in her city. She felt proud and very happy about that and went home to present it to her husband who was a worker in the sugar enterprise. The smile in her lips closed abruptly when the husband came to her very angry and started shouting to her. "What are you talking about? Who does put trousers in this house?"

Boneze said that she knew he was the head of the family, however she felt that it was very important for women to be in the local government bodies. So, she wanted him to allow her to run the elections. This time the husband gave her a resounding slap that made her fall down.

Related to power, besides Mozambique being one of the countries with more women in political boards, the number of women in the Parliament represents only 30 per cent among 250 members. In the cabinet, there are 14,3 per cent women ministers and 29,4 per cent women deputy ministers. There is no one woman Governor of the province, however, 4,7 per cent of the district administrators are female.

II. POVERTY REDUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Poverty is a major concern in Mozambique that affects 60 per cent of its population, 70 per cent in rural and 50 per cent in urban areas. Families living under absolutely poverty have problems of nutrition, access to basic services such as drinkable water, health, education, rural extension, markets, communication, transport, and family planning.

The war had greater negative consequences on women than on men, worsening the condition of women, increasing, rather than diminishing pre-existing gender imbalances. We can see, for instance, that family dislocations following the war increased the incident of wife abandonment and the number of "de facto" female household heads who have to provide for themselves and their families. By the end of the war, new vulnerable groups of women had emerged, such as women left behind with their children by demobilized soldiers who have gone back to their original families, and those rejected by their husbands.

The incidence of poverty is disproportionately higher among female headed than male headed households. A study made in Maputo in 1991 showed that 24 per cent of the households classified as

extremely poor (60 per cent of the total number of households) were headed by women and 25 per cent of the households were classified as poor (Abreu 1999).

The efforts of the government to restructure and revitalize the economy affected both women and men negatively. Since 1987, the government has introduced structural adjustment programmes addressing the retrenchment of the public sector, which led to restructuring of 700 enterprises and small and medium economic units, and 50 large enterprises between 1989 and 1996. The results were thousands of unemployed people that the labor market could not absorb immediately. But women were doubled affected – those who were directly involved in food and cloth enterprises and the others whose husbands were fired. This lead to an increased number of women in the informal sector and in prostitution.

Liberalization of the cashew nuts sector, where many women worked in production and processing factories, led to serious problems of availability of raw nuts, as traders preferred to export the raw nuts to India. The consequences were unemployment a great number of women. When the government understood this was happening, they tried to correct it.

The Government's Five-Year Program 1995-99, which prioritized reduction of absolute poverty with a view to, in a medium-term, improve the living conditions of the vulnerable groups of the population. The programme gives special emphasis on education, health, rural development and employment (Council of Ministers 1995). As a first attempt to define specific policies to reduce poverty, the government approved the National Poverty Reduction Strategy and its Plan of Action. The focus is economic growth and human development. The aim of the Plan of Action to Reduce Absolute Poverty is to reduce absolute poverty incidence towards 30 per cent in the next ten years.

The general objective of the Plan of Action is to develop and allow effective and coordinated monitoring of actions to reduce poverty in the medium term and to eradicate it in the long term. To achieve this goal it is important:

- To maintain the economic stability and the rhythm of the economic growth in a rapid and sustainable way, considering the tendencies of the demographic variables of the country.
- To harmonize the Plan of Action with other instruments and existing policies such as the Population Policy, the Strategy on Food Security, the National Strategic Plan on the Struggle Against STD/HIV/AIDS, the Post-Beijing Plan of Action and the Integrated Program of Social Action, Employment and Youth, the Social and Economic Plan and the General Budget.
- To allocate resources to respond to the poverty reduction strategies, which is a priority objective of the government, through a budgetary policy in a medium term.
- To guarantee institutional coordination and the partnership among the Government, NGOs, Religious Groups and the Private sector.

Some of the activities considered in the different strategies to combat absolute poverty are in place, including gender analysis, gender training and sex-disaggregated data, particularly in the sectors of education, planning and finance, agriculture, environment, health, HIV/AIDS, woman and social action. At the provincial level, Zambézia is one of the provinces that is being supported by UNFPA and other donor agencies on programmes to introduce a gender component in population, health, woman, adolescents, youth and social action programmes and projects.

The main constraints are resources, in particular the human resources to mainstream gender in the government policies and programmes at all levels of planning, implementation and monitoring. This is one of the reasons why, although gender aspects in general are being covered and there is some awareness in decision-making bodies, there is still reluctance to incorporate these aspects in sector plans and programmes. One of the reasons may be ignorance of methods used for analyzing and incorporating gender concerns (UNDP/ILO 2000).

One of the main NGOs striving towards poverty reduction is the General Union of Cooperatives, which is composed by around 95 per cent female members, and are the major suppliers of chicken in Maputo, among other products.

III. GENDER MAINSTREAMING PROCESS

A. ENGENDERING POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

Policies of education, health, water, agriculture, land, social action, rural development, population, environment and employment were approved with a gender perspective, by the Government, recognizing the crucial contribution of women for the social, economic, political and cultural development of the country. Mozambique institutionalized the principle of equal rights in the way to build a society of social justice, freedom and democracy, creating a legal room where both women and men get the same opportunities and access over resources.

Some affirmative actions were established in programmes developed by governmental structures and NGOs, such as women and girl-child education; women and health equity, poverty reduction and community development; food for work; legal reform, literacy and scholarships; the campaign All Against Violence, etc.

Rural extension programmes is key to women and men in the countryside. Since 1993, a gender and development module was integrated in the extension training curricula. Another institution, the Agrarian Training Center introduced in 1995 a gender and development component in its central and provincial training programs. One of the strategies is to train women peasants in matters related to seed production and technological skills.

Through the livestock incitement programme, which gives rural credit to cattle raising, women's participation has been stimulated. Besides the support of credit, training is also organized within the programme. Some 30 per cent of the women, among the 10,151 small-scale business people, were trained in management, market and accountability.

The adoption of a new national policy on land and the revision of the land-act allowed the reinforcement of the position of women into the local communities, by involving them at the decision-making bodies on the use and management of land as a resource.

Due to the fast changes in our society, women roles are also changing quickly, which needs a deep analysis of gender relations. This kind of analysis would reveal information that could allow policies and programmes to respond to concrete gender needs.

The sustainable development of political, community, productive and reproductive life requires the full participation and collaboration between men and women at all levels. In this regard, the specific objectives of the new Government Programme on women are to:

- (i) promote higher awareness of the society about women's rights;
- (ii) reinforce the participation of women in all levels of decision-making and in all domains of political, economic, social and cultural life, ensuring equality of access and opportunities;
- (iii) promote law reform against discriminatory legislation;
- (iv) improve the working conditions of women, according to their situation of mothers and educators;
- (v) increase the level of female education through measures that stimulate the access and the success of girls at school;
- (vi) implement measures that reduce the burden of women's work

(vii) support women head of low income households through projects of self-employment and income generating activities.

One of the key elements in providing a framework for establishing the interventions required to integrate gender concerns into development policies and programmes is a national plan of action.

The Cabinet adopted in August 1997 a National Plan of Action considering the following seven priority areas of concern: (i) women, poverty and employment; (ii) women and girl education and training; (iii) women and health; (iv) women rights and violence; (v) women in power, decision-making and social communication; (vi) women environment and agriculture; and (vii) institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women.

Nevertheless, besides the efforts being developed, there are still constraints with the allocation of adequate financial resources and technical staff at the managerial level. Moreover, skills in gender planning and gender analysis and skills in coordination, project management, research and information dissemination are lacking, even for the gender units members.

B. NATIONAL MECHANISMS

The Ministry of Woman and Social Action (MMCAS) is the institution within the government, responsible for the direction, coordination and execution of the women emancipation policy, according to the principles, objectives and tasks defined by the Council of Ministers. To facilitate the coordination at the level of implementation, the Council of Ministers created the Operative Group for the Advancement of Women, that integrates a number of representatives of 16 other ministries, three NGOs and the African Study Center, chaired by the Minister of Women and Social Action.

The Ministry of Woman and Social Action Coordination (MMCAS) was created last year. However, activities related to women and gender were undertaken from 1994 to 2000 at the Ministry for Social Action Coordination. MMCAS is still being developed, receiving staff for different levels and tasks. MMCAS has a National Direction of Woman with two departments, one of Gender and Development and the other one of Woman and Family where the HIV/AIDS program is being developed. However financial constraints, appropriated human resources and abilities to mainstream gender are the main difficulties faced. A UNFPA project is supporting MMCAS to build gender capacity.

During year 2001, MMCAS will develop the Programme of Support and Promotion of the Status of Women through the implementation of income generating activities to reduce poverty; campaigns of sensitization and social reintegration of women victims of domestic violence, improvement of the coordination mechanisms and dynamization of the activities to implement the Post Beijing Plan of Action; and approval and implementation of the mozambican gender policy (Republic of Mozambique 2000).

The Operative Group is the mechanism to monitor and supervise the implementation of government policies, programmes and the Beijing Platform of Action. The group can also present proposals to introduce and reform policies and programmes, plans and budget in a gender perspective. The members of the group have also prepared the Post Beijing National Plan of Action.

Gender units or departments are being established in various ministries (women and social action, education, state administration, agriculture, environment, mineral resources, internal affairs and soon in the Ministry of Health) to guarantee the gender approach into policies, programmes and projects at the level of planning and implementation in these institutions. One of the constraints with gender units is that these units are not defined as part of the public administration and it has not been decided what kind of linkages should exist between these units and the Operative Group.

The Cabinet has been advised on how to mainstream gender, by the Prime Minister's office. The process of mainstreaming gender at all levels of government requires the building of gender

awareness and capacity for gender planning. Besides the governmental institutions, the Assembly of the Republic has a Commission on Gender, Environment and Social issues.

There are around twelve national NGOs dealing with women and gender issues. Some of the NGOs are very strong and some others were created by the government to bridge the gaps. Prior to the existence of the Ministry of Woman and Social Action Coordination, the Mozambican Woman Organization (OMM) played a very important role for the equality between men and women. OMM is today one of the members of Forum Mulher, the umbrella organization that brings together government institutions, NGOs, United Nation agencies and donor community to deal with women and gender issues, merging efforts and sharing resources and information. At the moment, Forum Mulher and the Gender Institute for Democracy Leadership and Development (The GEDLIDE Institute) are developing training to build national capacity in gender and development, leadership project management, advocacy and human rights. GEDLIDE is also undertaking research and is producing materials in different fields with a gender approach. One of the weaknesses of the NGOs is the strong economic dependence of donors.

C. NATIONAL BUDGET

The national budget, which is known by The General Budget, is structured to provide expenditures and revenues. The funds from the General Budget are allocated for the recurrent expenditures (salaries, maintenance of offices and means of transport and other administrative expenditures) and for investment (building of infrastructure).

In the General Budget priority is given to the areas that provide public services with a major impact in the welfare of the population and in the public order and security. The recurrent costs of health, education, water, police and judiciary system were the priorities. The recurrent costs of the education sector increased from 14,4 per cent in 1994 to 26 per cent in 1998. The impact of this budget could also be felt in the social programmes.

For programmes, including the Post Beijing Plan of Action, the ministries are dependent of donor funds Some activities were funded from specific funds for special projects as suplements and complements to normal ongoing budget lines. Some examples are the specific expenditure for:

- (i) the vulnerable population that prioritises pregnant women with malnutrition and women head of households with many children;
- (ii) Infant and Maternal Health programmes;
- (iii) Training, credit and technical assistance for women in the informal sector;
- (iv) Girl child education and training;
- (v) Environment education and sustainable management activities; etc.

There was not a special budget line for women. The Ministry of Planning and Finance (MPF) who is responsible to present the national budget, decided to start to engender the budget – integrating funding for women needs through the normal budget lines.

At the government level, the process started with the National Plan of Action, which was not allocated any funds in 1996. The year after, the government presented to the parliament the 1998 Social and Economic Plan (PES) with a gender perspective in some areas. The existence of activities aimed at improving the status of women within the annual plan is crucial to influence the national budget. In the other hand it is important to make analysis on who are the contributors for the revenues and how much do women and men contribute.

Afterwards, the MPF started to train the technical staff of five directorates with skills for an analytical approach to prepare the national budget. A seminar on engendering budget was organized and the Gender Institute for Democracy, Leadership and Development (Institute GEDLIDE) facilitated

it. In this seminar, the South African experience was shared with Debbie Budlender who contributed further with other steps for the methodology to prepare the proposal.

The main sectors identified were health, employment, agriculture, social action and education. However, the annual national budget covers the recurrent expenditures, which was the starting point to engendering the budget. A gender analysis of public sector salaries was undertaken with the assistance of a South African expert. However, there was no follow up activities after this exercise. It was supposed to have given enough capacity of the technical staff of the ministry to prepare and monitor the gender budget approach.

D. SPECIFIC TARGETS

Actions to address poverty reduction are targeted in the poorest regions with the highest levels of poverty and priority groups are defined according to the following criteria:

- Households with high number of dependents;
- Households with only one source of income, mainly in the field of subsistence agriculture;
- Households headed by women, specially widows, divorced and single-mothers;
- Households with a medium size of plot (land) relatively to the standard of the respective agroecological zone;
- Households headed by people without any permanent source of income (even in the agriculture of subsistence) or living on occasional labor.

Traditionally the head of the household was a man. However, female-headed households is a new phenomenon. From 1980 to 1997, men headed the majority of the households—76,5 per cent in 1980 and 69,5 per cent in 1997. Today, a majority of the households are still headed by men but the percentage of female-headed households has increased from a quarter to one third. As women are the majority of workers in subsistence agriculture and in the informal sector, and as female-headed households are the poorest, it is clear that the impact of poverty on women is a serious concern. Women and children also belong to the most vulnerable groups, as women are the providers of food and income.

E. IMPLEMENTATION AND MONITORING MECHANISMS

The rational for engendering plans, programmes and budget is, in our view, to ensure that men and women's needs and activities are integrated as a matter of routine into the development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of budgetary policies. It is primarily concerned with their impact on women, but it should mean that equal opportunities are guaranteed for all.

a. Features of Gender Mainstreaming in Mozambique

The three key features of gender mainstream in the Republic of Mozambique are:

(i) Ensuring that gender mainstreaming is seen as everyone's responsibility rather than the sole responsibility of one policy division or ministry.

One of the main constraints to implement activities aimed at promoting the status of women is the lack of financial resources. The policy appraisal process must ensure that the gender perspective is considered as a method or a new culture of working for all – planners, implementers, policy-makers, budget experts, etc. This will attempt to ensure that unjustifiable discrimination does not occur and that women concerns will be taken into consideration within the distribution of resources. Training activities on sensitization, gender analysis, planning and mainstreaming are being developed for the members of the Operative Group, staff of the Ministries of Woman and Social Action Coordination, agriculture and rural development, housing and public works, environment, education and health.

- (ii) On the other hand, there is a need for the development of an institutional framework with operational mechanisms to make things easier working to advocate the balance between men and women in terms of priorities in the access and control of resources, and in power relations to introduce gender relation issues in the programs (that is starting in the population, poverty, HIV/AIDS and other programmes) but particularly to allocate more or less budget in activities with impact in gender relations.
- (iii) The development and routine use of sex-disaggregated statistics.

A national census was undertaken in August 1997 to provide information on population and housing with a gender perspective. The general statistics about the population is sex-disaggregated. However, the data collected are still being developed, mainly through inquiries, like the Demographic and Health Atlas of Mozambique, made by INE, Ministry of Health, USAID and Macro International Inc in 1997. This will provide a clear position for both sexes and the differential impact of future policies, programmes and budgets on women and men can be assessed.

Recently this year, the National Institute for Statistics published the booklet 'Women and Men in Mozambique' It is intended to follow the census with other publications related to education, sexual and reproductive health and rights and HIV/SIDA, under the Ministry of Woman and Social Action Coordination and Forum Mulher, with the support of UNFPA.

SARDEC, the Southern Africa Research and Documentation Center produced the Mozambican Gender Profile and similar profiles for other countries in Southern Africa. However, there is a need to update this information.

b. Monitoring Mechanisms

Quarterly the Council of Ministers discuss reports on the implementation of the programmes approved by the government. The Ministry of Planning and Finance coordinates the level of planning and implementation of activities and budget. The Ministry of Woman and Social Action, through the Operative Group do monitor the implementation of the Post Beijing Plan of Action and all other activities related to women and gender issues.

Working Commissions and other mechanisms were created for Social Reintegration, Population, Salary and Prices, Housing, etc. These commissions report in the Council of Ministers, through the respective minister. The Commissions of the Assembly of the Republic (AR) work with the government institutions to follow up the implementation of the AR decisions.

The above mechanisms have been developed in order to support the development of the different plans and programmes.

IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In Mozambique at the level of the Government, NGOs and donor communities, there is a strong willingness to mainstream gender. Due to the socialistic background and history, more men are knowledgeable on gender issues than would otherwise have been (EU Commission) and should not be dealt with and discussed by only women (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

However, besides all the on-going policies and actions striving towards gender equality, the status of women is still very low and, in the sexual division of work, the burden on women remains. Eradication of poverty is the basis of the economical development of Mozambique. It is important to mainstream gender in the government sectors for a sustainable social development.

Recommendation 1

(a) The project on Gender Capacity Building of the Ministry of Woman and Social Action Coordination should be supported for the next phase to get added funds to review the social

- action policies to integrate the gender perspective. Moreover, technical staff should be trained on skills development to integrate gender approach in the different programs.
- (b) The resources available in Forum Mulher, the Gender Trainers Team at national level and in Zambezia, should be specialized for different sectors and gender issues.
- (c) The Ministry of Planning and Finance should restart the actions on gender planning and budget which is important for their Economic and Social Plans.
- (d) There is also a need for focal points and gender units to look into how to influence the budget to be more gender sensitive

There are still negative attitudes and gender imbalances reflected in the low status of women – less access to land, education, employment, health, decision-making and other development opportunities. The incidence of poverty is disproportionately higher among households headed by women.

Recommendation 2

- (a) undertake surveys to document gender gaps in different sector and to produce specific recommendations according to the context and possibilities to ensure gender balance
- (b) Programs to support women literacy and adult education should be enlarged.
- (c) Women human rights education should be spread via different channels government, NGOs, communities based organizations and the media.

The main constraints for gender and poverty reduction are human and financial resources.

Recommendation 3

- (a) Practical training for skills development on gender planning, monitoring and evaluation for the members of the gender units, planners and implementers is recommended as a long term training activity and in the job training approach.
- (b) A better use of resources to respond to the key-issues for gender and poverty reduction can be studied in the different ministries and NGOs.
- (c) Decentralization of programmes and plans, from national to provincial and district levels, in order to involve different levels of the institutions on gender mainstreaming to achieve the poorest communities targeted in the Plan of Action, where the projects are implemented.
- (d) Sensitization campaigns are recommended to motivate people for the need to change attitudes towards gender relations and equality.
- (e) develop skills on sex-disaggregated data and statistics which should be adopted as a method of work and accountability.

LIST OF INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Ministry of Health
- Ministry of Planning and Finance
- Ministry of Woman and Social Action Coordination
- Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
- National Institute of Social Action
- National Institute of Statistics
- African Studies Center at the University Eduardo Mondlane
- Forum Mulher
- EU Commission
- Swedish Embassy
- UNFPA
- UN Theme Group on Gender

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PMA FRANCOPHONES D'AFRIQUE CENTRALE ET DE L'OUEST: EGALITE DE GENRE, REDUCTION DE LA PAUVRETE ET DEVELOPPEMENT

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I. INTRODUCTION

L'intitulé de cet atelier: "renforcement des capacités pour intégrer une perspective sexo-spécifique dans les stratégies de développement des PMA", offre une panoplie de sujets dont on peut entretenir un auguste auditoire comme celui d'aujourd'hui. Nous avons choisi de nous pencher sur: "EGALITE DE GENRE, REDUCTION DE LA PAUVRETE ET DEVELOPPEMENT", termes qui polarisent toutes les attentions dans l'Afrique d'aujourd'hui en quête de la formule juste pour sortir enfin de la zone qui abrite le plus de pays les plus pauvres au monde. Cet exposé nourrit l'ambition de montrer que la réduction de la pauvreté et la prise en compte complète et totale de la contribution des femmes sont des facteurs incontournables si l'on veut œuvrer pour un développement durable dans les PMA francophones d'Afrique Centrale et de l'Ouest .

En effet, violences, discriminations et inégalités de toutes sortes constituent le lot des millions de femmes qui œuvrent sans relâche pour la survie des populations de ces pays mais aussi de l'ensemble de l'Afrique et du monde entier. Les variations ne sont que le fait des cultures et se mesurent en fonction du degré de progrès. Les statistiques sur cette partie de l'Afrique nous disent qu'elles constituent le groupe le plus important (entre 50 et 52% de la population totale), qu'elles vivent plus longtemps (espérance de vie: 105,74 % de celle des hommes). L'expérience montre qu'elles travaillent plus mais les pratiques et divers règlements sociaux et traditions sous tous les cieux veulent qu'elles gagnent moins d'argent, qu'une bonne partie de leur travail ne soient ni considérée pour ce qu'elle vaut, ni visible dans la comptabilité nationale des Etats. Des textes législatifs et réglementaires ont même souvent été pris pour consacrer la discrimination à leur égard et les maintenir en état d'infériorité. Ces pratiques et comportements s'avèrent comme proportionnels au degré de développement. En d'autres termes, c'est dans les PMA que ces écarts sont le plus visibles. Sans vouloir expliquer le retard de développement par la seule situation des femmes, il convient de reconnaître que la relation de cause à effet entre le niveau de progrès économique, social et politique et celle-ci n'est pas totalement étrangère à cette situation Car Comment ces sociétés pensent-elles pouvoir gagner la bataille pour le mieux être et le combat pour le développement en tenant hors du coup plus de la moitié de leurs forces vives que constitue la composante féminine?

Ce papier voudrait montrer sur la base des statistiques et des faits leur poids et leur rôle dans les économies des PMA francophones d'Afrique Centrale et de l'Ouest, puis évoquer les politiques mises en place pour la promotion de la femme. Tout ceci dans la perspective de dégager l'importance d'une évolution globale de l'ensemble de la société pour un développement harmonieux et durable.

II. LA RICHESSE, PAUVRETE DES PAUVRES

L'Afrique francophone Centrale et de l'Ouest est un ensemble de 15 pays: Le Bénin, le Burkina Faso, le Cameroun, le Congo, la Côte d'Ivoire, la Guinée, le Gabon, la Mauritanie, le Mali, le Niger, la République Centrafricaine, la République Démocratique du Congo, le Sénégal, le Tchad et le Togo. Sur le plan démographique, ils représentent une population de 132.808.000 âmes dont plus de la moitié sont des femmes.

Ils appartiennent tous au groupe de pays pauvres très endettés (PPTE). Leurs économies d'une manière générale sont soutenues par l'agriculture au premier chef: 75,23% de la population

active y sont concentrée. Les chiffres de la Banque Mondiale en 1995 indiquent qu'elles contribuaient alors pour 44, 46 et 39% au PIB respectivement du Tchad, du Mali, du Niger. Pendant de nombreuses années, seules les cultures de rente ont été prises en considération dans leur comptabilité nationale, comme si on pouvait travailler, j'allais dire vivre sans manger par exemple. A la suite du secteur Primaire vient l'Informel: Il concentre le plus de main d'œuvre urbaine et tient la palme de la création d'emploi.

TABLEAU 1: Population active dans divers secteurs

PAYS	Pop. Active	Pop. Active Féminine	Dans	Dans	Dans le
	(% pop. Totale)	(% pop. active totale	l'agriculture	l'industrie	tertiaire
	1995	15 ans et +), 1995	1990	1990	19990
Cameroun	40	37	70	9	21
Congo	41	43	49	15	37
Congo Dem.	42	43	68	13	19
Togo	41	39	66	10	24
Bénin	45	49	64	8	28
Cote d'Ivoire	39	32	60	10	30
Mauritanie	46	44	55	10	34
Rep. Centrafr.	49	47	80	3	16
Sénégal	45	42	77	8	16
Tchad	48	44	83	4	13
Gabon	47	44	52	16	33
Guinée	48	47	87	2	11
Mali	49	46	86	2	12
Burkina Faso	50	47	92	2	6
Niger	48	44	90	4	6
TOTAL	42,53	43,2	71,94	8,4	20,4

Extrait du rapport sur le développement humain 1998

La lecture du tableau ci-dessus montre que: les services et l'industrie absorbent une portion minime de la population active comparé à l'agriculture. Ils n'emploient en moyenne que 8,4 % de la population active pour l'une et 20,4% pour l'autre. Ils sont passés comme les autres pays africains par des Programmes d'Ajustement Structurel (PAS) successifs depuis le années 80 après les plans quinquennaux sans que leur situation économique s'en trouve fondamentalement améliorée. Les problèmes économiques et sociaux y ont connu une évolution si négative que les ambitions de développement durable se sont muées en pauvreté permanente. Au point qu'aujourd'hui, la priorité des priorités tant dans l'action gouvernementale que dans les appuis extérieurs va vers la lutte contre la pauvreté. On en parle à tout propos au risque de ne même plus percevoir ses multiples visages. Dans le contexte des pays francophones, elle est vécu:

A. COMME PROBLEME DE SANTÉ (CF. TABLEAU II)

Alors que les pays du Nord vont chercher à plusieurs générations en arrière pour parler de cas de mortalité maternelle, les PMA enregistraient encore en moyenne 109 cas de décès maternel pour 1.000 naissances vivantes en 1997.

TABLEAU 2: Santé

PAYS	Mortalité Enfants -5ans (p.1000 naiss. viv.) 1996	Mort. matern. /1000 naiss. viv. 1996	SIDA /100.000 hab. 1996	Tuberculose /100.000 hab. 1995	Paludisme /100.000 hab. 1994	Médecins /100.000 hab. 1993	Infirmièrs /100.000 hab. 1988-93	Dépe publi de s	
								% du PNB 1960	% du PIB 1990
Cameroun	102	550	10,9		1.065	7		1,0	1,0
Congo Dem.	207	870		88,1					0,8
Congo	108	890		139,4	1.428	27	49	1,6	
Togo	125	640	35,8	37,2	8.274	6	31	1,3	2,5
Bénin	140	990	9,0	44,4	10.398	6	33	1,5	2,8
Cote d'Ivoire	150	810	40,7	87,5				1,5	1,7
Mauritanie	183	930	0,6	169,3		11	27	0,5	
Rep. Centrafr.	164	700	61,1	102,0	2.562	6	45	1,3	2,6
Sénégal	127	1.200	1,7	91,0		7	35	1,5	2,3
Tchad	149	1.500	19,0	50,3		2	6	0,5	4,7
Gabon	145	500	23,4	103,6		19	56	0,5	
Guinée	210	1.600	13,4	47,2	8.567	15	3	1,0	2,3
Mali	220	1.200	5,3	28,6		4	9	1,0	2,8
Burkina Faso	158	930	9,2	14,0	4.637			0,6	7,0
Niger	320	1.200	6,9	21,6	9.238	3	17	0,2	3,4
TOTAL	173,46	109,23	16,43		·				

Extrait du Rapport sur le développement humain 1998

Le SIDA y fait des ravages avec la Côte d'Ivoire et le Togo comme premier à ce triste hitparade : 40,7 cas pour 100.000 habitants pour l'une et 35,8 pour l'autre; le moins atteint étant la Mauritanie, 0,6 pour 100.000 habitants. Il est établi que les femmes sont plus exposées aux risques de contamination par le VIH que les hommes. Il convient de noter également la recrudescence de la tuberculose qui faisait en 1995, 88,1 victimes sur 100.000 habitants au Congo Démocratique, 169,3 en Mauritanie, 103,6 au Gabon et 87,5 en Côte d'Ivoire . Le paludisme, maladie endémique sévit dans toute la zone tropicale : le rapport sur le développement humain de 1998 indique pour 1994, 10.398 cas au Bénin pour 100.000, 8.274 au Togo, 8.567 en Guinée, 9.238 au Niger pour ne citer que les plus atteints. A tout ceci il faut ajouter la malnutrition et d'autres maux encore. Le même rapport 1998 sur le développement humain donne un ratio moyen de 9,4 médecins pour 100.000 habitants dans 12 des 15 pays concernés et de 28,18 infirmiers pour 100.000 habitants dans 11/15 pays. (CF. tableau cidessous)

B. COMME INSUFFISANCE D'EDUCATION (CF. TABLEAU III)

L'analphabétisme et l'ignorance continuent de sévir dans la région. Pendant la période 1995-1999 les taux moyens d'alphabétisation des adultes se situent autour de 31,46 % pour les femmes et 55,34 % pour les hommes. Les femmes souffrent aussi considérablement de l'analphabétisme.

Tableau 3: Education

PAYS	Taux d'alphabétisation des adultes (1995 - 1999)		Sc P	Taux Scolar. Prim. 1995-1999)		Scolar. cond. 5-1999	Scolar. Filles Ens. Sup. /100.000 f. 1995	Postes pour 1000 habitants	
	Femmes	Hommes	Filles	Garçons	Filles	Garçons		TV	Radio
Congo	67	83	93	99	45	62		12	126
Cameroun	53	73	71	82	22	32	715	32	163
Niger	7	21	19	30	5	9	17	13	70
Burkina Faso	10	29	28	40	6	11	43	9	34
Congo Dem.	54	83	51	66	19	32	63	135	376
Togo	33	67	61	85	14	40	89	17	219
Bénin	19	43	50	75	10	24	75	11	110
Cote d'Ivoire	37	63	47	63	16	33	209	64	161
Mauritanie	33	60	53	61	11	21	164	25	146
RCA	27	54	27	51	6	15	294	5	83
Sénégal	23	43	55	65	12	20	142	41	141
Tchad	22	39	65	44	4	15	11	1	236
Guinée	22	50	30	39	7	20	10	12	49
Mali	12	48	33	47	7	14	20	4	55
Gabon	53	74	83	82				55	183
TOTAL	31,46	55,34	51	61,9	13,2	24,8	132,28	29	142

Extrait de: Situation des enfants dans le monde 2001 ; rapport sur le développement Humain 1998

Côté scolarisation, la discrimination s'est accentuée suite à la crise économique généralisée depuis le milieu des années 80. Les parents ont souvent préféré envoyer leurs enfants garçons à l'école au détriment des filles. C'est ainsi que l'on observe entre 1995 et 1999 une proportion moyenne de 51 % de filles dans l'enseignement primaire pour 61,94 % de garçons. Au secondaire, 13,15 % de filles pour 24,85% de garçons et le supérieur ne compte que 132,28 filles pour une population considérée de 100.000. Cette pratique a contribué à aggraver l'analphabétisme et à accentuer l'ignorance. En matière d'information, ces populations ne disposent que d'une moyenne de 29 postes de télévision pour 1.000 habitants; la radio semble plus accessible avec quelques 141,87 postes pour 1.000 habitants. En poussant plus avant le calcul, on est encore loin d'un poste par habitant, situation fort défavorable dans le contexte actuel de globalisation où on ne parle plus que de village planétaire.

C. COMME MANQUE D'ARGENT ET INSUFFISANCE DE RESSOURCES

Aussi paradoxale que cela puisse paraître, les richesses naturelles dont regorge la région n'arrangent rien. Les forêts fournissent toutes sortes d'essences précieuses qui attirent tellement les convoitises que leur exploitation effrénée commence à poser de sérieux problèmes d'environnement. L'agriculture fournit des produits de rente: le cacao dont la Côte d'Ivoire fut pendant longtemps le 5ème producteur; le coton au Tchad, au Mali, au Cameroun et en Côte d'Ivoire notamment. le café, thé, etc. L'abondance des produits vivriers a valu à ces pays globalement considérés, de se maintenir à l'abri des famines comparables à celles qui ont sévi en Ethiopie, en Somalie et ailleurs en Afrique. Leur sous-sol regorge de minerais de toutes sortes et de pierres précieuses: la Guinée et le Congo démocratique ont été souvent appelés scandales géologiques; La construction du pipe-line Tchad/Cameroun laisse entrevoir ce que peut être la richesse du premier en pétrole; Pour la République Centrafricaine on se rappellera un certain feuilleton Bokassa - Giscard-d'Estaing (ancien chef d'Etat français) à propos de diamants dans les années 70. Les exemples de cette richesse fatale sont légions. Ajoutons aux matières premières le potentiel humain, les PMA d'Afrique francophone

Occidentale et Centrale sont pauvres de leurs richesses et parmi ces richesses qui appauvrissent, les femmes figurent en bonne place. On parle ces dernières années de féminisation de la pauvreté. Si on se permettait de paraphraser le titre d'un ouvrage, salué en son temps par divers lecteurs et critiques, on parlerait de la "richesse, pauvreté des Pauvres".

II. LA PARTICIPATION DES FEMMES DES PMA FRANCOPHONES D'AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST ET DU CENTRE

Elles se retrouvent dans tous les compartiments de la vie économique de leur pays: agriculture et secteur moderne (CF. tableau IV). A propos du Cameroun, la Banque Mondiale indique: "l'entrée des femmes sur le marché du travail s'est généralisée au cours des 10 dernières années pour tous les groupes d'âge. En 1993, les femmes représentaient plus de 40% de la population active contre 32% en 1983".

Tableau 4: participation des femmes a la vie économique moderne

PAYS	Femmes en	Ré	épartitie	on de la 1	main d'	œuvre en º	%	Part de	s gains	Travail familial	Taux activité
	% pop. Active adulte	Agrio	culture	Indus	trie	Ser	vices	en	_	non ré- munéré	éco. F. en % H.
	(secteur formel)	Fem.	Hom	. Fem.	Hom.	Fem. 1	Hom.	Fem.	Hom.	1990	1995
Cameroun	37	64	51	4	16	32	33	30,9	69,1	70	60
Congo	43	83	45	2	19	15	36			65	77
Congo Dem.	44	92	49	2	22	6	29				77
Togo	40	64	72	8	13	28	15	33	67	54	67
Bénin	48	64	54	4	12	31	34	40,5	59,5	40	93
Cote d'Ivoire	32	62	50	8	13	30	38	27	73	62	49
Mauritanie	44	82	46	4	16	145	38	37	63	38	
RCA	47	63	60	5	12	31	28	39,1	60,9	55	88
Sénégal	42	87	72	3	10	10	18	36	64		74
Tchad	44	80	75	2	7	19	18	37,3	62,7		80
Gabon	44	84	63	3	18	13	19	37	63		
Guinée	47	84	70	6	14	9	16	40	60	60	90
Mali	47	75	83	4	2	21	15	39	61	53	87
Burkina Faso	47	85	85	4	6	11	9	40	60	66	87
Niger	44	92	84	0	4	8	12	37	63	24	79
TOTAL	43,34	77,4	63,9	3,94	12,27	27,67	23,87				

Extrait de: Inégalité des sexes, croissance et réduction de la pauvreté (1998)

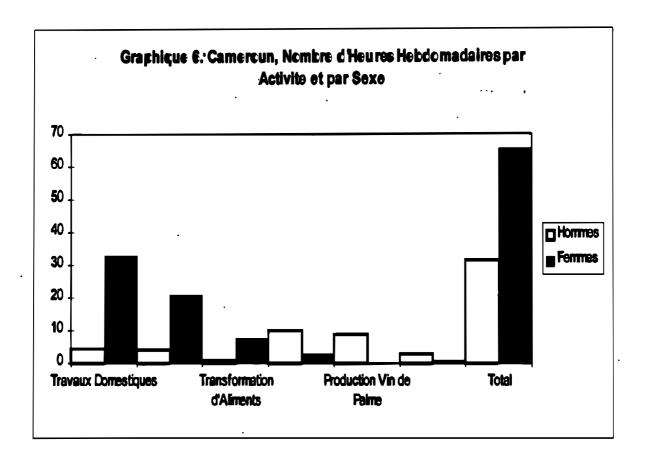
A. L'AGRICULTURE

On estime que les femmes assurent à peu près 75% de la production agricole vivrière sur le continent. Cette proportion ne diffère pas fondamentalement dans les PMA francophones où 77,4 % de la population active féminine y travaillent. Cette dernière assume la plus grande part du travail familial non rémunéré. A ce propos, une étude de l'Institut International de Recherche sur les Politiques alimentaires (IFPRI) citée par la Banque Mondiale indique que " les Africaines se chargent de 90% du travail de transformation des cultures vivrières ainsi que des corvées d'eau et de bois de feu, 80% du stockage et du transport des aliments de l'exploitation agricole au village, 90% du sarclage et du désherbage et 60% des travaux liés à la récolte et à la vente des produits. " Au Cameroun, une étude publiée en 1993 indique qu'elles représentent 40% de la population active, œuvrant à 75% dans l'agriculture. 96,1 % d'entre elles cultivent des produits vivriers pour 2,5 % seulement dans l'agriculture pour l'industrie; 1,1 % dans l'élevage, chasse et piégeage et 0,3 % dans la pêche. Leur nombre en milieu rural ne cesse d'augmenter car les hommes émigrent plus souvent en ville à la

recherche d'emplois salariés, les laissant seules au village avec les enfants. Bien que portant le poids des travaux agricoles, leur production dans ce domaine se situe assez largement en deçà des efforts fournis pour plusieurs raisons dont les principales tiennent en cinq points :

a. Déséquilibre global dans la division du travail.

D'une manière générale entre les tâches ménagères et le travail professionnel (rémunéré ou non), elles assument un nombre journalier d'heures de travail bien supérieur à celles des hommes. La proportion est de quelques 7 heures 30 et 4 heures pour les hommes en Côte d'Ivoire, 7 heures sur 5 en RCA, 14 heures 30 sur 8heures 30 au Burkina Faso. (Brown et Haddad, 1995; BM, 1993b; Saito et al., 1994 cité dans "inégalité de sexe, croissance et réduction de la pauvreté....1998". Dans la province du Centre au Cameroun, (CF. graphique) les hommes font en moyenne 32 heures de travail par semaine alors que les femmes en font plus de 64. Il importe de noter que cette disparité ne résulte pas seulement du fait des tâches ménagères que les hommes n'assument pas, en effet, dans le travail agricole, elles en font 24 heures contre 12 pour les hommes.



b. Le non accès aux ressources.

Elles travaillent souvent sans rémunération tandis que la vente des produits agricoles ou l'utilisation des revenus monétaires échappe totalement à leur contrôle. L'anecdote suivante permet d'en mesurer la réalité: C'est l'histoire d'une femme de la région du Moungo au Cameroun, zone de riches terres volcaniques où poussent le café, le cacao, la banane comme cultures de rente tandis que manioc, plantains, gombos et toutes sortes de cultures vivrières possibles et imaginables dans un tel environnement géographique sortent du sol presque naturellement. Voici ce qu'elle rapporte quand elle parle de sa vie de femme de planteur: "Il y a des travaux d'hommes et des travaux de femmes. La récolte du manioc se situait généralement en dehors de la saison caféière. Ceci pour que nous, les femmes on ait le temps de le transformer en gari. Et je me souviens qu'il m'arrivait d'en sortir 15, 20 ou même 30 sacs, mais à ce jour, je n'ai jamais su combien était vendu un sac de gari sur le marché; mon rôle s'arrêtait à la production. Une fois mis en sacs, il était vendu par mon mari. Lui seul

connaissait vraiment les client d'ailleurs". Ce témoignage montre jusqu'à quel point peut parfois aller le non accès aux ressources dans les milieux ruraux et quel rôle joué par les femmes. Véritables machines à produire qui doivent organiser leurs activités tout le long de l'année autour de cultures de rente: la cueillette du café de novembre à janvier; la campagne cacaoyère, la récolte des bananes en intégrant celles relatives aux cultures vivrières dans les intermèdes. Et puis, elles produisent et leur rôle s'arrête là. Elles ne sont plus présentes là où est vendu le fruit de leur travail. Inutile de préciser que ces messieurs ne viendront pas leur rendre compte après ni leur faire un quelconque "cadeau gratuit". Ils peuvent éventuellement satisfaire tel besoin ou tel autre, mais cela dépend uniquement de leur bon vouloir. D'ailleurs il n'est pas inutile de préciser que ces mêmes femmes trouvent encore le temps de vendre quelque restes de produits vivriers pour disposer d'un peu d'argent pour elles-mêmes.

c. Discrimination dans l'accès aux actifs productifs.

Certaines études montrent que dans le domaine agricole, productivité et efficacité souffrent cruellement de l'inégalité entre les sexes pour l'accès à l'essentiel des actifs productifs que sont la main d'œuvre, les intrants agricole, le contrôle du revenu et la rémunération du travail. Le cas du Burkina Faso cité dans "Inégalité des sexes, croissance et réduction de la pauvreté..." est très édifiant en ce sens: "Les faits tendent à montrer que les parcelles contrôlées par des femmes ont des rendements sensiblement plus faibles que celles contrôlées par des hommes .La différence est en moyenne d'environ 18%, pour le Sorgho, l'écart est énorme - environ 40%. Même pour les cultures de légumes dans lesquelles les femmes ont tendance à se spécialiser, la différence est d'environ 20%. L'analyse économique montre que l'efficacité de l'affectation des facteurs de production varie entre les parcelles contrôlées par les membres différents du même ménage. Main d'œuvre masculine, main d'œuvre enfantine et main d'œuvre hors ménage sont utilisées de manière plus intensive sur les parcelles contrôlées par des hommes. Bien qu'il soit abondamment prouvé que son rendement marginal diminue, l'engrais est utilisé en quasi totalité sur les parcelles contrôlées par des hommes." et le même document de conclure: "Une répartition différente de ressources entre les parcelles des hommes et celles des femmes au sein d'un même ménage pourrait accroître la production de 10 à 20 %." Lapalice n'aurait pas trouvé mieux, les femmes s'investissent beaucoup dans un travail proportionnellement moins productif du fait d'une injuste répartition des intrants et autres facteur de productivité.

d. L'incapacité d'accéder à la propriété foncière

Traditionnellement, les maris sont tenus de fournir des terres de culture à leurs femmes. C'est pour cette raison que la question de la propriété foncière ne s'est jamais posée que de manière très marginale dans les campagnes. Au Cameroun, bien qu'aucun texte n'empêche les femmes d'être propriétaires, les titres fonciers délivrés aux femmes représentent moins de 10% du total. Et il ne serait d'ailleurs pas étonnant que la plupart de ces titres soient délivrés sur des parcelles en zone urbaine. La situation varie également suivant les diverses région. Ainsi, "le pourcentage des titres de propriété délivrés à des femmes dans la provinces du Nord-Ouest n'est que de 3,2%, ce qui représente à peine 0,1% de l'ensemble des terres enregistrées..." indique un document de la Banque Mondiale. On peut donc conclure ici que celles-ci travaillent la terre en situation d'usufruitières pour l'écrasante majorité d'entre elles.

e. L'inaccessibilité des crédits

N'étant pas propriétaires, elles n'ont pas de titre foncier à nantir pour obtenir de l'argent à investir dans leur exploitation. Il va sans dire dès lors qu'elles adopteront difficilement des outils et des technologies plus performantes et partant ne pourrons non plus améliorer la qualité de leurs intrants et élargir le champ de leurs opérations. Elles continuent d'utiliser le matériel aratoire traditionnel - houes, machettes et autres bêches - dont la pénibilité de l'utilisation n'est plus à démontrer. Ce n'est pas avec de tels instruments que l'on peut rêver d'exploiter des hectares de terrain. Par ailleurs leur faible niveau d'éducation ne les prédispose pas à faire appel aux banques pour des financements ni aux technologies modernes de mise en valeur des terres.

B. LES INDUSTRIES ET LES SERVICE

Elles occupent 43,34% de la population active dans les PMA francophones. Les femmes y affichent un taux d'activité souvent très élevé comparativement à celui des hommes: 87% au Mali et au Burkina Faso, 90 % en Guinée, 93% au Bénin, 88% en République Centrafricaine, et 80% au Tchad pour ne citer que ceux-là. Cette proportion s'explique par le fait qu'un nombre important d'entre elles ne trouve de la place que dans la "débrouille", ces petits métiers que l'on a longtemps considérés comme du chômage déguisé. Il importe aussi de préciser que dans ces mêmes pays, la part de gain qui leur revient est de :39 % pour le Mali contre 61% aux hommes, 40% contre 60% aux hommes au Burkina et en Guinée, 40,5% au Bénin pour 59,5% aux hommes. Au niveau des cadres supérieurs, cette représentativité ne dépasse guère les 20% pour les plus élevés. En dehors du Mali, du Cameroun et du Burkina Faso, elle se situe en dessous de 10%.(CF. tableau IV). On observe également une ségrégation dans l'emploi en raison du genre: les femmes sont confinées dans les professions, les postes moins bien payés tels que institutrices ou infirmières. L'exemple des médias est très éloquent en la matière : En télévision par exemple les filières du bas de l'échelle se présentent comme ayant été conçues exclusivement pour un personnel féminin - maquilleuses, script girl notamment- Quant aux journalistes, à qualification égale, les hommes seront affectés à la rédaction dans les grands dossiers politiques et économiques, dans les services commerciaux, tandis que les femmes seront reléguées à faire les chiens écrasées, les pages sociales - suivre les premières dames, couvrir les journées mondiales de ci ou de ça. Elles ne seront naturellement ni éditorialistes, ni grands reporters, encore moins rédacteurs en chef ou directeurs.

a. Les industries

La présence des femmes dans les filières industrielles demeure très limitée. La moyenne pour les PMA francophones s'établit autour de 3,94% contre 12,27% d'hommes (CF. tableau IV) Certaines études ont établi que la principale cause de cet état de chose vient de la différence entre les niveaux d'éducation. En effet, elles sont rarement techniciennes ou ingénieurs puisqu'elles n'ont pas fait des études conséquentes. Par contre, elles constitueront le gros du peloton des secrétaires et autres agents de bureau; à moins qu'elles ne puissent tout simplement être employées comme manœuvres. La plupart d'entre elles n'ont pas le niveau de formation requis pour accéder aux postes d'encadrement.

TABLEAU 5: Participation des femmes a la prise de decision

	Parlement % total des membres 1997		Postes ministériel % total 1994		D'Etat	(%) total		ivités riales %	Cadres administratifs % du total 1996		Cadres et Techniciens % du total 1996	
	Fem.	Hom.	Fem.	Hom.	Fem.	Hom.	Fem.	Hom.	Fem.	Hom.	Fem	Hom
Cameroun	12,2	87,8	3	93	7	93	18	82	10	90	24	76
Congo	2	98	6	94								
Congo Dem.	5	95	6	97	0	100	4	96	9	91	17	83
Togo	1,2	98,8	4	96	0	100			8	92	21	79
Bénin	9,5	90,5	7,4	92,6	5,6	94,4			13,5	86,5	25,8	74,2
Cote	8,3	91,7	8	92	0	100	3	93				
d'Ivoire												
Mauritanie	1,3	98,7	4	96	5	95	1	99	8	92	21	79
RCA	3,5	86,5	5	95					9	91	19	81
Sénégal	3,7	96,3	4	96	0	100	8	92	0	100	0	100
Tchad	17,3	82,5	5	95	0	100	0	100				
Guinée	7	93	15	85	0	100	3	97				
Gabon	6	94	7	93								
Mali	2,3	97,7	10	90	0	100	0	100	20	80	19	81
Burkina	3,7	96,3	11	89	9	91	18	82	14	86	26	74
Faso												
Niger			5	95								
TOTAL	5,93	93,34	6,69	93,24	2,5	88,5						

Extrait de: Inégalité des sexes, croissance et réduction de la pauvreté (1998)

Les chiffres de la BM montrent qu'en 1996 les cadres et techniciens femmes représentaient respectivement 26, 25,8 et 24% pour le Burkina Faso, le Bénin et le Cameroun. Ce sont les mieux lotis. Une étude du BIT sur l'emploi féminin au Cameroun indique ce qui suit : "dans la catégorie "employée", les femmes représentent 16% des effectifs contre 17,2 % d'hommes " et que "les cadres féminins constituent 3,4% de l'emploi dans cette qualification et 1,7% de la population féminine employée." Autres chiffes révélateurs toujours sur le Cameroun: "Par branche d'activité, l'industrie du caoutchouc occupe le plus grand nombre de femmes dans l'industrie manufacturière, avec 57,8% de la population employée féminine " (ibidem). L'explication est simple car le plus grand nombre de manœuvres sont dans ce cas des femmes - Le travail est exclusivement manuel : démouler la sève coagulée des gamelles de cueillette, la tremper, la laver, trier etc... -. Il convient d'ajouter également que les possibilités d'emploi sont plus limitées pour elles en même temps qu'elles sont victimes de discriminations dans les recrutements et les salaires. Quand elles obtiennent un travail salarié, leur rémunération fait problème: comparés à ceux des hommes, leurs salaires sont souvent plus bas aux mêmes postes avec les mêmes qualifications même si plusieurs pays ont promulgué des législations sur l'égalité des chances devant l'emploi et en matière de traitement.

b. Dans les service et l'informel

Les femmes sont plus nombreuses que dans l'industries: 27,67% pour 23,87% d'hommes. Le phénomène s'explique entre autre chose par le fait que les services offrent de plus larges possibilités d'auto-emploi. Au Cameroun, 40% des entreprises féminines appartiennent à ce secteur tandis que 27,3% sont commerciales. L'Informel y règne en maître. Il draine la grande majorité des femmes engagées dans l'entreprenariat en milieu urbain. En Cote d'Ivoire, les 2/3 des opérateurs du secteur non structuré sont des femmes (World Bank 1992a). Une étude du BIT réalisée en 1997 sur "la promotion de la création et du développement des entreprises par les femmes au Cameroun" affirme: "En milieu urbain, la grande majorité des emplois indépendants des femmes le sont dans le secteur non structuré. Les conditions d'accès assez souples (faiblesse du capital de départ, aucune exigence en expérience des milieux du travail et de formation académique) en sont la principale cause. Le revenus que les promotrices tirent de leurs activités sont surtout destinés à la satisfaction des besoins familiaux. Ce qui constitue un réel handicap pour le développement et le renforcement de leurs affaires.

Les activités sont surtout concentrées dans le secteur tertiaire au premier rang du quel nous avons la commercialisation des produits vivriers. Selon l'étude de MINCI/GFS - MIDAS 1986, 91% des grossistes sont des hommes et 9% des femmes, car elles ne possèdent pas de moyens de transports, ne disposent pas d'aire aménagée de stockage, de conservation et de conditionnement des vivres dans les marchés. 83,1% par contre des vendeurs en détail sont des femmes dont l'âge est compris entre 20 et 40 ans soit une moyenne de 63,3% dans tout le pays.

Les promotrices sont également les plus nombreuses dans la distribution de détail du poisson et de certains produits manufacturés : savons, huiles alimentaires, cosmétiques... Elles contrôlent la quasi totalité des activités de cafétariat et gargote, salon de coiffure, secrétariat public, atelier de couture, production de boissons rafraîchissantes..." Et nous voilà au cœur de l'ensemble des problèmes relatifs à l'entreprenariat féminin en Afrique.

Cette situation ne peut laisser indifférent dans la mesure où l'Informel offre peut d'emplois générateurs de revenus , se caractérise par le manque de sécurité dans les conditions de travail et n'est pas couvert par la législation de travail. On parle de micro-crédit, de très petits crédits qui sont souvent destinés aux femmes. Si ceux-ci présentent l'avantage de leur parvenir effectivement, ils ne constituent pas un apport suffisant pour permettre des activités d'une quelconque importance. La mère de famille paiera des frais d'écolage par à coups, réussira à faire bouillir la marmite chaque jour peut-être, mènera difficilement un traitement médical de bout en bout. Mais de tels aides ne l'amèneront jamais à s'établir dans une logique économique de développement durable qui pourrait prendre ici le visage d'une PME dont on connaît le capital investi, le prix de revient des produits, l'excédent Brut d'exploitation et dont la promotrice peut dégager un bénéfice permettant un réinvestissement pour faire grandir son business. Cette activité permet sans doute une réduction de la pauvreté, mais ne constitue d'aucune manière un ferment de développement.

La situation des femmes actives dans les PMA d'Afrique francophone s'avère plutôt critique: dur labeur, discrimination, inégalité de traitement, travail non rémunéré et bien d'autres désavantages encore. D'une manière générale, en dépit des textes généralement justes, seule la fonction publique offre une égalité de chance aux deux sexes. En RCA, l'article 96 de la loi n° 61/222 du 02 juin 1961 instituant les code du travail admet qu'à condition égale de qualification et de rendement, le salaire est égal pour tous les travailleurs quel que soit leur origine et leur sexe. L'accès des femmes aux postes de prises de décision reste encore très contrôlé pour devenir carrément hypothétique dans les hautes sphères politiques et administratives (Cf. tableau V) Elles occupent en moyenne 6,69 % de portes feuilles ministériels pour 93,24% aux hommes et sont 5,93% au parlement pour 93,34% d'hommes . Les raisons évoquées plus haut expliquent certes, cette situation , mais il en existe bien d'autres encore.

TABLEAU 6: Participation des femmes a la prise de decision

	Parlement % total des membres 1997		Postes ministériel % total 1994		Secréta D'Etat autres total 1994	ires et (%)			Cadres administratif % du total 1996		Cadres et Techniciens % du total 1996	
	Fem.	Hom.	Fem.	Hom.	Fem.	Hom.	Fem.	Hom.	Fem.	Hom.	Fem	Hom
Cameroun	12,2	87,8	3	93	7	93	18	82	10	90	24	76
Congo	2	98	6	94								
Congo Dem.	5	95	6	97	0	100	4	96	9	91	17	83
Togo	1,2	98,8	4	96	0	100			8	92	21	79
Bénin	9,5	90,5	7,4	92,6	5,6	94,4			13,5	86,5	25,8	74,2
Cote d'Ivoire	8,3	91,7	8	92	0	100	3	93				
Mauritanie	1,3	98,7	4	96	5	95	1	99	8	92	21	79
RCA	3,5	86,5	5	95					9	91	19	81
Sénégal	3,7	96,3	4	96	0	100	8	92	0	100	0	100
Tchad	17,3	82,5	5	95	0	100	0	100				
Guinée	7	93	15	85	0	100	3	97				
Gabon	6	94	7	93								
Mali	2,3	97,7	10	90	0	100	0	100	20	80	19	81
Burkina Faso	3,7	96,3	11	89	9	91	18	82	14	86	26	74
Niger			5	95								
TOTAL	5,93	93,34	6,69	93,24	2,5	88,5		_				

Extrait de: Inégalité des sexes, croissance et réduction de la pauvreté (1998)

III. LES AUTRE FACTEURS LIMITATIFS DE LA PLEINE PARTICIPATION DES FEMMES EN AFRIQUE FRANCOPHONE

Au registre des facteurs qui entravent la pleine participation des femmes, il faudrait ajouter l'environnement - juridique, institutionnel - et les entraves liées au fait d'être femme.

A. L'ENVIRONNEMENT JURIDIQUE.

En matière économique, les textes discriminatoires se font plus rares. Au Cameroun, la loi n° 90/031 du 10 août 1990 réglementant l'activité commerciale ne fait aucune distinction. Le code du travail a été revu et nettoyé de certaines dispositions discriminatoires qui y figuraient. N'y demeurent que celles particulières allant dans le sens de la protection des enfants et des femmes enceintes. Ce pendant, une étude du Bureau International du Travail de Yaoundé (BIT) "Projet de sous-programme d'appui à l'installation dans l'emploi indépendant et la création des PME par les femmes" sur ce même Cameroun relève ceci : "Les textes n'établissent pas fondamentalement de discrimination entre l'homme et la femme. Cependant, l'ordonnance organisant l'Etat Civil et le code du commerce ajoutent des contraintes à celles qui sont créées par les pratiques sociales et freinent l'ambition des populations féminines : le mari gère tous les biens de la famille y compris ceux que sa femme peut acquérir avec ses biens personnels. Il doit donner son aval à l'exercice d'une profession ou d'une activité génératrice de revenus, il fixe le lieu de résidence du foyer, etc...D'autre part, la femme est difficilement héritière de sa famille ou de son mari....Les femmes méconnaissent leurs droits, en particulier en matière de régime matrimonial. Sur le plan économique, cela signifie qu'une femme n'est jamais réellement propriétaire de son entreprise et que sa situation d'entrepreneur peut être remise en cause à tout moment. " Cette pratique de texte contradictoires se retrouve dans plusieurs pays de la région. En outre, les habitudes encrées dans les comportements ouvrent parfois la voie à certains écarts de comportement de nature à compromettre l'activité professionnelle des femmes. Ainsi, le "rapport sur le rôle de la femme Centrafricaine dans le processus de prévention et de règlement des conflits" publié en 1998 indique: " la RCA n'est pas en retard en matière de texte .Cependant, des facteurs objectifs incontournables constituent de véritables obstacles qui maintiennent la femme majoritaire sociologiquement dans un rôle de second plan... Aujourd'hui donc,

bien que ... vivant dans un pays où les textes ne constituent pas un obstacle à leur promotion, les femmes demeurent cependant sérieusement dominées dans tous les secteurs d'activité modernes. Elles sont tenues pratiquement à l'écart des circuits. Elles sont quasiment exclues du circuit économique moderne et ne peuvent même pas accéder au système de crédit bancaire pour développer les activités commerciales où elles excellent." Cette citation se passe de commentaire, car elle exprime très clairement et totalement le paradoxe des bons textes faces aux pratiques discriminatoires. Peut-être pourrait-on suggérer que les règlements et lois aillent chercher dans une certaine discrimination positive pour donner un coup de pousse aux femmes.

B. L'ENVIRONNEMENT INSTITUTIONNEL

Les démarches administratives, les tracasseries douanières et fiscales, le harcèlement policier dans les marchés en vigueur dans les pays africains sont des facteurs de découragement pour les activités économiques en général et plus encore pour les femmes. Leur niveau d'éducation généralement bas les met en mauvaise posture pour se défendre face à ces personnes qui se présentent comme défenseurs de la loi alors que, c'est connu, leurs multiples contrôles ont pour unique objet de racketter les pauvres marchandes. Il est devenu notoire dans certains pays francophones que la réglementation administrative et fiscale soit enveloppée d'un tel flou, que l'on ne sache jamais si l'on est en règle ou non. C'est une des raisons pour lesquelles une bonne moitié de celles parmi elles qui atteignent une surface financière permettant d'entreprendre des affaires plus ambitieuses préfèrent souvent évoluer dans l'Informel. La lutte de pure forme contre la corruption n'y fera pas grand chose.

Aussi semble-t-il important d'engager des actions d'information et d'éducation civique d'envergure afin de redonner confiance à l'ensemble des entrepreneurs et aussi aux femmes. Ceci favorisera à coup sûr leur engagement dans les PME/PMI.

C. LES FACTEURS INHÉRENTS À LA FEMME ELLE-MÊME

Dans le contexte général, les femmes africaines font face à de multiples entraves sociales de par leur sexe. L'étude du BIT citée plus haut dit ceci : "La femme entrepreneur est également victime de préjugés liés à son sexe qui la place dans une situation d'infériorité vis à vis des clients et des partenaires potentiels et rend difficile la situation de l'entreprise lors de l'attribution de marchés ou d'appels d'offres. En outre, elle doit faire face à des employés qui contestent parfois son autorité, ses compétences, sa gestion et ses pratiques commerciales, ce qui ne manque pas d'influer sur le rendement et les résultats de l'entreprise". En outre, elles penchent plus à lutter pour le mieux être familial que pour bâtir des entreprises. Dans une série d'enquêtes publiée par "CONJONCTURE PME", sur l'entreprenariat féminin dans la ville de Yaoundé, la majorité d'entre elles confesse qu'elles mènent une activité économique d'abord pour nourrir leur famille et se contentent généralement de cela. Ce même comportement guide celles des milieux ruraux. C'est aussi là que se trouve entre autre, l'explication de l'auto-exclusion de certaines autres des circuits commerciaux des produits agricoles.

D. L'ACCÈS AU CRÉDIT

L'enquête sus-citée décrit fort bien la situation. Sur plus d'une soixantaine d'entreprises enquêtées (dans l'informel pour la plupart,) pas une n'a pu contracter de crédit bancaire. Aucune d'entre elles n'a bénéficié non plus des appuis connus sur la place destinés spécialement aux femmes. Il y a plusieurs explications à cela. La grande majorité des femmes, qu'elles se trouvent dans le secteur primaire, structuré ou en situation de pure "débrouille" ne connaissent pas souvent les possibilités de crédit qui peuvent leur être offertes. Un certain nombre, bien informées n'osent pas s'y engager parce qu'elles ont peur de n'être pas en mesure de faire face à l'échéancier. D'autres s'y refusent parce qu'elles estiment que le montant des sommes allouées dans ces cadres-là est ridiculement bas et ne leur permettra pas d'évoluer à la hauteur de leurs ambitions. Il convient de préciser aussi que ces structures-là font figure de nains face à l'immensité des besoins réels (en nombre et en volume). Certaines autres ont tenté sans succès d'obtenir des appuis au près des banques commerciales, car leurs garanties ont été jugées insuffisantes Enfin, quelque soit le cas, le crédit classique semble hors de portée de la grande majorité des femmes. Elles se font financer essentiellement par le biais des

tontines. Or le produit de celles-ci ne dépasse guère quelques deux ou trois millions pour les plus importantes. Les délais de remboursement sont souvent courts (un, deux ans dans la plupart des cas).

En termes de participation, les femmes pèsent lourd, très lourd dans la balance économique et sociale des PMA d'Afrique francophone. Leur place politique est occultée du fait de leur absence des cercles de prise de décision. Si non elles constituent la piétaille qui donne la décision à l'un ou l'autre camp. Force inconsciente utilisée à satiété par les hommes politiques qui n'ont aucune obligation formelle envers elles dans la suite des événements .On assiste quand même ces dernières années à une reconnaissance appuyée des uns et des autres et à quelques gestes d'importance. Une femme vient d'être nommée Premier Ministre au Sénégal, une autre est présidente de la cour constitutionnelle au Bénin.

IV. STRATEGIES EN FAVEUR DES FEMMES

En Afrique francophone, il y a une unanimité notoire autour des actions de lutte contre la pauvreté et de promotion de la femme. Structures gouvernementales, ONG, associations de femmes ou non, bailleurs de fonds et Agences internationales de coopération entrent en partenariat dans divers programmes et projets dans ce sens. Beaucoup d'actions ont été initiés ces dernières années pour renforcer les capacités économiques des femmes. La panoplie des textes visant la promotion féminine est impressionnante dans la plupart de ces pays. Tous les gouvernements comptent un ministère en charge des questions de genre. Au sein de ceux-ci, une attention particulière est accordée aux préoccupations relatives à la promotion économique et aux droits de la femme. En outre une structure en charge des préoccupations femme a été prévu dans l'organigramme de certains ministères techniques. c'est ainsi qu'en 1997 au Cameroun, le ministère de l'Economie et des Finances disposait d'un service " de planification des Affaires sociales et de la promotion féminine " qui avait pour mandat de suivre l'évolution de la composante femme dans tous les secteurs du développement socioéconomique, d'identifier et d'inscrire dans les divers programmes des volets genre. Au sein du ministère de l'Agriculture existait un service " des actions agricoles féminines " chargé de l'éducation et de la diffusion des enseignements sur la confection du budget familial, la santé et l'assainissement au bénéfice des femmes rurales, l'amélioration de l'habitat, la nutrition et la puériculture.

Avec la tendance à la démocratisation des années 90, la présence des ONG et associations de tout bord s'est généralisée dans toute la région. Avant cette époque, ce phénomène était surtout connu en Afrique de l'Ouest et plus encore dans les pays du Sahel (Sénégal , Mali, Togo, Bénin etc...) La tendance aujourd'hui est à la spécialisation, mais comme les questions de genre sont plus porteuses, une bonne majorité parmi elles développent des activités y relatives. Certaines de ces organisations sont spécialisées en matière de finance. Ce sont notamment des coopératives d'épargne et de crédit.

Les agences de coopérations internationales et même des représentations diplomatiques des pays du Nord offrent également des appuis en faveur des femmes. La coopération canadienne, les Pays-Bas et Nordiques, les Etats Unis d'Amérique, l'Union Européenne, les fondations allemandes et bien d'autres se font remarquer par des activités spécifiques souvent en partenariat avec des ONG locales ou des structures gouvernementales.

TABLEAU 7: Politique et plans d'action femmes

PAYS	Convention Elimination toutes formes discrimination à l'égard femmes (1979)	Plan d'action national	Politiques nationales questions parité	Priorités nationales pauvreté	Priorités nationales éducation	Priorités nationales Santé	Priorités nationales Economie	Priorités nationale médias
Bénin	X	X		X	X	X	X	
Burkina Faso	X	1998 - 2000		X	X	X		X
Cameroun	X	X	X	X	X	X		
RCA	X	X	X	X	X	X X		
Tchad	X	1995 - 1999		X	X	X		X
Congo	X	2000 - 2001	X	X	X	X	X	X
Congo Dém.	X	1999 - 2004	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gabon	X	X		X	X	X	X	
Guinée	X	1997 - 2001	X	X	X	X		X
Côte d'Ivoire	X	2000 - 2005		X	X	X	X	
Mali	X	1996 - 2000		X	X	X		
Niger			X	X	X	X	X	X
Sénégal	X	1997 - 2001		X	X	X		
Togo	X	1999 - 2004	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mauritanie								

Extrait de: Inégalité des sexes croissance et réduction de la pauvreté (1998) et Synthèse rapports nationaux P.F. Dakar et Beijing

Les politiques de promotion de la femme font partie intégrantes des actions gouvernementales déjà depuis près de deux décennies. Mais dans l'après Beijing, elles se construisent essentiellement autour des points critiques identifiés dans la plate-forme d'action issue de cette conférence. (Cf. tableau VI)

Les rapports nationaux présentés à la 6ème Conférence Africaine sur la Femme en 1999 à Addis Abeba révèlent qu'en 1998, abstraction faite de la Mauritanie pour laquelle nous n'avons pas pu obtenir de données, tous les PMA francophones avaient signé et ratifié la convention sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination à l'égard des femmes à l'exception du Niger. Ce même Niger est le seul à n'avoir pas mis en place à cette même date de plan d'action femme, mais il figure parmi les 7 qui avait déjà adopté un document de politique nationale sur les questions de parité homme/femme.

La lecture du tableau ci-dessus montre aussi que les questions relatives à la pauvreté, à la santé et à l'éducation passent également au premier rang des priorités de tous ces pays. Celles liées aux préoccupations économiques et aux médias n'étant retenues à ce rang que par sept d'entre eux. Ces mêmes rapports nationaux montrent que des initiatives ont été engagées dans le sens de la promotion des droits de la femme, le renforcement des capacités socio-économiques et l'éducation. En outre, un effort certain se fait dans le sens de la collecte des données désagrégées par sexe afin de mettre plus en évidence leur participation.

Citons une fois de plus un exemple qui nous vient du Cameroun à titre d'illustration. Dans les programmes nationaux de lutte contre la pauvreté, une place importante est faite aux activités au bénéfice des femmes. Au cours des consultations participatives sur la pauvreté réalisées sur tout le territoire national camerounais en 2000, 40% des personnes interrogées étaient des femmes. Le

"document de stratégie de réduction de la pauvreté..." publié en août 2000 inscrit au nombre des "piliers de la stratégie de croissance et réduction de la pauvreté" une dimension genre et affirme: "la contribution des femmes est déterminante pour la réduction durable de la pauvreté. Dans ces conditions, le gouvernement entend mettre en œuvre toutes les mesures visant leur plus grande participation à la gestion de la chose publique. Il mettra en place et de façon participative des programmes ciblés avec un volet genre. Notamment, il s'emploiera à:

- favoriser l'accès des femmes aux facteurs de production en vue d'améliorer leur productivité et de diminuer la pénibilité de leur travaux
- améliorer le cadre juridico-institutionnel des femmes en accélérant l'élaboration d'un code de la famille équitable et en renforçant les structures d'encadrement des femmes par la création et/ou la dynamisation des centres de formation adéquats pour leur meilleure insertion économique. "

Pour conclure, le développement ne saurait se réaliser dans un climat de pauvreté généralisée et d'appauvrissement toujours plus prononcé des plus pauvres. Il commence par la réduction de la pauvreté. Or le champ réel, le plus urgent et le plus important de cette lutte ce sont les femmes. Pour cela, les actions et mesures existants doivent être renforcés et d'autres initiées. Si les femmes ne meurent plus en couche ; si l'analphabétisme est vaincu; Si les filles dans les PMA francophones vont à l'école en masse, assurant ainsi l'éducation de la femme de demain, alors la situation sanitaire, nutritionnelle et autre s'améliorera tout naturellement. Si l'activité économique des femmes cesse d'être le soutien de ces pays en même temps qu'elle demeure dans une position marginale quand elle n'est pas tout simplement ignorée; si les portes vers les PME et le secteur moderne industriel leurs sont résolument ouvertes, alors le gâchis s'arrêtera et ce formidable potentiel qui a manqué jusque maintenant à l'appel occupera la place qui est la sienne. On pourra alors parler d'un éventuel développement.

Par rapport à l'intégration d'une perspective sexo-spécifique dans les stratégies de développement, les PMA francophones ne sont pas en reste. Le problème se situe au niveau du renforcement des capacités. Capacités des ONG du secteur femme, des organisations de femmes des médias, mais aussi des Ministères et structures gouvernementales en charge des questions femmes. Leurs budgets dans la plupart des Etats sont bien peu conséquents. Le problème est aussi celui des choix des approches. Il reste à réaliser un effort plus prononcé d'intégration des questions de genre dans les modes d'action, mais surtout de pensée des décideurs. Le plaidoyer occupera ici une place de choix. Le problème est aussi celui des méthodes d'approche. La philosophie des cadeaux est-elle de nature à créer de l'émulation pour une volonté de progrès ? Dans certaines cultures africaines, on ne donne pas de l'argent, on le prête ;il serait indiquer d'aller chercher aussi dans les valeurs positives traditionnelles des peuples concernés pour mieux les intégrer dans les programmes et projets qui leur sont destinés.

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B. ENGENDERING NATIONAL BUDGETS AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

by

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Madam Chairperson, Mrs. Mbeki, First Lady of South Africa Excellencies, Distinguished Participants, Colleagues and Friends,

I. INTRODUCTION

It is a great pleasure to be here to address the UNCTAD Workshop on LDCs: Building Capacities for Mainstreaming Gender in Development Strategies. I would like to convey my particular thanks to the people and the Government of South Africa and the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa for hosting this important workshop. I wish also to pay tribute to Mr. Rubens Ricupero, Secretary-General of UNCTAD for his leadership and congratulate UNCTAD staff on the excellent organization and background material provided for the meeting. This will set the stage for very fruitful and productive discussions.

For me it is a particular pleasure to be in South Africa to discuss with you this afternoon the subject of "Engendering National Budgets and Development Strategies". Last time I was here was for the opening of first united, democratic, non-racial Parliament when President Mandela took office in June 1994. It was a great moment — for South Africa, for the United Nations and the international development community, for the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) and for me personally, as its head.

The government and civil society of South Africa have been among the pioneers in meeting the challenge of mainstreaming gender perspectives in the national budget process. We all look forward to the opportunity, this afternoon, to learn from the experience of South Africa and other countries in Africa and in other regions in bringing gender more fully and more sustainably into the development process.

Engendering national budgets is highly relevant to developed and developing countries alike. The budget process presents a powerful entry point for mainstreaming gender perspectives in development. Before we turn to our distinguished panel, I would like to make a few remarks with respect to three issues:

- why engendering the budget process can benefit all countries
- why it is a vital issue for the Least Developed Countries, and
- what are the main lessons from our experience with gender mainstreaming in the budget exercise at the United Nations.

Mainstreaming gender perspective in national budgets is mandated in the Outcome Document of the Beijing +5 Special session of the General Assembly.

There is a strong mandate to mainstream gender perspectives into national budgets. General Assembly resolution A/S-23/10/Rev.1 (§65) calls for explicit attention to the achievement of the goals

of gender equality, development and peace in the budgetary processes at the national, regional and international levels, and (§73.b) invites Governments to:

"Incorporate a gender perspective into the design, development, adoption and execution of all budgetary processes, as appropriate, in order to promote equitable, effective and appropriate resource allocation and establish adequate budgetary allocations to support gender equality and development programmes that enhance women's empowerment and develop the necessary analytical and methodological tools and mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation."

II. ENGENDERING THE BUDGET PROCESS CAN BENEFIT ALL COUNTRIES

Applying gender perspectives to the budget process can benefit all countries because

- a. greater participation of women is key to budget reform
- b. gender equality may also improve governance

A. GREATER PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IS KEY TO BUDGET REFORM

The Outcome Document of Beijing +5 places strong emphasis on strategies for increasing women's participation in decision-making, and many LDCs have set specific goals for increasing women's participation in the political process in their implementation of the CEDAW Convention. Greater participation by both men and women in the development process, at the national, regional and community levels has emerged as a prerequisite for sustainable development. It is interesting to note that Inter-Parliamentary Union statistics for 2000 show that high levels of women's representation in parliament are not affected by a country's size, GNP or size of population. For example, at least 5 LDCs rank very well in the list of 177 countries rated. Mozambique is ninth in the world with 30 per cent, South Africa, tenth with over 29 per cent, standing close to New Zealand and Germany, while Uganda and Rwanda are 34th and 37th respectively. This may partly be attributed to the high level of ratifications of the CEDAW Convention by the LDCs. Of the 49, 41 have ratified the Convention. So too, greater involvement of women through such participatory processes in the budget exercise is important in its own right to ensure a broad based and more sustainable approach. In addition, their participation will foster attention to gender issues and women's human rights.

B. GENDER EQUALITY MAY ALSO IMPROVE GOVERNANCE

A gender perspective in the budget process can also be instrumental in achieving better governance overall. The gender budget process is often an important catalyst in bringing women to a point where they can play larger role in public life and political decision making. Bringing more women into policy-making can, in turn, promote the rule of law and good governance. Although further research is needed, there is evidence suggesting that more equal participation of women in public life is linked to cleaner business and better governance. In some countries, for example, women have been shown to be less likely to practice corruption, such as taking bribes. Thus, a gender perspective in the budget process can also lead to greater transparency and accountability in governance overall, through the greater participation of women in public life.

III. ENGENDERING THE BUDGET PROCESS IS AN ISSUE OF SPECIAL RELEVANCE FOR THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Engendering the budget process is an issue of special relevance for the Least Developed Countries, because:

- a. gender inequalities hamper economic development and poverty eradication
- b. gender discrepancies particularly affect the poor

A. GENDER INEQUALITIES HAMPER ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY ERADICATION

Gender inequalities entail a poorer quality of life for all, men and women, boys and girls through lower welfare, reduced economic growth and slower eradication of poverty. Gender gaps in schooling, for example, slow down economic growth overall, as shown in the recent World Bank report, *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice*. Increasing women's schooling and income will not only improve the welfare and nutrition of women and their children, but will also promote economic development. Tapping the great unused potential of women farmers by giving women farmers equal access to extension and inputs will boost their agricultural productivity, as research in Kenya, Cameroon and Burkina Faso, as well as in a number of other countries has shown. Because gender inequalities hamper development, bringing gender issues to bear on national budgets and development plans must be a key economic concern for the Least Developed Countries.

B. GENDER DISCREPANCIES PARTICULARLY AFFECT THE POOR.

Poverty eradication is a fundamental goal of the United Nations for the new Millennium, and several Least Developed Countries, e.g. Uganda, have set specific, time-bound goals for the eradication of mass poverty. There is now a growing body of empirical evidence from a number of countries that gender discrepancies affect the poor more. Gender inequality in education as well as health is greater among the poor: poor girls are less likely to go to school, and childhood mortality differentials between boys and girls below age five disadvantage poor girls the most. As shown in World Bank study that I just referred to, gender disparities are also greater in poor countries. Among low-income countries sex differentials in both primary and secondary enrollment, for example, are greater than in more developed economies. It is the least developed countries, and the poor within each country that suffer the most because of gender inequalities.

IV. THE GENDER BUDGET IS ONE OF SEVERAL INSTRUMENTS FOR PLACING GENDER AT THE CENTRE OF THE NATIONAL POLICY AGENDA

The considerable experience accumulated in gender budgets over the past several years can provide a useful model for other approaches. There are many entry points for mainstreaming gender in a country's development process. National development strategies, the UNDAF and the CCA, the comprehensive development framework and the country assistance strategies, and, as we have heard this morning, the Poverty Reduction Strategies, also provide key avenues for making gender part of the national policy agenda. These are closely linked and mutually reinforcing. We urgently need to develop appropriate strategies and tools for integrating gender issues into each of them.

V. GENDER BUDGETING IS AN ONGOING CONCERN OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Let me now turn to our experience with mainstreaming gender perspectives in the budget processes at the United Nations. Because of its potential leverage in mainstreaming gender in the institution, applying gender analysis to the budget has been a key initiative at the United Nations. In 1997 the General Assembly requested the UN to ensure that all bodies addressing programme and budgetary matters visibly mainstream a gender perspective and invited other UN agencies to consider doing the same. An Inter-Agency Task Force on Gender Mainstreaming in Budget Processes was established under the auspices of the Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality in order to review the activities of all agencies in the UN system to incorporate gender perspectives into programme budgets. A three-phase project on Mainstreaming Gender into Budget Processes within the United Nations System was undertaken. It conducted an inventory of actions by organizations in the system, an overview of activities within the United Nations itself, and in depth studies in five agencies.

The findings show

- how gender mainstreaming is facilitated by policy statements on commitment to the goal of gender equality in the work of the organization
- how explicit management support for gender mainstreaming is essential, and
- that strong oversight and accountability functions are necessary.

Clear goals and instructions on gender budgeting and increased dialogue between programme and budget staff on gender analysis and perspectives are shown to be key to successful implementation. However, one frequently encountered problem was the lack of capacity to develop indicators to assess outcomes and impact.

As a result, a broader view of gender mainstreaming in budget processes has emerged and there is a growing consensus that the establishment of goals, activities, outcomes and impacts is needed to mainstream gender in budget processes. The instructions for the United Nations Programme Budget (for 2002-2003) now requests all entities to ensure that each sub-programme incorporates a gender perspective and includes an indicator to monitor progress.

The work of the task force will continue, focussing on more in-depth studies, as experience has shown that applying gender perspectives to the budget process promotes greater understanding of the importance of gender mainstreaming.

V. CONCLUSION

In order to provide a perspective on our deliberations this afternoon I have discussed how mainstreaming gender in the national budget process can benefit all, and examined the importance of gender perspectives in the budget process for the Least Developed Countries, in particular, by looking at poverty eradication and economic growth, participation for sustainable development and good governance. I have also shared with you some of the main lessons from our initial work on gender mainstreaming in programme budgets at the United Nations.

This afternoon's session will enrich our deliberations by examining gender budgets from three main perspectives:

- the implications of gender sensitive policies for the budget
- the impact of gender sensitive budgets on gender equality
- the role of civil society in policy formulation and the budget process.

I look forward to hearing our most distinguished panel address these three important themes.

Thank you.

ENGENDERING BUDGETS: DEMOCRATIZING MACROECONOMIC POLICIES

by

Aster Zaoude Senior Advisor on Gender in Development UNDP, New York

I. BUDGETS MATTER

Governments around the world made commitments at all the United Nations Conferences of the 1990s and each time, they dedicated a chapter on financial resources required to meet these goals. Some countries have made progress towards meeting their people's social and economic needs despite their difficult economic conditions. Some are preparing to negotiate debt relief to alleviate the heavy burdens that hamper their efforts to achieve human development.

Budgets matter because they show how governments are implementing their commitments to meet the social and economic needs of their citizens. The purpose of public budgeting is to engage in a process of scrutiny of budgetary processes and decisions, and examine the way national resources are mobilized and allocated.

In most countries, ordinary citizens are not informed about budgetary decisions that affect their lives. Even parliamentarians are not fully aware of the process and the implications of decisions that seem to be exclusively left to the finance ministries.

People-centered budgets are tools that challenge the way governments make the most critical decisions outside of people's scrutiny and with little concern for transparency and inclusiveness. Yet, budgets are used to shape policies, set priorities and provide the means to address priorities for the country.

Scrutinizing public budgets is an important process, which not only unveils the social content of macroeconomic policies but also involves public debate in an area long considered as a highly technical exercise of balancing figures across budget lines.

II. PEOPLE MATTER

The Bureau for Policy Development of UNDP has produced a paper entitled "Budgets as if people mattered: democratizing macro-economic policies" that I would like to share with you. Copies are available at the workshop and can be downloaded from the UNDP website.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate, through a rich spectrum of participatory budget initiatives, the potential for reshaping the social content of macroeconomic policies from the perspective of poverty and gender inequality. It shows how these initiatives have contributed to the economic and political empowerment of women and poor people through:

- Increased awareness and social dialogue on gender inequalities and poverty issues;
- Demonstration of ways to incorporate the interests and voices of women and poor people in budgetary decisions, and
- Improving transparency and accountability in public finance management.

The most important lesson to be drawn from this analysis is that budgets can be made responsive to poor people and women's needs and that budgetary processes can be made inclusive of the voices and aspirations of poor people and women.

My presentation will not cover issues discussed in the BDP paper regarding the contextual framework and progress on commitments made in Copenhagen and Beijing in terms of resource allocation nor do I discuss the example of the East Asian crisis and the impact of globalization. All these issues are very well discussed in the paper. In the interest of time, this presentation will focus on the general discussion of people-centered budgets and the experiences of pro-poor and gender-sensitive budget initiatives.

III. COMMITMENTS AND RESOURCES

Although budgeting is a national exercise, it is also influenced by international commitments. It may be worth recalling the main commitments made at the World Social Summit in Copenhagen on poverty:

- Creation of an economic, political, social, cultural and legal environment that enables people to achieve social development goals
- Eradication of absolute poverty by a target date to be set by each country
- Achievement of equity between women and men
- Universal access to primary education and health care.

The twelve critical areas of concern contained in the Beijing Platform for Action also include reducing women's poverty, promoting women's economic and political empowerment and the respect of their human rights. It calls upon governments to allocate resources to address gender inequalities and to mainstream a gender perspective in all their policies, programmes and budgetary allocations.

The expectation was that countries would develop their national action plans for poverty reduction and gender equality, and mobilize the necessary resources, implement and monitor progress. Some targets were set in the 20/20 initiative and some countries agreed to increase ODA to 0.7 per cent of GNP. Few countries set measurable goals. However, it can be said of both the Beijing and Copenhagen conferences, that the targets and the strategies to meet them were not clear enough while monitoring mechanisms and accountability measures were absent. The Millennium Assembly has made a significant contribution to the setting of more specific international goals. UNDP will continue to play a major role in monitoring progress made to achieve the International Development Targets.

IV. IMPACT OF GENDER BIASES

Budgets as an element of macroeconomic policies have been instrumental in reproducing inequalities. They have, more often than not, failed to make the growth process more pro-poor, targeting resources to address inequalities and to empower poor people and particularly women. Scrutinizing budgets from a people's perspective is new but we have significant lessons to learn from success stories of social mobilization around public audits leading to improved accountability in India. The example from Porto Allegre in Brazil shows how ordinary citizens can be involved in actual budgeting decisions. The recommendations from Bangladesh point to practical steps that help make budgetary processes more participatory and inclusive. The experience from Canada shows how the interests and voices of the people are incorporated in the content of the Alternative Federal Budget.

In recent years, Diane Elson and Nilufer Catagay, one of the authors of the UNDP publication that I am referring to 'budgets as if people mattered', have argued that gender-bias operates in the realm of macroeconomics. These are by no means gender-neutral frameworks and unless they are engendered, they are likely to reproduce gender inequalities. The World Bank's policy paper 'Engendering Development' recognizes that promoting women's education and women's health serves not only gender equity and poverty reduction goals, but in a number of cases it also enhances overall growth.

Traditional macroeconomics is gender-biased in that it leaves unpaid domestic work, performed mostly by women, out of its scope of analysis. As a result, women's unpaid contribution to the economy is not factored into national accounts. Women's invisible care-taking function is too often ignored although decisions to reduce public expenditures in education and health services overburden women significantly, especially in countries facing crisis and HIV/AIDS.

Budgets must be inclusive of women's contributions and they must be sensitive to women's multiple and mostly invisible home-based and informal work. Although gender-sensitive budgets were initiated some 15 years ago, it is only in recent years that they have multiplied with supported from the Commonwealth Secretariat, UNDP, UNIFEM and recently, IDRC and donors such as Belgium. Reference of these experiences has shifted from 'women's budget' to 'gender-sensitive budgets'. Rather than develop a separate budget proposal, gender budgets reflect the social relations between women and men and the differential impact of budgets based on gender inequalities. In fact, gender-sensitive budgets are not budgets formulated specifically for women or men but rather analyses of actual budgets through a gender lens, or a gender audit of budgets. Their purpose is to examine whether or not public expenditures are allocated in ways that promote or hinder gender equality with a view of prioritizing public resources. Pro-poor and gender-sensitive budgets should be viewed as complementary because women constitute 70 per cent of the poorest and gender inequalities contribute to perpetuation of poverty.

Gender sensitive budgets are important for making governments accountable to women and ensuring that governments live up to the commitments they have made in international conferences and in a variety of policy statements.

The budget initiatives discussed in the UNDP paper and experiences that will be shared during this workshop, from South Africa and other parts of the world, will demonstrate that budgets, as instruments of macroeconomic polices, can be designed with a focus on human development, on ending poverty and gender inequalities. The message is clear: it can be done and it should be done.

The process to achieve this goal is one of participation, inclusion, social dialogue and mobilization for poor people's right to development and for women's rights to equality. This process of transformation is deliberate from the outset or it becomes inevitable in the course of implementation. Two things must change: the content of the policies towards people-centered budgeting and the process of economic decision-making towards democratic and transparent budgeting exercise.

In the diversity of experiences over the years, there are some common elements of gender-budgeting processes worth pointing out:

- people-centered budgeting experiences often take place in the context of larger social movements for change and so gender budgets require forging alliances across groups concerned by various aspects of good governance
- the process of gender budgeting should be owned by civil society organizations and ordinary citizens and they must engage local and national governments, finance ministries and parliamentarians
- democratic spaces gained through this process must be enlarged towards further accountability for political and economic rights of citizens
- people-centered budgeting exercises have required the use of existing analytical tools and data in innovative ways but they have also required the development of new analytical tools such as in the area of gender-aware macroeconomic analysis
- social dialogue around gender budgets has moved the debate from conflicting national demands
 and competing priorities to global discussions on globalization and global public goods. The
 voices of civil society in Porto Allegre and the current debates around debt relief and financing
 for development are good examples of the need for a shift in paradigms. Budget reviews from a

gender and poverty perspective should be comprehensive enough to analyze public resources as well as external resources and financial commitments.

The few but rich experiences from across the world have generated increasing demand for our support to gender budgeting. UNDP's support to the South Africa Women's Budget Initiative brought together the government and civil society groups to examine gender and anti-poor biases in fiscal policy. It led to a project supported by the UNDP/Japan Women in Development Fund entitled "Assessing the impact of South Africa's anti-poverty policies by gender and race: a micro/macro simulation approach". The purpose is to identify and monitor direct and indirect effects of alternative anti-poverty policies and programmes and to develop a number of policy scenarios for policy transformation.

We are encouraged by the success of this initiative and we are very pleased to support this workshop with funding from the UNDP/Japan WID fund. Our support is intended to mainstream gender in a visible manner in the LDC-III conference and ensure that the proceedings of this workshop are documented and highly featured in the main conference.

We are encouraged by the interest expressed by governments and civil society groups to multiply gender budget initiatives. We hope to support more of such processes in LDCs in Africa. But we also recognize that more work needs to be done to develop analytical and policy tools, to generate knowledge and share experiences. Most importantly, we need to do more work to demystify budgetary processes and resource allocation instruments. We need to develop easily accessible information and simple tools for ordinary citizens to comprehend complex budgetary processes and develop advocacy strategies. Transforming economic policy formulation requires a strategy for broad-based advocacy and for social mobilization around budgetary issues. Gender budgets can be used in the formulation of poverty reduction strategies and in monitoring the implementation of the International Development Targets.

Beyond this functional aspect, gender budgeting can help rethink and transform national and international economic policy frameworks, poverty reduction strategies and governance practices. It is this potential for transformation that makes it a unique instrument for social mobilization around the issues of accountability and transparency. As more countries, and particularly LDC chose to engage in participatory budgeting exercises, a critical mass of experiences rooted in diverse national realities will emerge with concrete ways of transforming macro-economic policy making with a pro-poor, progender equality agenda for change.

POVERTY REDUCTION AND GROWTH FACILITY

by Ritha Khemani, Senior Economist

International Monetary Fund in Europe, France

It is a great pleasure for me to participate in this conference of distinguished experts and practitioners in the field of gender and development. My goal is to both inform and learn. To this end, my remarks will be on the role that the Fund can play in promoting high quality growth and development, including through a recently introduced new instrument—the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF).

The "raison d'être" of the Fund is the smooth operation of the international financial system. It best contributes to growth and development, including issues related to gender, through its mandate to promote trade, international payments and macroeconomic stability. Achieving macroeconomic stability serves to protect the most vulnerable members of society, and in particular women and children, who may be among the first to suffer under crisis conditions. To this end and in order to be able to support the development efforts of its low income members, more than a decade ago the Fund set up the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF)—a concessional lending facility to help eligible member countries achieve sustained improvements in balance of payments and economic growth.

During that period, women in the developing world appear to have been seeing the benefits of the social spending. Between 1985 and 1997 female literacy in countries with IMF-supported programs improved by 3.5 per cent per year; female gross primary school enrollment increased by 0.8 per cent per year, and female gross secondary school enrollment increased by 1.9 per cent per year. Further, births attended by skilled staff increased by 1.8 per cent on average, while the immunization rate for children under 12 months old increased by 4.6 per cent per year.

Where economic reforms have been necessary, we have encouraged governments to mitigate potentially adverse short-run effects by integrating fiscally sustainable social safety nets into reform programs and protecting budgetary allocations for critical social services. As a result, social safety nets have been increasingly incorporated in Fund-supported programs, about ¾ of IMF supported programs in low-income countries had social safety nets during the 1994-1998 period, while public spending on health care and education on average have increased, both as a percentage of GDP and in per capita terms.¹

Is this enough? Clearly not. Despite the gains noted above, increasing evidence that entrenched poverty itself can be an impediment to growth, it became clear that a new approach, with poverty reduction at its core, was needed. Such an approach was introduced in late 1999. It was operationalized, for purposes of providing financing assistance to its low-income members, as the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF). It is about this instrument, its features and its underlying development strategy that I would now like to discuss.

¹ For program countries, on average between 1985 and 1999, expenditure on education increased by 0.3 percentage points to an average of 4.2 percent of GDP and health care spending by 0.1 percentage point to 2.3 percent of GDP. In real per capita terms, the annual rate of real per capita growth for both types of spending was 2.0 percent.

The new facility (PRGF) is underpinned by a conviction that a concerted international effort to reduce poverty should be a fundamental element of assistance of low-income countries. The goal of rapid and sustainable economic growth, which was always an underlying objective of Fund-supported programs will remain but will be pursued with renewed emphasis. The reduction of poverty in a sustainable manner is the central objective. While it is difficult to say whether women are a majority of the poor2, it is the sad truth that a very large number of women live in poverty. Gender inequalities are also greater among the poor. An effective instrument for poverty reduction and the promotion of growth, such as the PRGF therefore, can play a powerful role in reducing poverty and inequality related to gender amongst the poor.

A critical point in the new approach is the way in which the new facility sets objectives and policies. The poverty reduction strategy will be country-driven. Countries will formulate their poverty reduction strategies (PRS) in a transparent manner with broad-based participation of members of civil society, bilateral donors and multilateral institutions. These strategies, to be spelled out in a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), will be the basis for the provision of Fund financial support.

Interested parties including women's groups will have opportunities to participate actively in this process. By giving vulnerable groups, which in many cases include women, a voice in the development strategy, the PRGF/PRSP approach aims at ensuring that their needs are addressed more effectively and at enhancing ownership and empowerment. The intention is that there will be opportunity to participate at all levels and stages, that is to say the various groups including women's groups can play a role starting from the formulation process through to the monitoring and to the assessment of poverty reduction strategies. The strategy will be best served by the active participation at all these stages.

How does the budget fit into this process? Macroeconomic policies will need to be integrated with social and sectoral objectives in order to ensure that plans are mutually supportive and consistent with a common set of objectives. The PRSP will set out the comprehensive strategy and the goals. The budget is one instrument through which the social and sectoral needs stemming from these strategies will be integrated with the macroeconomic framework. In addition, PRSPs will identify, and subsequently monitor poverty reducing spending. Tracking of poverty expenditures will be an integral part of PRGF progress.

Key sectoral and social programs aimed at reducing poverty, including that amongst women and other targeted vulnerable groups, will need to be identified and prioritized during the participatory process. The associated budgetary impact will have to be estimated, taking into account the need for efficient and well-targeted spending. The approach to budgeting and costing will be bottom-up, and will be reflected in the design of the macroeconomic framework, including in the composition of government expenditures and the fiscal and external deficits.

In short, the new facility aims to help developing budgets that are more pro-poor and progrowth and in a participatory manner. What this will entail will vary from country to country, but in broad terms the budgets in programs supported by PRGF could be expected to exhibit the following features:

- a reorientation of government spending towards the social sectors, basic infrastructure, basic health care and primary education, provision of safe water, law and order and other activities that directly benefit the poor including women directly or indirectly.
- improvements in the efficiency and targeting of spending in key sectors relevant to growth and poverty reduction. In this context, if gender inequality is considered by governments as priority

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² See Engendering Development Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice. A World Bank Policy Research Report.

(in consultation with NGOs and other groups), then adequate budgetary allocations could be made towards programs that ameliorate the problem.

- protection of critical social spending in face of economic or financial crisis, including on social safety nets and expenditures on health and education.
- tax reforms that improve efficiency, for example the removal of regressive exemptions or loopholes that benefit the better-off.

The financing of the budget will remain a critical element. The need to finance poverty-reducing policies could have a direct impact on the design of the macroeconomic framework, which will need to be underpinned by an environment of macroeconomic stability. The need for additional domestic resources will be given early consideration, as will the extent of domestic financing that is possible without unduly crowding out the private sector. Given that inflationary financing is a tax on the poor, the exercise of this option would be counterproductive.

Once the domestic resource constraints have been determined, reconciling macroeconomic stability with the spending levels needed to achieve the country's goals may require raising an adequate level of external grants or highly concessional loans. This is why IMF staff also encourage donors to consider multi-year commitments which would be helpful in reducing the uncertainty of financing. Donor participation in the design of strategies and in the monitoring of the outcomes would also help reduce administrative costs and overlapping reporting for the recipient countries.

The PRGF is a Fund facility supporting poverty reduction strategies in a sustainable macroeconomic environment. But the expertise of the Fund on strategies related to poverty reduction is limited. This is an area where the collaboration with the World Bank and other development partners becomes extremely important.

What have been the results to date? Poverty reduction is a long-term process and the road is likely to be bumpy. We are still in an early stage and it would be premature to pass judgement. But we believe that even in the short run, the participatory process, the drive for good governance and transparency in budget formulation, will be a significant step forward.

Experience to date shows that a majority of newly introduced PRSPs that underpin the PRGF program do explicitly target gender imbalances in primary and secondary education and aim to improve access to maternal health care as well as empower women through specific projects. In addition to the countries whose case studies are to be discussed at this meeting viz. (Uganda, Mozambique, Tanzania, Niger, Mali and Cambodia), Benin, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central Africa, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Rwanda, and Senegal have also set gender related targets in PRGF program.

Mauritania, for example, has set targets to increase female primary enrolment rates. Further, an action plan to promote the role of women in the development process is being implemented, encompassing the provision of informal education, skills training, and assistance in the formation of cooperative production groups, with a view to increasing women's participation in farming, livestock, and artisan fishery activities.

In Senegal, women are specifically targeted in education and health programs, including targets to increase the percentage of women receiving pre-natal care. A National Action Plan for Women (PANAF) aims to improve the economic status of women by making proper equipment available to alleviate domestic tasks, particularly in rural areas, where women's organizational and entrepreneurial capacities will be strengthened.

IMF-supported programs are monitoring the impact of public spending on women by disaggregating gender-specific social indicators and by analyzing the incidence of public programs.

In short, the Fund is trying to do its best in its area of expertise and also take the agenda of poverty reduction forward. We recognize that women are a particularly vulnerable group in most developing countries. We do not have programs aimed specifically at women but would welcome and support country decisions to take gender issues into account. Working with the Bank and our other development partners, and by being supportive and alert to the various dimensions of development needs as determined by the countries, we hope to take this important agenda forward in a considered and sustainable way.

ENGENDERING NATIONAL BUDGETS: LESSONS FROM MALAWI

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I. Introduction

This paper reports the findings work³ to evaluate the Malawi Government budget process and assess the feasibility of doing gender analysis of the budgets. The specific objectives were to identify the information and capacity gaps, which would impede the carrying out of different types of gender analyses, and to make recommendations on what is required to address those gaps.

The primary sources of information for this study were semi-structured interviews with government officials, and budget documents. The budget information used in the data is mostly from 1998/99 to 2000/2001. In the Education and Agriculture case studies the focus is on the GABLE project and the Blantyre Agricultural Development Division. Attendance at civil society, government and donors meetings on budgets and the financing of government programmes supplemented these sources.

Although there are important gender issues at the macro level in terms of balance of payments, monetary and other structural adjustment, a sectoral rather than a macro approach was adopted. Given the short time span and the newness of the topic in Malawi, it was impossible to cover all sectors. A few ministries were chosen for case studies on the basis of three criteria. The first criterion was the relative emphasis accorded on different sectors by the Minister of Finance in his budget speech. Secondly, the relative size of allocations was considered. The third criterion was concerned with including both social-sector ministries and at least one, which is traditionally, considered as more "economic" (in this case, Agriculture and Irrigation). Two case studies Education and Agriculture & Irrigation are presented in full. The findings from the others, Gender and Health, are summarized.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 which follows provide an introduction to the relationship between gender and government budgets. Section 3 provides a brief introduction to the Malawi government budget. It describes the format of the budget, as well as the process by which it is drawn up. The description highlights a number of characteristics, which may either hinder or assist gender analysis of budgets.

Section 4 contains the case studies of ministries. The analysis in the case studies is very uneven. The case studies highlight different aspects of what gender analysis might entail. Between them these sketchy case studies are intended to provide an indication as to whether the available material will allow coverage of the four steps and the four tools, of gendered analysis of budgets described in section 2. Lessons from each case study are drawn out.

Section 5 summarizes the findings as to the feasibility of undertaking gender analysis of the Malawi national budget. The section brings together the data, budget documentation, institutional, capacity building considerations, and the improvements that need to done to gender budgeting tools to make gender budgeting effective for mainstreaming gender in development policies.

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³ A significant part of this paper is based on a study that was funded by CIDA-Malawi, and its report which was co-authored with Debbie Budlender,

II. GENDER BUDGETING: THEORY AND PRACTICE

A. BASIC GENDER ANALYSIS AND BUDGETING CONCEPTS

Before proceeding to discuss the need for, nature of, and experience with gender budgeting, an overview of the basic gender analysis concepts is provided. The central concept of gender is different from sex; the latter refers to the biological difference between men and women. Gender refers to the prescribed role differences between women and men, girls and boys, which are socially malleable. Gender analysis refers to the diagnose of the differences between men and women regarding their specific activities, conditions, needs, access and control over resources, and access to development benefits and decision-making. Gender analysis entails first and foremost collecting sex-disaggregated data and gender-sensitive information about the population concerned. It is a prerequisite for gender sensitive planning for the advancement of women.

Gender equity is the concept that all human beings, both men and women, should be free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations placed by stereotypes, rigid gender roles, and prejudices. It does not mean that women and men are the same or have to become the same. Rather it means that the different behaviour, aspirations and needs of men and women should be considered and valued equally.

A gender gap is the difference in any area between women and men in terms of their levels of participation, access, rights, power and influence, remuneration or benefits. The concept of gender mainstreaming was clearly established during the Beijing conference as the main global strategy for promoting gender equality. It entails introducing a gender perspective in the process of assessing the implications for men and women of any planned action. It is a strategy for making women's and men's concern an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all policies and programmes in political, social and economic spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. Gender mainstreaming is a process, not a goal. Other activities and strategies to promote gender equality are taken as complementary to gender mainstreaming.

A budget is a statement of income (generation) and expenditure allocation for an institution or individual. It ordinarily includes a description of the institution's objectives and uses them to justify the expenditures, and in some cases even the income generation mechanisms. Budgets are instruments that distribute resources, and in that respect a government's budget is its most important policy instrument. It tells people what and who the government values. Thus it is important to look at the social content of budgets, to decide if there might be ways of using them to accelerate the attainment of goals like the advancement of women. To achieve this, the involvement of civil society and gender sensitive or feminist policy analysts in the budget process is necessary (Chirwa and Ngwira 1998).

Gender analysis of government budgets or gender budgeting, or women's budget refers to the use of a variety of analytical tools to assess the differential impact of budgets, on men and women in relation to their specific activities, conditions, needs, access and control over resources, and participation in the development in general. The objective is to illuminate the ways in which gender inequalities are created and maintained and how they impede economic growth, with the penultimate objective to recommend ways in which these negative effects can be reduced so as to improve the well being of both men and women, girls and boys.

The particular emphasis in nomenclature on either "women's" or "gender" budget may reflect the state of sensitivity to gender issues in that country or the paradigm being used to deal with women's issues. Those countries that have moved to the Gender and Development (GAD) approach tend to use to "gender budgets". Those that use the Women in Development (WID) approach or feel that women are particularly disadvantaged use "women's budgets". The GAD emerged as a critique of WID approaches to women's issues. Rather than focus on the integration of women into existing strategies for economic development like the WID does, the GAD seeks to rethink development strategies from below and analyse development in terms of the totality of social relations and institutions through which women's subordination to men is achieved and maintained.

Gender aware analysis of budgets entails four basic steps: (i) a description of the situation of women and men, girls and boys in relation to particular sectors; (ii) an analysis of government policies in relation to the sectors in order to examine the extent to which these policies address the gendered situation described; (iii) the examination as to whether adequate budgets are allocated to implement policies found to be gender-sensitive or, alternatively, budgets are allocated to implement policies which can be expected to exacerbate gender imbalances; and (iv) monitoring as to whether the allocated resources reach the intended beneficiaries and have the desired effects.

The main tools of gender budgeting are as follows: gender aware revenue analysis; gender aware analysis of incidence of public expenditure; gender aware economic policy analysis; and gender aware budget statements. Other techniques that can be used include gender disaggregated beneficiary assessment of service delivery and budget priorities; gender aware medium term macroeconomic policy framework. The information generated by applying these tools can contribute to writing gender aware country economic reports. (Elson et. Al. 1997, Commonwealth Secretariat 1997).

Gender aware revenue analysis looks at the differential impact on women and men, girls and boys, and the different sub-groupings of these, of the various revenue instruments. No country has of last year completed a full gender aware revenue analysis.

Gender aware public expenditure analysis measures the amount of expenditures reaching men and women and girls and boys which involve a quantitative modelling exercise in which the number of persons in a particular social group reached by a service is multiplied by the unit cost. Gender aware public expenditure incidence analysis has been done in some countries, e.g. South Africa and Malawi for the education sector (Castro-Leal, 1996).

Gender aware policy evaluation looks at the policy assumptions underlying budget appropriations and discusses the likely impact on the gendered situation. This tool is the least tightly specified in form. It has been used in some countries, which include Tanzania, Uganda, and South Africa, and Malawi. (Tanzania Gender Networking Programme 1998, Budlender 1996,1997; Budlender and Ngwira 1999; Budlender 2000)

A gender aware budget statement consists of a statement from a ministry or department on the gender implications on their ministry, of the budget. This is done in South Africa, and also Australia (Budlender and Sharp 1998)

Australia has the longest experience of doing gender (or women's) budgets. During the 1980s the federal, state and territory governments all produced detailed annual budget statements that they tabled on budget day. South Australia utilized a framework for their statements, which has been used in one way or another by most countries, which have since undertaken gendered analysis of budgets. It is a type of gender aware expenditure incidence analysis which conceptualizes all government spending as falling into three categories:

The first category is gender targeted expenditure, that is expenditure that us clearly targeted or defined in gender terms. Typically it involves time-bound affirmative action expenditure. In Malawi the GABLE programme's bursary allocations for female secondary school pupils were a clear example in the early years of this programme.

The second type is public sector employment expenditure. Unlike the other two categories, which are intended to benefit members of the broader population, these expenditures are for the benefit of women and men employed by the government. The presence of women or men in decision-making positions within the public sector can, however, also influence the types of services delivered to the general public. One example of this category of expenditure would be allocations for training for women officials intended to enable them to progress to higher posts in which women are underrepresented.

The third category is mainstream or general expenditures are all other expenditures which are not specified in gender terms but which, nevertheless, may have gendered implications in terms of their differential effect on women and men, girls and boys because of the different positions individuals in these groupings occupy in society. An example would be expenditures on literacy, which should - if properly implemented – be of proportionally greater benefit to women as a group given the higher rates of illiteracy among women (see below).

B. THE NEED FOR GOVERNMENT BUDGET ANALYSES

Malawi aspires to become a middle income country by the year 2020, with all people having equal access to social services (Malawi Government, National Economic Council 1998). The major strategy to achieve this is seen as an increase in economic growth through boosting the manufacturing sector with an emphasis on science and technology, whilst increasing agriculture sector productivity. In particular, the objective is to increase the range, scale and efficiency of private sector enterprises. Nearly 60 per cent of Malawians live in poverty, deriving their livelihoods from subsistence agriculture, and off-farm income generating activities (Malawi government 2000). The formal private sector comprises only a small proportion of the economy. Thus government policies and its budget for both the productive and the social sectors are some of the main factors determining the quality of lives of Malawians.

Few public policy processes are more significant than the preparation and execution of a national budget—the budget itself as well as the budget process sends important signals about a government's approach to economic management, its policy objectives, and political direction (Joseph Hoffman 1997:4). The budget process is highly political and involves social choices. Government budgets are instruments of policy and hence they distribute resources and opportunities among various social, demographic and economic groups of people. Budgets affect this primarily through direct provision of services (Budlender and Ngwira 1999), the inflationary impact of monetary instruments (Ndaferankhande et al 2000), and also through the impacts of revenue generation instruments (Mwabutwa, 2000). An overextended public sector, which causes deficits, defrauds service users doubly since first, services are frequently of poor quality, and secondly since the inflationary impact of deficit financing diminishes the purchasing power of users who want to get the services from the private sector (Kaluwa, and Musila 2000). Studies provide evidence that over the medium term money financing of the deficit leads to higher inflation, while debt financing leads to higher interests rates or increased repression of financial markets, with fiscal gains coming in at increasingly unfavourable terms. (Easterly and Schmidt-Hebbel, 1993). Expenditure allocations have also been shown to have impact on economic growth (Tanzi and Zee 1997; Nkhata 1999).

It is thus important to conduct analyses of government budgets with the aim to understand what they achieve as opposed to what they promise to achieve, in terms of national and sectoral growth, and also to determine who benefits or gets hurt by the expenditure allocations or revenue generation mechanisms.

C. THE IMPORTANCE OF GENDER BUDGETING

In nearly all countries gender inequalities and disparities between social groups persist in access to resources, rights, participation in public life, and power. These disparities have high human costs, and impede development (UNIFEM 2000, UN Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality 2000). For example, Klasen (1999) estimated that if sub-Saharan Africa had the growth in the gendered ratio of educational attainments of East Asia, economic growth would have been 0.5 per cent points higher. Moreover, the differential in education and employment opportunities between men and women served to reduce annual per capita growth by 0.8 per cent points. This is significant given that annual growth in SSA stood at only 0.7 per cent between 1960 and 1992. The magnitudes of effects are considerable and give credence to the argument that one important element in Africa's slow growth may be its high gender inequality in education and employment (Blackden and Bhanu 1999). Yet there continues to be misalignment between macro-economic policies and those policies aiming to help the poor, among whom women are disproportionately represented.

Gender analysis of government budgets is gaining acceptance as a tool to mainstream gender equality and the advancement of women in development planning, implementation and evaluation (Commonwealth Secretariat 1998, Budlender and Sharp 1998, Tanzania Gender Networking Programme 1998, Budlender and Ngwira 1999; UNDP 2000). Studies have shown how a gender perspective allows better analyses of the impact of development programmes on women and men, girls and boys (World Bank 2000; Hirschman 1994; Ngwira 1987). One may begin to be skeptic to the importance of the gender variable(s) in economic analyses but by being open to their use, one may "end up with a fuller appreciation of... how norms and expectations impede change, how discrimination can survive even in highly competitive markets, and how slow genuine change can be" (Wright 1993, pviii).

The impact of economic policies are not governed by just economic fundamentals. Economic policy analysts therefore have to examine the full range of factors, such as gender, that determine the outcomes of development programmes.

Available data on Malawi reveal that women play significant roles in social and economic development, and also have important needs if they are to play these roles in the most effective way possible. At present, Malawi women are disadvantaged in comparison with men in multiple ways—in terms of access and participation in social and economic development. Women make up 52 per cent of Malawi's population. One-fifth of married women are in polygamous marriages, varying from 28 per cent in the North to 17 per cent in the Central region. Many women in polygamous marriages are effectively the heads of their households, and nearly one third of all households are female headed. Only 5 per cent of the 177 members of parliament are women, and there are only three women cabinet ministers. Only two-fifths (40 per cent) of Malawi women are literate, compared to close on three-quarters (72 per cent) of men. In 1997, the net enrolment for girls aged 6-13 years was 0.99 compared to 1.05 for boys. The gross enrolment rates were 1.15 for girls and 1.18 for boys (Malawi Government, 1999:77).

The life expectancy of Malawian females is 41.5 years compared to 40.6 years for males. Due to the differential impact of HIV/AIDS in the 15–24 year age group, the life expectancy of women is expected to fall by five to seven years by the year 2010. The maternal mortality rate is 620 out of 100,000—one of the highest in the world. Women are the main food producers. They also participate to a great extent in cash and export crop farming. In the formal sector, women are concentrated in secretarial, clerical and teaching jobs.

Most poverty indicators show that women live in more difficult economic circumstances than men. The households that are headed by women generally have less income, less land, less education, less access to credit and use less input than male-headed households do. Woman-headed households are particularly vulnerable to the extent that they have less access to male labour (Chipande 1987; Ngwira 1994). Even women who live in better-off male-headed households often have limited opportunities for self-advancement. They take on disproportionately more roles than men do in the provisioning of their families and this contribution is generally unrecognized and unpaid.

In contradiction to the realities they will face in their future life, girls are socialised to depend on men for economic provision. Girls are not expected to excel in school and have few role models to copy. Even adult women who struggle alone through difficult circumstances tend to fend for themselves in activities that are in resonance with the overall culture – they will generally plan to "make do" rather than to excel. Some ethnic groups encourage behavioural patterns that lead to early marriages. For example, girls are encourage to marry early to reduce the probability that they will get pregnant out of wedlock, and thus reduce their value as marriage partners. This practice reduces the likelihood of girls completing school.

Gender is an issue in government budgets because, firstly, gender is so often an indicator of disadvantage and need and, secondly, governments which have limited resources

will want to target their expenditure so that it reaches those who are most needy. This is in line with poverty alleviation, which is described as the "central theme" of the Malawi Government's development programme (Malawi Government, 1999:81). Gender is only one of the variables that are associated with poverty and disadvantage in any society. Stated crudely, not all women are poor and many men are poorer than many women are. Analysis and implementation of poverty reducing budgets become more effective when gender is combined with other indicators. In government budgets, geographical distinctions such as district region or rural-urban are often important. In particular sectors other factors such as age, income, or occupation would determine whether particular expenditures are of benefit to a particular individual.

A second reason that gender issues are important in government budgets has to do with the "care economy"—the production of goods and services that are primarily for home consumption without receipt of cash payment, and produce primarily by women. Issues pertaining to the care economy illuminate the extent to which women and men subsidize or support government budgets particularly with respect to social services.

III. THE MALAWI BUDGET PROCESS AND DOCUMENTATION

A. THE RECURRENT AND DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNTS

The Malawi government budget is divided into two parts – the recurrent account and the development account. The recurrent account, often referred to as the revenue account, reflects expenditures that are totally funded by the Malawi government. The development account is subdivided into two parts. Part I reflects grants and loans by donors. Part II reflects counterpart contributions by the Malawi government required by donors as conditionalities for grants and loans.

Ideally the recurrent account should reflect all recurrent costs, and especially salaries of civil servants, while the development budget should reflect public investment. In practice this is not the case. The development budget also includes recurrent costs, including some salaries, for example when the activities in donor projects envisaged would not be possible with the staff complement allowed for in the recurrent budget. On the other hand, the recurrent budget includes allocations for the purchase of some equipment and materials with a life of more than one year.

Since 1994/95 Malawi has a cash budgeting system in respect of the current account which is intended to control expenditure and keep it within the budget. The ten-point plan announced last year by the Ministry of Finance builds on the cash budget system to elaborate a procedure for controlling expenditures. The system is meant to work by providing funds to ministries on a quarterly basis, with the amount provided determined by government's revenue and grant receipts rather than allocations alone. The cash budget is meant to prevent over-expenditure. In practice the system is generally not able to achieve this. There are several reasons for this, but the most important is inflation. The regular currency devaluation means that imported items or those produced with significant import content become more expensive.

The recurrent account is usually overspent, but the development budget is generally underspent. We were told that the main reason here is the difficult procedures and systems of donors in respect of procurement, disbursement and other issues. The other reason is the converse of that for which the recurrent budget is overspent. Since most the budget is donor funded devaluations imply that the Kwacha equivalent ends up larger than planned.

B. THE BUDGET DOCUMENTS

The budget is presented in six documents: The Draft Estimates of Expenditures on Development and Recurrent Accounts; The Economic Report; The Budget Statement, The Financial Statement; Approved and Revised Estimates of Expenditure of the previous year, and the Actual Expenditures of two years back.

The last document, in particular, provides detailed budget figures for the coming year and a short treasury memorandum, which typically states the mission and objectives of the ministry and its achievements over the previous twelve months. These Draft Estimates will inevitably constitute the basic source for much gender analysis. The Economic Report acts as a narrative supplement to the Draft Estimates although our experience is that there are some discrepancies between the two documents.

The Draft Estimates have both weaknesses and strengths as a basis for analysis. On the plus side, the document provides much more detail than in many other countries in that allocations are disaggregated at the line item level down to both cost centre and sub-programme. The negative aspect is that all this information is presented in a non-user friendly format which at the most basic level, does not distinguish the beginning and end of a cost centre, sub-programme or other division by, for example, different fonts, bold or italic, or running heads on the pages. The non-user friendly format makes it easy for the analysis to make mistakes.

There are further negative aspects, which will be elaborated on in the case studies. One is that there appear to be fairly numerous errors in the information in the document. A second is that with some amounts - particularly in the development account — it is difficult for someone outside the Ministry to know what they entail. In some cases, such as Malawi Social Action Fund (MASAF), the lack of clarity is because the amount is passed on as a lump sum to another implementing agency. In other cases it is unhelpful labeling of projects or items. For example a K12m allocation for the EU Safe-motherhood project of the Ministry of Health is labeled simply as "Formation and Maintenance of Capital Assets".

There is also the problem of items that are completely absent from the document. During the consultancy we heard many references to "off-budget" allocations. A range of motivations was offered as to why allocations were kept off budget. These included concerns relating to the effect on the budget deficit. Apparent shifting of particular items on and off budget adds to the confusion and hampers comparison of expenditures across years. Items that are consistently completely off budget are commodity aid, for example in the form of drugs or food, and technical assistance provided by donors. Yet these items clearly affect the level of services available to women and men in the country.

Another serious problem is that the allocations are reportedly often not followed during implementation. The government's accounting system is still largely manual. The Ministry of Finance is well aware that this allows easy "doctoring" of figures and transfer of funds between programmes and sub-programmes so that actual expenditure is different from what is reflected in the budget even if overall totals remain more or less in line. The introduction of the Integrated Financial Management Information System is intended to address this. The Ministry hopes that within the next two years the accounting and budgeting system will be linked and that misallocation will be minimized. There is also talk of extending the medium term expenditure framework (MTEF) to include output estimates, such as number of farmers visited, so that one will be able to see whether expenditure is translating into delivery. For gender analysis, one would want these indicators to be disaggregated wherever appropriate.

Output specification and measurement does apparently occur in respect of the development account to the extent that donors require this. It has not so far happened in respect of the recurrent account. Ministries were asked to provide such estimates in the latest MTEF estimates but apparently

few did so successfully. One constraint is that the recurrent budget often contains little more than salaries and basic supplies, which makes it unrealistic to specify outputs.

C. THE BUDGET PROCESS

Budget processes all over the world share four common purposes: (i) to provide a review of past economic performances; to mobilise and allocate resources; (ii) to provide for financial management and accountability; and (iii) to act as a platform for introduction of new policies. Malawi has over the past five years been developing a medium term expenditure framework (MTEF).

Budget figures are projected, on a rolling basis, for both the budget year and the following two years. Emphasis is on three expenditure outcomes: (i) aggregate fiscal discipline aimed to deliver a level of spending that is affordable; (ii) allocation of resources in a way that reflects a nation's developmental priorities; and (iii) efficient and effective use of budgeted resources, that is ensuring that funds are spent to deliver the services intended and not wasted on inefficiency and corruption (Schick 1998; Government of Malawi 1996; 1997; 1998a; 1998b; 2000b; 2001).

The budget formulation stage has the following stages:

- Stage 1: Using macro-economic models to forecast economic growth and estimate resources available and making broad sector allocations;
- **Stage 2:** Reviewing of sector/ministry or department priorities independently of the stage 1 process;
- Stage 3: Conducting hearings where the ministries and departments present their goals, objectives and activities and indicate priorities and costing to the Treasury;
- Stage 4: Coordinating aid through holding consultations with donors.
- Stage 5: Making sector allocations, and going through the approval process again;
- Stage 6: Advising the ministries and department of ceilings;
- Stage 7: Preparation of expenditure estimates by ministries;
- Stage 8. Discussion of expenditure estimates between the Treasury and other ministries;
- *Stage 9:* Printing the expenditure estimates;
- *Stage 10:* Approval of the expenditure estimates by parliament.

A gender aware analysis of the budget *process* is relevant for several reasons. Firstly, budgets are unlikely to be gender-sensitive unless women and men have equal chances of contributing to decision-making around allocations. Not all women are necessarily gender-sensitive. Neither are all men necessarily insensitive to gender issues. Nevertheless, a diversity of people contributing to the budget decision-making process is more likely to result in a budget, which addresses the different needs of different groups. In examining the budget process, it is thus important who the decision-makers are both inside government, within the legislature and within the broader society and what their relative powers are.

Proposals for the budget are put forward to the Cabinet committee on the Economy by a selected committee, composed of secretaries to the cabinet, treasury, human resources management and development, economic planning and development, the accountant general, the auditor general, the controller of statutory companies, and two other ministers form major spending ministries. As of March 2001, no woman principal secretary out of the 50 met these prerequisites.

In the recent past, the government has allowed civil society to hold consultations on the budget before it is presented to parliamentarians. But the consultations did not really influence the content of the budget. They were mostly expressing the needs and desires of the private sector. The consultations

never included any gender issues. The newly introduced Poverty reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) offers a facility to influence the budget in an ex ante way.

Secondly, the nature of the budget process affects the extent to which gender – or other considerations – can be taken account of in planning and monitoring expenditure and revenue. The current introduction of the PRSP offers a good opportunity to introduce gender into the budget and planning process. But the current organization of the PRSP is such that Gender and Development is a separate group from other thematic groups. This means that gender will be introduced ex post into the other thematic groups' work.

Programme performance budgeting and output monitoring, for example, offer the chance to introduce gender and other disaggregations into the specified outputs. This provides an opportunity for institutionalizing disaggregated data collection rather than relying, as is so often now the case, on once-off occasional gender evaluations and impact assessments.

Thirdly, there is the broader question of transparency. For example, there might be different paths and controls of flows where funds, typically part of donor funding, are excluded from the normal budget process and scrutiny. One would need to look at what the gender implications of this might be.

Gender analysis can be conducted both inside and outside government. The most long-standing example is found in Australia, where the exercise was conducted solely within government. In the more recent examples of South Africa and Tanzania, there are parallel exercises inside and outside government. In South Africa, the outside government exercises include parliamentarians, thus preserving the notion of the independence of the executive and the legislature.

In other countries, such as Zimbabwe and Nigeria, there has been some analysis outside government, but none inside as yet. Experience so far is that the exercises inside and outside government differ in important respects. Inside government the exercises are largely an exercise in monitoring and accountability. Outside government they provide the space for citizens to comment on, and influence, government policy and spending. However it is possible and it is desirable to initiate processes that benefit from the synergy of both outside and inside government process. This approach would answer to the feminist critique of gender methodologies that they tend to be ex post to mainstream government activities hence the call for mainstreaming gender in policy making.

A recent review of the MTEF process identified six problem areas that need improvement (GoM 2000d). These are (i) lack of political involvement in and commitment to the budget process; (ii) ineffective management and co-ordination of the Budget/MTEF cycle; (iii) unpredictability of funding; (iv) policies and budgets not focussing on affordable outcomes and outputs; (v) inadequate coverage of the budget, and (vi) lack of accountability for the budget (GoM 2000d). The root cause of inadequate political involvement and commitment to the budget process was assessed to be that parliamentarians do not play their role of surveillance over the budget. This is in turn caused by limited understanding of the budget, its function, development and implementation, perhaps due to inadequate induction of parliamentarians, not enough time given to debate the budget, and a weak Public Accounts Committee which fails to follow up on audit reports.

Initially, the MTEF work focused on the recurrent budget. It was quickly realised that practicing control over one part of the budget would not achieve the aims of MTEF. The exercise was extended to the development account. Currently the MTEF is used as a budget tool. When fully adopted, it should be used to implement broader national goals or sectoral policy objectives. Although the MTEF emphasizes that the budgeted for programmes should address national and sectoral priority goals. When goals such as poverty alleviation are mentioned, there is generally no indication of the extent to which the particular allocations can contribute to achieving that long-term objective in the medium term. There are no targets or indicators, which might form the basis of evaluating how well the allocated resources have been used. To do this would require that the budget should clearly state the outputs of the three-year expenditure. This problem is due to weaknesses in policy development, and lack of clear focus on affordable outputs and outcomes. This lack of transparency in the linkages

and between inputs and outputs, and a hurried and superficial budget scrutiny process, leads to persistence in the inconsistency between budget and policies (GoM 2000d, p.6). And because there are no targets or indicators, there is little incentive and opportunity for gender specification of targets.

Overall there appears to be a lack of interest in the budget process by senior government officers. This could be born of several factors, including frustration due to failure to get allocated the desired levels of funds and the circuitous nature of the budget formulation process. A further possibility is that at least some civil servants are confident that, however the funds are allocated, the lack of a timely monitoring and evaluation system will allow later shifting of funds in disregard of allocations. The Ministry of Finance is aware of these problems and is attempting to address them. In the interim, however, they often result in poor quality of budget information.

IV. CASE STUDIES OF MINISTRIES

Table 1 below shows the amounts allocated on the recurrent and development accounts for the case study and other related ministries in 1999/2000 as well as the comparable revised estimates for 2000/2001. Education and Health receive the two largest allocations in respect of ministries. Agriculture is also a large ministry in financial terms. The other selected ministries have smaller allocations but are important for the analysis for other reasons.

Table 1: Allocations of Expenditures to Selected Ministries in 1999/2000 and 2000/2001

	1999/2000			2000/2001			
	Recurrent	Development	Total	Recurrent	Development	Total	
Statutory	3,208.6	0.0	3,208.5	9,553.6	0.0	9,553.6	
NEC*	12.9	688.7	701.7	20.2	1,028.0	1,048.0	
Agriculture	436.9	1,058.7	1,495.6	632.7	1,043.0	1,675.0	
Education	2,340.0	1,139.8	3,479.8	2,832.6	2,742.0	5,574	
Health	1,403.0	1,176.6	2,579.6	1,697.0	1,390.0	3,087.0	
Gender	55.6	90.2	145.9	69.0	93.2	162.1	
Labour	70.7	82.7	153.4	92.0	0	92.0	
Total	14,369.0	8,564.0	22,933.0	25,967.5	12,249.8	38,217.3	

NEC=National Economic Council

Source: Compiled from GOM, 1999a, 2000a

Table 1 also shows the distribution of total allocations between recurrent and development for each ministry. It shows that different ministries can have very different relative allocations on the recurrent and development accounts. At the two extremes, the recurrent account comprises 100 per cent of the statutory allocation, but only 1 per cent of the NEC's allocation for 2000/2001. These figures show an increase in almost all sectors from the 1999/2000 allocations to the 2000/2001 allocations. However, given the inflation, the changes in expenditures reflect no real increase in funding.

A comparison of 1999/2000 original budget allocations with revised 1998/99 figures, show how the difference between them can be significant. Table 2 illustrates this in respect of the 1998/99 recurrent figures. While in all cases, except Human Resource Management and Gender Youth and Community Services, the revised amounts were greater than the original ones, and the relative disparities differed. Thus while education accounted for 15.3 per cent of the total recurrent budget in the original estimates, it accounted for only 12.7 per cent of the revised estimates. Finance, on the other hand, increased from 9.8 per cent of the original to 14.9 per cent of the revised estimates. The

difference between the original and revised estimates means that gender analysis, which focuses only on original estimates, will not tell the full story as to impact.

Table 2: Percentage Allocation of Expenditures to Selected Ministries, Original and revised allocations, 1998/1999

Ministry	Original (%)	Revised (%)
Statutory Companies	33.0	34.2
Human Resources	0.2	0.2
National Economic Council	0.1	0.1
Agriculture	3.1	2.6
Education	15.3	12.7
Finance	9.8	14.9
Health	7.9	7.2
Gender	0.5	0.4
Labour	0.3	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0

A. MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

a. Gender Policy for the Education Sector

The first point of entry in linking gender analysis of budgets and economic development is human resources development. With economic structural transformation bringing in a larger private sector, the majority of people will participate in formal economic activities as workers. They will benefit from their work to the extent that their wages will be determined by productivity. This, in turn, depends in large part on education and training.

According to the Treasury Memorandum, the mission of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture is to increase access to, the quality, relevance and efficiency of the education system as a catalyst for development. An increase in the coverage of education would lead to improved productivity and better prospects of employment, reduced infant and child mortality, lower incidence of diseases and fertility rate.

The ministry has a very clear policy on girls/women's education dating back to the introduction of the GABLE project, initiated in 1991 as a five-year US\$20m collaboration between USAID and the Malawi government. The goal is to reduce fertility and increase girls' attainment in primary education. One of the most well known aspects of the programme was a fee waiver for non-repeating female primary school pupils. Another was a social mobilization campaign (SMC) intended to encourage parents and community leaders to send girls to school (Bernbaum *et.al.*, 1998).

The objectives of the programme were changed so as to be less exclusively focused on girls' education. The new objectives were (i) increasing the long-term financial base for education; (ii) improving the quality, availability and effectiveness of primary education; and (iii) improving the relevance of primary education for girls. Practically, GABLE II provided for a scholarship programme for non-repeating secondary girls under the third objective. Creative Associates International, a NGO from the United States, was awarded the contract to provide all non-technical assistance under the programme as well as further work on the social mobilization campaign.

The introduction of GABLE II more or less coincided with the announcement of free primary education (FPE) throughout the country. The GABLE evaluation attributes this move on the part of the government as motivated, at least in part, by pressure for boys' fees waivers as a result of GABLE's waiver in respect of girls.

The current education sector policy, as contained in the PIF, is three pronged emphasizing access, equity and quality. It enunciates that "gender equity shall be promoted by making the school environment supportive of the needs of boys and girls. The ministry shall put in place measures to enhance the participation of girls in basic education; the proportion of female pupils enrolled will rise from 47 per cent in 1998 to 50 per cent in 2000" (Ministry of Education, 2000:16).

b. Gender Analysis of the Education Sector Programmes

Gender issues are important in determining the enrolment, performance and persistence in the Malawi school system. The relative gender gross enrolment ratio (GER) for primary schools has increased from 78.9 per cent in 1987/88 to about 96 per cent in 1993/94. Thus, there were about 79 girls for every 100 boys in 1987/88, increasing to 96 girls in 1993/94. Up to early 1990s boys' NER were higher that those of girls. In 1992/93 for the first time ever girls NER surpassed that of boys: 60 per cent versus 57 per cent. The relative NER for 1992/93 and 1993/94 shows that there were more girls aged 6-13 years in primary schools than boys. The reason for the higher NER for girls during this period could be the impact of the GABLE school-fee-waiver programme. Parents were encouraged to send their girls to school and the tendency was to enroll them at a younger age. However, the proportion of girls in primary school relative to boys dropped after the introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in 1994. In 1997, the relative gender gap in GER was 90.5 per cent. This widening of the gender gap in GERs was a consequence of more over-age boys taking advantage of the FPE initiative than girls (Kadzamira et.al. 1999).

In their study of community schools in 5 districts, Ngwira et al (2000) found that in six of the ten school more girls than boys enrolled in standard one, but by standard three boys were in the clear majority. Table 3 below based on ministry of education data, also shows that girls drop out of school in larger numbers than boys. Although the numbers are nearly equal in the lower classes, the proportion of girls drops to one third by the end of primary school. The reasons given for low persistence of girls in school were early marriages, pregnancies and poverty. Poverty appears to impact girls more than boys in that the lack of basic necessities like clothing and body lotions seem to affect girls' readiness to attend classes more than that of boys. Gender allocation of roles in the home also leads to girls being absent from school and dropping out more often than boys, to assist mothers in their social and economic roles. The AIDS pandemic has exacerbated this demand of their time.

The gender gaps are more less the same in tertiary and vocational training, except in those trades that are traditionally dominated by women like nursing, teaching and secretarial work. It is particularly important that the performance of the girls in secondary is below that of boys in all subjects (Kadzamira et.al. 1999).

Table 3: Percentage of Girls in Primary School by Standard 1980-1997

STD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1980/81	46.3	43.5	43.1	41.3	39.2	37.4	34.4	26.0
1984/85	47.1	45.1	45.4	44.4	42.2	42.3	39.3	30.4
1990/91	47.8	45.9	46.3	41.9	45.3	43.9	42.1	35.6
1992/93	51.1	48.2	48.2	46.2	45.6	44.3	42.2	34.9
1993/94	51.1	49.5	48.2	47.2	45.5	44.2	42.0	37.4
1994/95	49.4	47.6	47.6	46.1	45.3	44.3	43.3	38.6
1995/96	49.2	41.2	46.2	46.4	45.7	45.6	43.0	38.8
1997	49.4	49.0	48.5	47.2	46.8	45.1	44.0	39.0

Source: MOE Basic Education Statistics (Various years) EMIS

c. Possibilities of Gender Budgeting for the Education Sector

The share of education spending in the national budget averaged 10 per cent between 1980 and 1990, which is low by international standards. This under-funding has had serious consequences for the development of education, especially at the primary level. From 1991, the government started implementing the USAID funded GABLE. One of the conditionalities was that government should increase the budgetary allocation to education to 17 per cent by 1992/93 and 27 per cent by 1997. Secondly, the introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in 1994 signified a major shift in government policy, necessitating a sharp increase of resources to this sector. Nevertheless, enrollment increased so sharply that real resources per pupil fell, and quality remains seriously challenged. In 1997, recurrent expenditures as a proportion of national recurrent expenditures were at 28 per cent. In terms of expenditure allocation by level, primary received 59 per cent, secondary 9 per cent, teacher education 3 per cent, and university education 15 per cent. Expenditure per pupil was a paltry US\$14 for primary pupils, US\$114 for secondary school teachers and US\$2,916 for university students.

In the 2000/2001 year, the government allocated 17 per cent of its budget to the ministry of education. Of the K5,574m allocated K2,741m was for development expenditures⁴,. Of the recurrent expenditures 66 per cent is for personal emoluments down from 87 per cent in 1997. This reflects a change in financing policy. The following are the plans for financing of education.

- 1. Public financing of education will be selectively increased.
- 2. Greater cost sharing and cost-recovery will target students who benefit most from education and who are most able to pay for it.
- 3. Higher levels of private sector financing, including the contributions from communities will be encouraged.
- 4. Increased external financing in response to clearly identified needs, strategies and the effective management of reforms will be promoted.
- 5. Funds will be brought as near as possible to the service providers, that it to schools rather than central or divisional authorities.
- 6. The Medium Term Expenditure Framework budgeting system will be fully implemented from financial year 2000/2001.

A sector-wide approach will be the guiding principle for the future financing of the education sector.

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⁴ K26=US\$1

Table 4: Key Education Finance Indicators (1977)

Public expenditure on education (%)		
per cent of national recurrent expenditure spent on education	28	
per cent of Gross National Product (GNP) spent on education	6	
Education recurrent expenditure by level and category (%)		
Primary	59	
Secondary	9	
Teacher Education	3	
University	15	
Personal emoluments (primary)	87	
Teaching and learning materials (primary)	4	
Donor contribution to the education development budget (%)	91	
Unit expenditure per pupil (MK & US\$)		
Primary schools pupils (in MK & US\$)	362	(\$14)
Secondary school pupil	2,934	(\$114)
University Students	75,230	(\$2,916)
Teaching staff salaries (MK & US\$) (per month)		
Trained primary school teachers	1,042	(\$25)
Trained secondary school teachers	2,280	(\$51)
University lecturer (second degree holder)	5,633	(\$155)

Source: Malawi Government 2000, Education Sector Policy Investment Framework

Table 5: Allocation of the 2000/2001 Ministry of Education Budget

Item	Amount (in K ⁵)
Personal Emoluments	1,891,922,000
Other recurrent transactions	530,723,953
Teaching and learning materials	370,000,000
Bursary	40,000,000
Domestically Financed Development Expenditure	256,964,010
Foreign Financed Development Expenditures	2,484,878,449
Total	5,574,488.412

Source: GOM, 2000a

For the purposes of this paper, the focus of analysis will be on the GABLE programme, where w look at different types of analysis that are possible in a Ministry, such as this, which is fairly rich in quantitative data. Finally, we briefly discuss the position in other ministries, which deliver education services.

d. The GABLE programme

The GABLE programme was originally a clear example of category one (targeted gender) expenditure. It has since developed into a mixture of category one and category three (mainstream) expenditure. The GABLE programme was reflected in the 1999/2000-government budget in several places. First, there is an amount of K49.7m in the recurrent budget under sub-programme 18. This amount is intended to cover both bursaries for secondary school girls and the development of the

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⁵ K26=US\$1

Education Management Information System (EMIS) system. Second, there was an amount of K136,000 under sub-programme 20 (gender appropriate curriculum). Both the sub-programme 18 and sub-programme 20 amounts are significant increases over the 1998/99 approved budgets of K17.3m and K140,000 respectively, as well as the revised budgets for 1998/99 of K18.5m and K0 respectively.

The Mid-term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) amounts, for sub-programme 18 during 2000/2001 and 2001/2002, shows a sharp decrease in respect of education supplies and expenses to K29.9m and K34.4m respectively. This item is presumably the bursary element of the allocation. It is not clear why the amount should decrease in this way, especially at a time when government is phasing out the cheaper distance education options. All other amounts increase over the three-year period.

Table 6 shows the 1999/2000 planned and 1998/99 revised estimates of expenditures for GABLE under the development budget. All the recorded amounts are Malawi government contributions in Part II of the development account.

Table 6: GABLE allocations on development account, 1999/2000 and 1998/99

Project	1999/2000	1998/1999
Construction of classrooms & houses	1,049,972	3,181,236
Gender appropriate curriculum	0	545,721
School fee waiver	0	831,377

Source: Compiled from GOM, 1999a

During the time of the study GABLE was under review and the programme was operating with bridging funds. The decision was made to continue the social mobilization under the auspices of an NGO with seed money from USAID, while other activities would fall under government. The division is, however, not quite as clear-cut as this. Officials said that GABLE relied on them for some of the social mobilization because they had extension staff on the ground.

The 1998 evaluation report notes GABLE's lack of an operational performance monitoring and evaluation system. There were no regular annual reports for the programme, but only evaluations every few years. However, some additional internal reports with useful operational details exist. The evaluation managed to report on a set of targets and indicators related to GABLE's various objectives. It was able to find the data required for most indicators, including many which were sex-disaggregated, although a qualification, "to the extent one accepts [the data] as valid" indicates some skepticism as to the data's reliability (Bernbaum et al, 1998:32). One indicator for which comprehensive data was not available was the number of teachers receiving in-service gender training.

e. Availability of sex-disaggregated data and analysis

The Education Department has a range of sex-disaggregated data. The Education Management Information System (EMIS) is the basis of the annual Education Basic Statistics. The 1997 document includes primary education data tables on enrollment by age, sex and standard, repeaters and repetition rates by sex, standard and division, promotions by sex, district and division, and proportion of female teachers by standard and district. Secondary education tables on enrollment disaggregated by sex, type of school and year, teaching staff by sex, enrollment in private and government schools by sex, form and division, teaching staff in private and government schools by gender, qualification and division, enrollment in distance education centers by sex, form and division. Tertiary education information includes teaching staff in university colleges by sex and qualification. Expenditure information includes actual expenditure by programme on revenue, i.e. recurrent account, and aggregated information on the development account.

The Ministry conducts annual censuses of primary schools, which are based on a very detailed questionnaire. The questionnaire includes the number of water toilets and pit latrines for girls, boys

and male and female staff; the sex and numerous other details of all teaching staff; enrollment by sex, age and standard; repeaters by sex, age and standard; transfers by sex and standard; disabled pupils by type of disability and sex; and examination statistics for boys and girls. This wealth of data would seem to provide a solid basis for determining relative needs of different categories of schools in gender and other terms. Unfortunately, the questionnaire is so detailed that it is unlikely that it is accurately and reliably completed.

The GABLE evaluation notes the problems in respect of EMIS as well as repeated failures in attempts to improve the system. A donor-funded initiative to verify the 1998 schools census by indepth investigation in a sample of districts was conducted. This exercise would have examined any possible gender biases in the direction and extent of errors so as to allow fairly accurate sex-disaggregated estimates. For example, the issue of "ghost" students in the distant education colleges as a result of the policy of providing payment for girls, could mean that the number of girl students is disproportionately over-estimated.

Most censuses and surveys include questions about education and these provide a further potential source of data. Castro-Leal (1996) combined household survey and budget data to perform a benefit incidence analysis that includes gender. The analysis shows very stark income, regional and gender biases with the gender biases starkest among the lowest income groups, particularly in respect of secondary education. The regional analysis shows much lower enrollment rates in the Centre and South than in the North. Gender disparities also tend to be greater in the Centre and South.

Castro-Leal's primary analysis is based on 1990/91 data. Her data sources included the 1990/91 Household Expenditure and Small-Scale Economic Activities (HESSEA) survey and average government expenditure for the different levels of education. She extends the analysis to 1994, but the extension is based on an extrapolation of the household income patterns of 1990 rather than direct observation.

The Integrated Household Survey conducted between November 1997 and October 1998, focused on household characteristics, income and expenditure and covered a total of 12,000 households across the country. The data should provide an opportunity to update Castro-Leal's analysis. It will allow for classification of households by income and also includes data such as sex and age of individuals, whether they are attending school and in what class, what type of school they are attending and the geographical location of the household.

Even without the income data, one can do some gender analysis on the Education Department's own information. As noted above, 1997 is the latest data currently available. The table below draws on the unpublished report to show the number of girls and boys recorded as enrolled at each level of education as well as the unit costs for the 1996/97-budget year. A simple calculation on the basis of the final row shows that, whereas girls account for 47 per cent of pupils at the four levels of schooling, they account for 43per cent of the allocated resources. Only 28 per cent of spending on university education falls on girls compared to 48 per cent at the primary level.

Table 7: Resources spent on the education of boys and girls, 1997

Level	Girls (n)	Boys (n)	Girls (%)	Unit cost (K)	Girls total (K)	Boys total (K)	Girls (%)
Primary	1,441,852	1,583,859	48	243.8	351,523,518	386,144,824	48
Secondary	68,689	106,798	39	1505.9	103,438,765	160,827,108	39
MCDE	42,692	66,154	39	82.6	3,526,359	5,464,320	39
University	1,164	2,960	28	42950.2	49,994,033	127,132,592	28
Total	1,554,397	1,759,771	47		508,482,675	679,568,845	43

One can question the extent of the disparities in funding for different levels. The GABLE evaluation reports than when GABLE I was initiated Malawi had one of the largest disparities in per capita expenditures between primary and university levels in the region (Bernbaum et al, 1998:13). Our figures suggest that the gap had hardly changed by 1996/97.

f. Other government education providers

The Ministry of Education is responsible for education of children and youth. The Ministry of Gender, Youth and Community Services (MGYCS) and the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training perform further education and training functions.

There are budget figures available for the literacy programme, run by the MGYCS although different documents differ as to whether it constitutes a programme or a sub-programme. The treasury memorandum states that 800 literacy instructors were trained in 1998/99 and 15,309 adults attended classes. The Economic Report states that 1,983 classes were "opened" during the same year (Malawi Government, 1999:64). The service delivery figures were not sex-disaggregated, and this would have o be done to allow gendered analyses of the ministries' expenditures.

The Treasury memorandum for Ministry of Labor and Vocational Education notes that technical, entrepreneurial and vocational education and training (TEVET) is a "significant" function falling under the Ministry's control, and can be regarded as a "strategic investment that should provide the people of Malawi with the necessary competencies required for full participation in all walks of life" (1999:1117).

Table 8 shows the division of the Ministry's recurrent budget according to cost centres. Simple addition shows that the colleges between them account for K26, 132,914, or 37 per cent of the recurrent budget. It is possible to do gender analyses if gender disaggregated data is available on the beneficiaries of the training programmes and the staff that are involved in the conducted of the courses.

In terms of the development budget, the full amount of K300.25m was in respect of technical and vocational training, and allocated to headquarters. Table 8 reveals that K63.5m was to be provided by Danida and the remaining 22 per cent of the estimated amount by the Malawi government. A bursary scheme for girls was allocated no funds for 1999/2000 but the MTEF figures show a Danida contribution of K1.7m for 2000/2001 and K5.1m for 2001/2002.

Table 8: Labour & Vocational Training development budget, 1999/2000

Project details	Allocation (K)	Share of total (%)	Source
Establ TEVET board, etc	15,003,010	18	Danida
Estab micro-credit for self-employment	6,681,000	8	Danida
TEVET resource centre	17,421,600	21	Danida
Curric development & materials	24,418,000	30	Danida
Bursary scheme for girls	0	0	Danida
TEVET operational costs	3,520,310	4	GOM
Workshops & meetings	339,200	0	GOM
Consultancies	1,080,000	1	GOM
TEVET capacity development	3,526,310	4	GOM
Resource centres	10,754,594	13	GOM
Total development	82,744,024	100	GOM

Source: Budlender and Ngwira,1999

g. Lessons from the Ministry of Education

The Education ministry provides a fertile ground for gender analysis than most other ministries. The service itself targets the individual, which makes it easy to "measure" gendered impact. The ministry itself is also relatively diligent about collecting information although the quality of the information has been questioned.

The information about levels of education outside of school and university appear to be less well documented in respect of sex-disaggregation, yet could well be the areas in which the starkest gender disparities exist. The GABLE programme provides evidence of the analytical difficulties which arise when the manner of funding a programme changes, for example, between government and donor, and between recurrent and development account.

B. MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION

a. Gender Policy for the Agriculture sector

The agriculture sector contributes about 40 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP), 90 per cent of export earnings, and is a basic source of income for 85 per cent of Malawians. The policy objectives of the Ministry as stated in the treasury memorandum are: improving food self sufficiency and nutritional status of the population; expanding and diversifying agricultural and livestock product exports; raising incomes and promoting economic growth while conserving natural resources. The Ministry does not mention gender neither among its objectives nor among its achievement. The planned outputs for 1999/2000 do not mention gender targets. Findings from interviews were that "gender has not been found to be an issue" and that the Ministry "targets farmers, not women or men".

Unlike the ministry of education, which has a price gender focus in its objectives and goals, the MoIA has no such focus despite the fact that it was the first ministry to have a WID component in

its activities beginning in the early 1980s. While policy makers generally acknowledge this productive role, when asked to design programmes for women, they ignore this fact (Hirschman, 1984). The earliest programmes for women in agriculture typified this view in that they were homemakers oriented and delivered through farm home assistants (Ngwira, 1987). The programmes did little or nothing in terms of allocation of productive resources to women farmers in order to enhance their personally productivity and overall economic growth.

Today the primary way in which farmers are contacted is through the extension system, which uses the training and visit approach. The extension workers contact farmers in groups and in training courses at residential training centres. Previously both extension and credit were under the charge of extension workers. More recently, it was decided to delink the two and a commercial institution, the Malawi Rural Finance Company (MRFC), was assigned the credit administration role.

The group approach to extension and credit work can incorporate an anti-poor bias. No collateral is required for borrowing through groups, which rely instead on group pressure to prevent default. Understandably, members do not want to include a likely defaulter and jeopardize their future credit-worthiness. Resource poor farmers, many of whom are women, are thus left out of the main groups. Another constraint arises when participation is based on growing a crop like tobacco, as poor women find it difficult, because of problems in relation to credit, inputs, training, time and so on, to grow such a demanding crop. The moving of the credit function away from government may make it difficult to enforce gender targets, as Organisations like MRFC may not have the zeal or know-how to implement them.

b. Gender Analysis of the Agriculture Sector Programmes

The Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation has a women's unit. The unit was established in the mid-1980s with the help of American WID experts funded by USAID. The approach consisted primarily of using the same training and visit system as described above, whereby women were organised into groups for extension and credit delivery. There was also some work on development of sex-disaggregated monitoring indicators. Some of the good work of the unit was discontinued in the early 1990s when donor funding stopped. The unit is currently undergoing some restructuring, and is planning to pilot processes for mainstreaming gender in implementation of agricultural projects. Reflecting the shift to gender, it is changing its name to Agricultural Gender Roles and Economic Support Services.

The experiments with women-only groups have sometimes been criticized for further marginalising women and antagonizing the menfolk. However, Due and Gladwin (1991, quoted in Green & Baden, 1994) report their observations of mixed clubs as proof of the need for women-only clubs:

The few women who are full time members of (mixed) farmers clubs are unmarried women or women in polygamous unions whose husband is giving fertiliser to the other wife. They join the clubs by necessity, because they do not have a man as their intermediary. It is thus a social stigma rather than a privilege for them, and they sit apart from the men, silent and embarrassed.6

Despite some fall-off in activities since the mid-80s, there has been some improvement in reaching women. Table 9 below shows the marked increase in the proportion of women members of clubs between 1982/83 and 1989/90, although the percentage remained below 30 per cent throughout the period.

⁶ The italicised words are marked out to show that silence and sitting apart are not necessarily interpreted correctly, because they part of the social decorum of relations between men and women.

The table gives a breakdown of MRFC borrowers by type of club and Agricultural Development Division for the 1996/97 cropping season. It shows that by this date women accounted for 36 per cent of the 35,684 borrowers in tobacco clubs, 72 per cent of the 8,405 members of the special Tokolore7 clubs, and 35 per cent of the 15,221 borrowers in other clubs. Overall, women accounted for about two-fifths of the total borrowers. This constitutes a notable increase in women's access to credit, and is partly a result of new approaches that have emphasised targeting of women farmers. More detailed analysis, with further disaggregation by income, land-holding and family status, would provide a deeper understanding as to who controls the use of the credit and for whose benefit it is utilised.

Table 9: Malawi Rural Finance Company seasonal borrowers, 1996/97

	Tobacco clubs		Tokolore o	clubs	Other clubs		
ADD	Members (n)	Women (%)	Members (n)	Women (%)	Members (n)	Women (%)	
Karonga	1,820	20	19	74	486	21	
Mzuzu	6,608	58	772	78	1,316	72	
Kasungu	7,442	30	2,643	91	2,518	30	
Salina	1,238	13	652	71	725	58	
Lilongwe	6,621	37	1,399	51	4,321	20	
Nacinga	7,257	43	2,205	68	1,519	31	
Blantyre	4,786	21	292	61	1,419	7	
Shire Valley	69	14	423	41	1,927	32	
Total	35,684	36	8,405	72	15,221	35	

Source: Malawi Government, Ministry of Agriculture

Information was not readily available on other indicators of men's and women's involvement in various activities. To implement the budget analyses of the kind being advocated for here, there is need to specify the data requirements in terms of types of data, nature and level of disaggregation and reporting frequencies.

c. Possibilities of Gender Budgeting for the Agriculture Sector

Unlike the survey conducted for the education sector, which emphasized issues of data availability and what studies have already been attempted, this sector example has been included to illuminate on the nature of budget allocations, how they are unlikely to meet the needed gender targets.

The Budget for vote 19, for the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation is presented as follows: by cost centre (of which there are 60); by programme, and sub-programme and item. Each department also keeps a record of sub-item budget lines, but these are not readily available to the public. There are 7 programmes, which are (i) Administrative and Support Services; (ii) Crop Production; (iii) Animal Production; (iv) Agricultural Extension, (v) Agricultural Research, (vi) Land Resources Conservation and (vii) Irrigation Development. These seven programmes match the objectives of the MoAI listed above. The sub-programmes are shown in Appendix. The main items are Personal

⁷ Tokolore Clubs have specific gender targets and, unlike other clubs, are not based on the growing of tobacco.

Emoluments, and a group of expenditures labeled Other Recurrent Transactions (ORT). There are some discrepancies in the labeling of the sub-programme possibly due to printing errors.

The seven programmes run across these cost centres. The table below shows the breakdown of the total recurrent budget for Agriculture for 1999/2000 across the programmes. The table shows the clear dominance of administrative and support services, at over half the total budget. Agricultural extension, meanwhile, accounts for only 5 per cent.

Table 10: Ministry of Agriculture Recurrent Expenditure Allocation: 2000/2001

Expenditure Type	Amount (Km)	(%)
Personal Emoluments	252.4	15.2
Other Recurrent Transactions	280.2	17.0
(out of which travel is)	(147.7)	(53)
	100.0	6
Starter Pack		
Domestically Financed	90.0	5
Development Expenditure		
Foreign financed Development Expenditure	952.7	57
Total	1,657.3	100

Source: GoM, 2000a

Table 11: Ministry of Agriculture Recurrent and Development Expenditure Allocation by Programme: 2000/2001

D	Recurrent	2000/20004	Development	2000/2004
Programme	1999/2000	2000/20001	1999/2000	2000/2001
	(Revised)	(Planned)	(Revised)	(Planned)
	Km (%)	Km (%)	Km (%)	Km (%)
1.Administration and	323.5 (63.7)	323.7 (51)	796.3 (81.6)	712.2 (68.3)
Support Services				
2.Crop Production	10.7 (2.1)	19.3 (3)	3.1 (0.3)	17.1 (1.6)
3. Animal Production and	53.0 (10.4)	73.5 (12)	40.3 (4.1)	50.3 (4.8)
Veterinary Services				
4. Agricultural Extension	13.6 (2.7)	108.4 (17)	2.8 (0.3)	7.5 (0.7)
5.Land Resources	54.3 (10.7)	58.7 (9)	7.0(0.8)	19.6 (1.9)
Conservation				
6.Agricultural Research	43.6 (6.8)	26.5 (4)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
7.Irrigation Development	18.5 (3.6)	22.6 (4)	88.6 (9.1)	78.7 (7.5)
A. Total	508.1 (100)	632.7 (100)	975.4 (100)	1,042 (100.0)

Source: Compiled from GoM, 2000a

One difficulty of analysis is that much of the expenditure, and administration expenditure in particular, cannot easily be linked with a specific activity with identifiable beneficiaries. Ideally the administrative programmeme budgets should be reallocated to the other more delivery-oriented programmes. This can be done either in proportion to their administrative burden or in proportion to their size in the total budget.

For illustrative purposes we firstly look at the budget of Blantyre Agricultural Development Division (BLADD) and its subordinate Rural Development Programmes (RDPs) to illustrate the

problems and prospects for undertaking a gender analysis of the Agriculture sector budget. In the following section we will also look at the Agricultural Extension Programme budget (see below).

Before focusing in on BLADD and extension services, it is important to point out that 41 per cent of the recurrent budget and 85 per cent of the development budget of MoAI go to headquarters. The development expenditure is mostly on projects. These are unlikely to impact farmers directly as the focus is on policy and management support services. The exception is the starter-pack scheme.8 However, the foreign travel allocation for this part of the budget is very high, again constraining beneficiary reach.

Personal emoluments make up 47 per cent of the headquarters recurrent budget. A further 25 per cent of the recurrent budget at the headquarters is for travel. Thus about three-quarter of the budget at headquarters is for support functions. The effective beneficiaries of these types of expenditures are the officers themselves, and the majority are men.

d. Blantyre Agricultural Division

BLADD Recurrent Budget

We examine the budget of the Blantyre Agricultural Development Division (BLADD) to illustrate the problems and prospects for undertaking a gender analysis of the agriculture sector budget, Most of the agriculture extension services and some research is done through the National Rural Development Programme (NRDP). In this programme the country is divided into eight zones each one called an agricultural development division (ADD). Each ADD had several rural development programmes (RDPs) and the lower levels of disaggregation are extension planning area and then section. Each section is the responsibility of a Field assistant who meet farmers in blocks to give extension advise.

BLADD has been allocated K11.3m in the 2000/2001 recurrent expenditure budget, a drop from K23.6m in the previous budget. A comparison by programme between this budget and the revised 1999/2000 budget shows that no money was actually appropriated for the other programmes in the last financial year, except for the Administrative and Support Services programme. These huge discrepancies between planned and actual expenditures make it difficult to analyse ex ante the effectiveness of government budgets. In this case, only expenditures for emoluments were actually appropriated, from which it can be inferred that staff was idle, except to implement the development budget. This system of not allocating operational expenses in the recurrent budget, leads to a build up of donor financed projects which are handed over for continuation but have no recurrent expenses to make them sustainable. For example the development projects of the previous financial year (pp. 1510-1547, and pp. 1565-1593 of GOM 2000a) have not been funded this year. In the 2000/2001 financial year, most of the recurrent expenditures planned for BLADD are also for Administrative and Support Services programme, consuming K6.3m, which is 56 per cent of the total.

The primary objective of MoAI is to improve agriculture production by encouraging the adoption of appropriate technologies through an effective extension message delivery system. Considering that the agricultural extension system is primarily a visiting and training one and that most extension workers have to cover at least 5km radius to do their work, it is amazing that extension workers or the agricultural extension programme gets only K1.124m, for travel (See table 13). It has been reported that extension workers cannot do their work because of lack of transport (funds) (GoM, 2000b). Even if extension workers are given adequate transport funds, training expenses have to be

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⁸ In 1999/2000 at least part of the allocation for starter-packs was included in the allocation for the Ministry of Finance, as the packs had been purchased before the beginning of the financial year.

budgeted for. In this budget these make up less than 20 per cent of the expenditure, which has been shown empirically to be inadequate (GoM, 2000b).

One can surmise from the foregoing that BLADD is just maintaining workers on the payroll, and funding a modicum of activities to give the appearance that they are working. This is in part by design, and acquiescing to pressure from civil servants' union. The GoM reported that "budgetary pressures combined with political pressures to maintain the programmes and preserve jobs have resulted in ORT being squeezed to the point that programmes have become ineffective" (GoM 2000b, p.14).

Table 12: BLADD Allocation of Recurrent Expenditure by Programme: 2000/2001

Programme	Amount	(%)
1. Administrative and Support Services	K6,350,252	56
2. Crop Production	453,227	4
3. Animal Production and Veterinary Services	616,732	5
4. Agriculture Extension	2,483,332	22
5. Land resources Conservation	536,070	5
7. Irrigation Development	840,412	7
Total	11,280,029	100

Source: GoM, 2000a

Note: There is no programme 6: Agricultural Research in BLADD.

Table 13: BLADD: Allocation of Recurrent Expenditure for Agriculture Extension: 2000/2001

Item	Amount (K)	(%)
Emoluments	550,733	22.2
Travel	1,124,736	45.3
Training Expenses	200,000	8.0
Agriculture Inputs	226,733	9.0
Rest of Expenses	380,266	15.3
Total	2,483,336	100.0

Source: GoM, 2000a

BLADD Development Expenditures

BLADD received K32m for its development expenditures, of which K28m will be for Mwanza RDP, financed by the African Development Bank. This is entered in the budget as for Agriculture Extension. But of this K28m, nearly K23m is for the Formation and Maintenance of Capital Assets. It is questionable if these assets really benefit farmers. This comment resonates with the findings of the World Bank that the high costs of government intervention in the direct provision of agricultural infrastructure are not economically justifiable and are not among the priorities of the rural poor' (GoM 2000b, p14). These comments are pertinent for women farmers. The assets on which most of the funds are spent are buildings and vehicles. Men benefit disproportionately more from these expenditures because of their provenance in the civil services and also because the hold most of the managerial and supervisor positions. This is not to say the majority of women benefit from these expenditures but that those who benefit most are men.

The foregoing paragraphs have illustrated that public's funds for the agriculture sector are allocated mostly for emoluments and travel in the recurrent budget and in maintenance and formation

of capital assets in the development budget. It is also clear that resources are spread too thinly across too many activities and internal priorities and allocations are not adhered to. "Decisions remain unmade, and are lost in the interstices of poor co-ordination" (Bloch and Chilowa, 1999). Hence government resources are not hitting the ground. The result is that the objectives of the agriculture sector are not being achieved. In term of gendered analysis, most of the budgeted expenditures are category two. Men dominate in the civil service and the utilisation of government assets and utilities.

e. Lessons from the Ministry of Agriculture

From the mid-1980s the Ministry of Agriculture developed a system that set gender indicators and some sex-disaggregated data was being collected until the mid-1990s. This system has fallen apart, partly as a result of internal restructuring, and partly due to the closure of donor funded programmes. The outdated data is suggestive, and shows some success in increasing the number of women reach. It is, however, not all that useful for ongoing monitoring of budget implementation.

The ministry has a gender unit, but its allocation is not separately specified, and monitored. This makes it impossible to track and monitor the gender-targeted allocation. The MoAI example also shows the importances of having clearly stated goals that are sex-disaggregated, and linking the expenditures to particular targets and objectives, so as to facilitate gender budgeting.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The lessons from this study pertain to issues of availability and quality of data and the capacity both technical and institutional capacity as well as gender awareness and sensitivity of budget workers, that are necessary to make gender-budgeting possible and effective. There is also the need to move on to improve the gender budgeting tools and practice to engage more in ex ante gender budgeting than ex post work. The lessons recorded for each case study can now be summarized.

A. DATA AND BUDGET DOCUMENTATION CONSIDERATIONS

The first group of issues relates to the poor quality of data. The findings were that errors, omissions and inconsistencies in the data and labeling of budget items would make doing an already difficult job more intractable. The format of the budget documents is in many instances not useful. The printing is done sparsely making the documents unnecessarily voluminous.

The second problem, which is related to the first, is the lack of continuity in reporting statistics due to reallocation of activities between ministries, and departments, statutory companies, closing of donor funded projects, and general changes in the budget system due to the introduction of the MTEF, or other reasons. This would make trends-analysis very difficult. Sometimes the amounts in respect of a particular programme or service are dispersed across different ministries. Analysis then requires detailed knowledge of the activities of a range of ministries. Often figures were reported, or appeared, to be off budget. And whether a particular amount was off- or on budget appeared to change from year to year.

The third problem that is germane to the issue of this paper in lack of sex-disaggregated data. In some ministries, such as the ministry of agriculture, efforts to collect sex-disaggregated data have waned and fluxed. There is thus a need to mainstream gender in data collection institutions and activities. This may require gender training for most budget and data officers, as a lack of awareness of the importance of gender issues seems to be one of the major cause of the problems.

Forth, the budget information while detailed, gives very limited clues as to what particular programmes and sub-programmes do or are meant to do. Gender analysis of budgets and their impact focuses on activities and their objectives rather than simply money amounts.

In terms of the four tools, gender-aware public expenditure incidence analysis and gender-aware budget statements can be done for the education sector, and to some extent for health and

agriculture. Of the three categories of expenditures, category one (gender-targeted expenditure) should be relatively easy to analyze, but is not found very often; category two expenditure (on civil servants) analysis will be feasible if sex disaggregated data from the Department of Human Resources and Development is available; and category three (gender implications of mainstream expenditure) will be the most difficult, particularly in the absence of up-to-date sex-disaggregated monitoring statistics. Category three analysis is, however, the most important. This type of analysis has been done previously in respect of education in Malawi and that work could be updated as soon as the integrated household survey data is available. The case studies presented above could be loosely termed gender-aware policy evaluation. This type of analysis may be impeded by the fact that many of the sectors do not appear to have clearly defined policies at present. The hoped-for publication of a new gender policy might help in this respect. Possibilities for gender-aware revenue analysis were not assessed but analyses, such as those conducted in South Africa, should certainly be possible.

B. INSTITUTIONAL AND CAPACITY BUILDING CONSIDERATIONS

The work of the government, in undertaking gender budgeting, can be helped but also hampered by several institutional and capacity factors. On the positive side, the introduction of the PRSP which requires gender analysis of all policies provides an avenue for bringing gender budgeting into the mainstream and linking it to macro economic policy-making. However, this would require that those participating in the PRSP have strong gender-budgeting analytical skills (Ngwira 1999) and that they have adequate economic literacy to understand the macro-economic policy making framework of the PRSP (Ngwira 2001).

On the downside there are several issues. First, gender analysis of budgets is, internationally, still very much at an experimental stage. Government bureaucracies are generally not the ideal institutions for experimental work—they are more suited to routine activities. This is particularly the case in a country such as Malawi where so many routines are currently being transformed simultaneously.

Secondly, there is a perception that donors have often promoted gender more strongly than the government itself, although the government has openly stated a commitment to gender equality. A requirement that government officials now add gender analysis to their many other tasks can easily be seen as yet another donor conditionality. If this is the case, the work is unlikely to be undertaken with much diligence and zeal, both qualities that are necessary in the first stages and are also the most difficult.

Third, adding an extra burden, especially in respect of finances and budgets, would be particularly onerous at present, given all the other changes being introduced in this area, particularly through the MTEF. At least some of the technical difficulties referred to above are a result of the state of flux in the government's budgets. These need to be given time to stabilize.

To successfully implement gender budgeting also requires that the main weaknesses of the MTEF should be addressed viz. weak political involvement in and commitment to the budget process; ineffective management and co-ordination of the Budget/MTEF cycle; and accountability for the budget (GoM 2000d). The root cause of inadequate political involvement and commitment to the budget process was assessed to be that parliamentarians do not play their role of surveillance over the budget. This is in turn caused by limited understanding of the budget (its function, development and implementation) perhaps due to inadequate induction of parliamentarians, not enough time given to debate the budget, weak parliamentary budget research capacity; and under-funded Budget and Finance and Public Accounts Committees (Chimango 2000; Krafchik and Wehner 1998).

Due to the technical and institutional weakness summarized above, in many countries such as South Africa and Tanzania, gender budgeting started outside government, and subsequently spread to government. In South Africa, researchers were drawn from outside government, but each year there has been a reference group to support the researchers. This group has included government employees, as well as parliamentarians and people from elsewhere in civil society. In Tanzania, the NGO

responsible for the researcher commissioned teams for each ministry consisting of one government employee and one person from outside government. In these two countries, the government has been involved in the research even when it has occurred outside. Government involvement has helped the researchers enormously in providing them with in-depth information and knowledge. Government employees, in turn, have benefited by being exposed to new ways of understanding their daily work, as well as the demands and interests of civil society.

In Malawi, it will be important to consolidate the process in government without much delay. Or else the activities of gender budgeting is going to be seen as mere activism or lobbyists work. The introduction of the PRSP provides an opportunity to do this fairly quickly.

C. IMPROVING GENDER BUDGETING TOOLS AND PRACTICE

An important departure point in discussing the types of improvement to be made to gender budgeting tools is to recognise that there are two approaches to incorporating gender budgeting into macroeconomic policy (Palmer 1995). One is to focus on the differential impact on men and women of macro policies, and then in an ex post way identify the changes that are required in the budget to bring gender equality. The other is to require that economic policy analysis should incorporate and be informed by various scenarios of the implications of gender disparities of the budget on attainment of other economic goals. Most gender budget work belongs to the first approach. Yet it is only through the second approach that one clearly shows the tradeoffs and synergies, and can moderate between the demands for expenditures to improve gender equality and those for other development goals like economic growth. The first type of improvement to gender budgeting is thus to provide a tool that facilitates this kind of ex ante analysis of the relationship between gender budgets, and macro economic policy. For example, Ngwira (2000) used Gap models of economic growth to show how gender can be mainstreamed in macro economic policy making. Gender budgeting should start at the beginning of the budget cycle. The PRSP process provides an avenue for implementing this kind of approach.

The second type of improvement is to facilitate estimation of the overall public resources and the time scale needed for closing the gender gaps. Much of the gender budgeting work that has been done does not go this far. Usually it stops at mentioning that some changes to expenditure patterns have to be made without making the quantitative estimates of the required expenditure changes. To do this would require knowledge of the relationship between magnitudes of expenditures and outcomes. This information would to some extent come from beneficiary and impact assessments. Estimating the resources needed to close the gender gaps is really important for policy maker, as it sets firmly into the minds of policy makers the long run magnitude of resource requirements to make gender equality targets feasible.

The third type of improvement is to make gender budgeting more performance oriented by emphasising beneficiary and impact assessments like those conducted for MASAF. This would link more clearly historical incidence analyses with impact assessments of the budgets of women and men.

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GENDER BUDGETS IN LDCS

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the mid-1980s, the Australian government started producing annual women's budget statements. These statements documented how the government expected its budget to impact on women. In 1995, South Africa and the Philippines became the next countries to do work in the area of gender budgets. Six years later there are at least forty countries that have followed these examples and several others plan to do so. The number of countries testifies to the widespread interest that this type of work has evoked. One of the main messages of this paper is that while gender budget work has definite potential, the area is a complicated one in which to engage. Further, the achievements to date are relatively limited.

One of the things which is noticeable about these gender budget initiatives is that it is countries of the south which have taken the lead. Of the least developed countries (LDCs), Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Rwanda, and Bangladesh have all seen work done in the area, whether by government, parliament or non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Uganda and Tanzania, in particular, have been doing gender budget work for several years. This paper points to some of the ways in which these initiatives can assist with gender mainstreaming.

II. WHAT IS A GENDER BUDGET?

The gender budget initiatives have had many names. The Australians, working before gender and development became the norm, called their initiative a women's budget. The South African initiative also adopted this name. They did so both because they were influenced by the Australians, and because they wanted to emphasize the importance of women's empowerment if gender equity was to be achieved.

The Philippines approach was to pass laws that provided for a gender and development (GAD) budget. These laws stated that a prescribed 5 per cent of agency budgets was to be allocated to promote gender mainstreaming. Many other initiatives have also used the word 'gender' rather than 'women'. In practice, however, the approaches across the women/gender-naming divide are not as important as some other differences.

Another distinction between initiatives is that between gender-sensitive analysis, and the construction of a gender-sensitive budget. The former involves the analysis of an existing budget to see how it differentially affects women and men, girls and boys. This is a post-hoc effort. The second involves the design of a budget that will promote gender equity, i.e. that will lead to equitable outcomes for women and men, girls and boys. The first can be seen primarily as a function of parliament and civil society, in their exercise of oversight of the executive. The second can be seen primarily as a planning and management function of the executive, in ensuring that the development goals of government are achieved in a gender-aware way. The Australian initiative was an example of the latter. Many of the more recent initiatives place more emphasis on the former.

Again, however, the distinction is not that clear cut. First, designing a gender-sensitive budget usually requires that one first analyse the existing budget from a gender perspective. Even countries that follow a zero-based budgeting approach, where each year agencies are supposed to consider afresh what they are doing, are not working with a blank slate. Staff, programmes and projects that are already in place cannot be ignored. In the growing number of countries that are adopting multi-year

budgeting, the influence of existing programmes on what can be done in the next year is even clearer. The design of a gender-sensitive budget thus requires prior analysis of the extent to which past and current budgets are gender sensitive.

The Tanzanian experience highlights this point. In 2000, the Ministry of Finance was taking the first steps in implementing a new medium-term expenditure framework approach in pilot ministries. The Ministry contracted an NGO, the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), to assist, from the outset, in making the new approach gender-sensitive. One of the concrete outputs of this assistance is a 'checklist' that TGNP drew up, in response to pleas for 'tools' from budget officers and planners. The checklist emphasizes that gender analysis skills are a central element in the toolbox of a gender-sensitive planner or budget officer.

Second, a fully-fledged gender budget extends beyond the drawing up of budgets. There is often a big difference between the money that is allocated in budgets and what is eventually spent. This difference is particularly marked in developing countries where both local and donor resources are difficult to predict in advance. But there are also other reasons for the difference between allocations and expenditure, including corruption, difficulties in implementation, and covert and overt resistance to particular expenditures by the different players.

In several of the countries that have experimented with gender budgets, the initiators have found that, despite apparent commitment by the leaders of the country, there is resistance at the middle level of the bureaucracy where much of the nitty-gritty power in relation to the budget lies. One of the first steps in many of the outside-government initiatives is to try to track the budget-making process, to establish where decisions are made, by whom and when. However, there is often a difference between the official picture of what the process should be, and the actuality. Power is often found to lie in unexpected places, or even particular individuals.

One of the ways in which officials attempt to avoid taking responsibility is by stating, at the end of a workshop, that while they found it interesting, they are not the ones who are responsible for the real decisions. One way of dealing with this is to find exercise and other means to prove to them the very real power they wield. Another is to recognise the need for 'training' or awareness-raising at all levels – among the top decision-makers who must approve and promote a gender budget initiative, as well as among middle and lower level technicians who must implement it. All these players need to recognise their power and accept responsibility for how they exercise it. The nature of the approaches for the different groups must, of course, be tailored to the audience.

All of these issues need to be examined in the monitoring, evaluation and auditing processes if a gender budget initiative is to make a difference to the lives of ordinary women and men and their families.

III. THE FIVE STEPS OF GENDER BUDGET ANALYSIS

Above we noted that gender budgets should extend beyond the drawing up of budget figures. This extension needs to be both forwards and backwards. Looking at it from an analysis perspective, at least five, iterative steps can be distinguished:

The first step is to analyse the situation of women and men, girls and boys in terms of the sector of government concerned. For example, in trade, one would want to know the gender differences in involvement in local and international trade, the different products which women and men sell, the roles and interests of women and men as producers of traded products and those facing competition, as operators in the formal and informal trading economies, as consumers of products, and so on. Many LDCs have covered this step fairly well, often with donor assistance. The 'Women and Men' booklets produced by many countries for the Beijing Conference provide but one example. One problem with some of the available information is that it does not always have a clear policy focus. A related problem is the lack of data on some of the crucial policy issues.

The second step is to analyse the policies and programmes of the sector to see to what extent they address the gendered interests and gender gaps established in step one. It is only if the policy 'passes' this second step test, that the focus on budgets become useful. Without adequate attention to devising gender-sensitive policy - what many people would term 'gender planning' - a focus on budgets is unlikely to result in more than ad hoc 'women's projects'. Again, this is an area where some work has been done in LDCs, for example in the development of national and sectoral gender policies. These do, however, have very different levels of attention to detail.

The attention paid to policy analysis in most gender budget initiatives confuses some observers who wonder why there are so few figures compared to text. Yet, as some other initiatives to encourage a closer link between policy-making and budgeting recognise, budgets are 'political' in both the broader and the narrower, sectoral policy sense.

The third step is to see whether adequate resources have been allocated to implement the gender-sensitive policy and programmes identified. It is this step that is the core 'value added' of the gender budget approach. This step focuses on narrowing down the often idealistic, broad and long-term demands made in gender policies into practical and prioritized short and medium-term steps. In South Africa, for example, the Women's Budget Initiative started from the basis of the Women's Charter for Effective Equality which was drawn up through a national, participatory process in the run up to the first democratic elections. Other countries might take the Beijing Platform for Action or Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as a base.

In all LDCs there is extreme pressure on resources and hard choices are routine. This step asks: When these choices arise, is it the gender-sensitive policies and programmes that are seen as expendable? Is this the reason why, despite a lot of work having been done on national and sectoral gender policies in many developing countries, there has been limited implementation?

The fourth step looks at what budget people call 'outputs'. These are the concrete delivery measures of the budget. At the most basic level, one would want to see whether the allocated money is spent on the specified item. As noted above, this is often not the case in LDCs. At a more advanced level, one would want to see what was 'bought' with the money—who received the trading assistance, who attended the schools, who received training, who received electricity? In some budgeting systems (see below), these questions are specified as physical targets alongside the figures when budgets are drawn up. It goes without saying that these output indicators need to be gender-disaggregated to be useful to gender analysis.

Measuring outputs is part of the budget reforms that are being introduced in many LDCs in the guise of medium term framework, output, performance or programme budgeting. These types of reforms are being promoted by the multilateral institutions and bilateral donors who exert so much influence in most LDCs. What is particularly interesting about the Tanzanian case is that gender is being introduced from the start, rather than 'added on' once a more or less stable system is in place.

The fifth step looks at what budget people call 'outcomes'. These are broader measures than outputs and reflect the purpose of the programmes and policies. In health, they would include reduced maternal mortality, in trade greater competitiveness with foreign goods and less reliance on primary goods, and so on. In gender analysis terms, the first situation analysis step described above would point to desired outcomes in the form of the changes that are necessary for greater gender equity. Often changes in outcomes cannot be attributed to a single programme or policy. However, deterioration or no change in outcome indicators will suggest that programmes and policies need to be reviewed to see where and why they are not working.

Those familiar with programme, performance or output budgeting will recognise the similarities of this five-step approach with the thinking behind the other approaches to budget reform. Both stress the need to understand the situation. Both stress the need to measure success not only in financial numbers, but also in 'real' changes in the world. Both point to the importance of monitoring,

evaluation and auditing. The difference is that, too often, programme, performance and output budgeting forget about gender disaggregation of targets and output and outcome indicators.

Further, many of the new budget approaches focus on the three 'Es'—efficiency, effectiveness and economy. They neglect a fourth E of equity. If analysts are gender-sensitive, they might recognise that equity is often a requirement for efficiency, effectiveness and economy. For example, if the unpaid labour which women do in reproductive tasks is ignored, and government programmes do not find ways of lightening that load, the productive potential of the economy will be lessened (see Elson, 1999, for examples). Unfortunately, most economists are not exposed to approaches that recognise concepts like unpaid labour and the care economy. The need for equity thus needs to be built explicitly into the frameworks of the new budget approaches.

IV. MOVING BEYOND GENDER PROJECTS

When government officials are first asked about the gender-sensitivity of their budgets, they often respond in two ways. First, they tell the questioner how many women and men are employed by their agency. At a more sophisticated level, they may talk about the extent to which women are represented in management and other decision-making positions. Second, they will to expenditure on gender projects and on the 'gender machinery'—officials tasked with the responsibility for mainstreaming gender or addressing women's needs.

Both of these are important. And in most LDCs, in both areas there will be major gender gaps. Few countries have gender parity in public service employment. Because public service is often relatively privileged, in particular compared to informal economy or subsistence alternatives, this is an important gap that reflects different opportunities for the women and men of the country. Even fewer countries, if any, have gender parity in decision-making positions. Here it is not only the differential access to rewards that is important, but also that, while not all women are gender-sensitive, women might be more aware than men of gender issues.

The position in respect of public employment is exacerbated in many LDCs by retrenchment, downsizing and 'rightsizing' exercises. Most countries, despite the support these exercises receive from donors, find it difficult to provide even aggregated number of those retrenched. In several cases, the ministries responsible have promised to provide sex-disaggregated figures for gender budget exercises. To date, I am not aware of these being made available in reliable form in any country.

In terms of gender machinery, in virtually all countries there are complaints about under-resourcing both in terms of money for activities and in terms of the limited number and junior (and thus cheaper) level of staff appointed. All these factors diminish the likelihood that the officials concerned will be successful in affecting policies (and budgets) of government. In St Kitts and Nevis, the Commonwealth-supported gender budget work resulted in a six-fold increase in the budget for the gender unit of the Ministry of Community and Social Development and Gender Affairs. The problem now is how to absorb that big and sudden an increase. In another of the Commonwealth's five pilots, Sri Lanka, one of the main outcomes was a request for funds for one or two follow up 'projects' to correct gender imbalances, with particular focus on poorer people and women.

Public employment and the gender machinery cannot be the main focus of gender budget initiatives if we are interested in gender mainstreaming. Gender projects are attractive in that we can more easily see and measure what is done. We can say, for example, that we have sent ten women to a trade fair, or supported a craft project which manufactures for the export market, or set up a women's revolving fund. Indeed, many gender machineries find themselves attracted to going the project route as this allows them more easily to provide concrete 'outputs' for the same funders who emphasize that their main task should be policy and mainstreaming rather than implementation.

The danger is that, by being able to display these achievements, we ignore what is happening in the mainstream programmes. The latter involve many times the amount of money allocated to gender projects and benefit far more people, who should not be predominantly male. As the gender

machinery of the Philippines has recognized, their 5 per cent GAD budget can only be considered a success if and when it changes the way the remaining 95 per cent of the budget is spent. Gender budget initiatives are not asking for a separate budget for women or for gender. They are not asking for a reserved slice of the cake. Rather, they are asking for equitable division of the whole cake.

V. FOCUSING ON THE POOR

Above we noted the importance of gender reforms focusing on equity as well as efficiency, effectiveness and economy. Gender is certainly not the only axis of disadvantage in any country in the world. Other common fault lines are ethnicity, region, wealth, and age.

Where a gender budget initiative focuses simply on women and men, it runs the risk of being seen as a 'special interest' issue. It also runs the risk of ignoring differences between women and between men that can be as big as, or bigger than, differences between women and men in particular subgroups.

Poverty is both a cause and result of many of the other axes of disadvantage. When government resources are limited, good governance requires that these resources be directed to those who need them most so as to help them to help themselves rather than make their lives more difficult. Most gender budget initiatives recognise the links between poverty, gender and other disadvantages. To the extent that they do so, they can strengthen initiatives, such as the poverty reduction strategy papers, that attempt to ensure that government and donor funds benefit the poor.

Most of the advocacy-oriented initiatives also recognise the advantage of including other groups so as to strengthen their voice and gain support. Uganda is a classic example here. In Uganda the gender budget work was initiated by the Women's Caucus within parliament. This caucus has a strategic alliance with other 'marginalized' sectors such as youth, disabled people and workers that makes it the single biggest organised group within the non-party parliament of the country. The women parliamentarians and their NGO, Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE), has carried this concern about other marginalized people across into its gender budget project.

VI. THE PLAYERS AND THEIR ROLES

Above, I have referred to an undifferentiated 'we'. In practice, the players involved in the existing gender budget initiatives differ across countries. One simple distinction if one focuses on incountry players is between government, parliament and civil society.

The Commonwealth Secretariat was one of the first international agencies to provide focused support for gender budget initiatives. Given their structure and history, the Secretariat concentrated their efforts on government. In all four pilot countries of South Africa, Barbados, Sri Lanka and Fiji, the Secretariat worked with the Ministry of Finance and, from there, reached out to chosen sectoral agencies. The focus on government has also been attractive to the United Nations and other bilateral donors. The focus seems logical - if one wants to change budgets, surely the best and most direct way is to focus on the key decision-makers, those who have the power to change them.

In practice, with the exception of the Philippines and Australia until the mid-1990s, government initiatives have not been sustainable without the intervention of other players. While governments might profess their commitment to gender equity and have incorporated it in laws and policies, they have also expressed commitment to many other things. Under pressure, gender is not always a priority. Further, the commitment to gender equity often comes from the central, national level - at the level at which the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is signed. Among middle-level budget officials, there might be less commitment and understanding. Further, some will see gender budgets as yet another 'fad' introduced by donors to give them more work and overturn existing practices.

Gender budget initiatives have therefore often been stronger when there has been civil society involvement. One interesting example is Tanzania. In that country a gender-focused NGO, TGNP, launched a research and advocacy initiative, a year later the Ministry of Finance launched an inside-government exercise, and today the NGO acts as the primary consultant to the Ministry. The NGO at the same time maintains its external advocacy, and sometimes critical, thrust. Another interesting example is Uganda. Here the Ministry of Finance has created the official space for gender-focused and other organisations to participate in the budget-making process. Government officials have meanwhile played a supporting role in the research activities of the NGO that does gender budget work.

Parliamentarians have been less active than might have been expected in the gender budget initiatives. This is particularly surprising given the increase in the number of women parliamentarians in many developing countries over the last decade and the role that parliament supposedly plays in the budget process. One problem uncovered by many of the initiatives is that parliament's role is usually stronger on paper than in practice. Another is the divided loyalties of parliamentarians which result from particular party and electoral systems.

Two exceptions in terms of parliament's role are South Africa and Uganda. In South Africa, it was women parliamentarians who, together with two NGOs, in 1995 launched the ongoing initiative. One of the explicit aims of the South African project was to provide parliamentarians with the knowledge that would enable them to advocate more strongly for gender-sensitive policies, programmes and budgets. In Uganda an NGO founded and led by women parliamentarians started the initiative. The NGO has since taken its work to the local level. It sees the local focus as a logical extension of its success in achieving a constitutional quota for women in local government. After ensuring that women would be present in local government, it now wants to ensure that they are effective players.

Gender budget initiatives that involve civil society and parliamentarians can be complementary to the many other initiatives that promote transparency, political participation and good governance. Those with shared goals can be regarded as allies and their support can lend strength to the gender budget initiatives. In Malawi, for example, the Minister of Finance is supportive of planned gender and pro-poor budget work as he sees it as complementary to his own interest in stimulating public participation.

In terms of good governance, gender budget initiatives promote a match between policy and delivery, as well as a focus on the poor. In terms of transparency, the focus on budgets ensures that it is not only a question of knowing what is happening in government, but also the importance of citizens and public representatives being able to influence what happens. In terms of political participation, as the Uganda players realised, the gender budget initiatives recognise the importance of effectiveness of their representatives rather than simply the presence of individuals from previously 'marginalized' sectors.

If one of the aims is publication participation and strengthening democracy, the initiatives need to ensure that the processes and documentation allow as wide a range of individuals – and not only those with advanced training in economics – to understand and participate meaningfully. Both governments and other players have come up with a range of innovative ways to increase accessibility. FOWODE has, for example, produced 'budget briefs'. In Tanzania, TGNP has produced shorter, popular versions of its research and has publicized the work through its annual gender conferences. It also uses the web effectively to reach beyond the country's borders. Unifem is currently supporting an initiative to adapt South Africa's workshop materials for use in five other Southern African countries. Malawi has already started adapting these materials.

A. LOOKING AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

In recent years, gender budget initiatives have increasingly begun focusing on the local level. In part, this reflects the move towards decentralization in many countries. In most developing countries, many of the social services have been decentralized. Initiatives in LDCs tend to focus on

these from the start, both because of their special importance for women, men and poor people, and because they have so often been cut back through structural adjustment programmes. In some countries, local government has also been given new responsibilities in terms of economic development. This is an important area if the gender budget work is focusing on poverty. As the responsibility for government service delivery moves to the local level, those interested in policy and delivery must shift their focus if they are to influence those who can have most impact on the lives of ordinary women and men.

As government functions are devolved, a range of new issues arises. Firstly, there is a concern as to whether money follows function, or whether devolution brings with it even greater underallocations for service delivery. In Uganda, a summary of the findings of research into how little money sent from the centre passes through the district to the schools has proved a powerful stimulant for discussion. The corollary to the story – that in at least some schools they now publish lists as to what they should be receiving – also points to possible ways of combating non-transparent and corrupt resource management. Secondly, there is a concern as to how central money is allocated between the lower level administrations, and the extent to which the lower level are expected to generate their own resources. Both these questions involve equity. Thirdly, there is a concern about the capacity of both officials and public representatives at the new local level.

These and other factors mean that local level work presents both opportunities and new challenges for gender budget work. In terms of participation by ordinary citizens, local level activity will often be easier for poor women, as they are less likely to have the resources, mobility and confidence to be involved at the national level. On the other hand, in most countries women have lower levels of literacy and general education than men. Special efforts will therefore be needed if ordinary women are to participate meaningfully. Further, 'new' ideas about gender equality have often not filtered down to local level. Instead, 'culture' and personal power politics act as strong impediments both to women's participation and to the introduction of gender-sensitive policies and programmes. Those promoting participation need to be aware of these impediments and find ways to combat them.

B. LOOKING AT REVENUE

Most gender budget initiatives have started by looking at expenditure. A few have gone on to look at revenue, but this has usually been given much less attention than expenditure. The order and focus of attention is in some ways ironic as governments, when drawing up budgets, customarily begin by looking at revenue so as to know the available resource envelope.

Two factors probably explain the interest in expenditure rather than revenue. Firstly, it is expenditure that more visibly is seen to 'deliver' goods and services, at least in developing countries. In wealthier and more developed countries, where the majority of citizens pay direct taxes, a range of 'tax expenditures' such as childcare subsidies can be delivered through the revenue system. Here revenue visibly delivers benefits. It is, therefore, not surprising that it is the United Kingdom initiative differs from most others in its focus on revenue. In most developing countries, on the other hand, only a very small proportion of the population pays direct taxes. The main 'benefit' which can be delivered through the tax system would be zero-rating or exemptions from value-added indirect taxes. Value added taxes are paid by all citizens and are generally retrogressive.

User fees seem a further obvious focus for LDCs. The decentralized nature of their collection could mean that data is hard to come by. This difficulty, though, also points to the need to look into possible inequities in treatment of citizens between districts and institutions as well as on gender and other lines. Even without figures, Ugandan and Tanzanian reports about women having to take their own pads, gloves and other equipment when presenting themselves for delivery make the message clear.

A second reason for a focus on expenditure is that many economists and many Finance ministries would balk even more at the idea that revenue is gendered than they do at the idea that expenditure is. In South Africa a top official who supported the non-governmental gender budget initiative from the outset, nevertheless warned that tax and revenue was not the place to look in order to achieve redistribution.

Yet revenue clearly is important. If revenue has nothing to do with redistribution, why do we worry whether our tax measures are progressive or regressive? Further, if the amount of revenue determines the resource envelope, it also determines how much money is available to deliver goods and services. Some of the gender budget initiatives in developing countries were initiated as a result of concern about the effects of structural adjustment programmes. This concern was reflected in the choice of the social sectors – and particularly health and education – as a focus. A parallel focus on revenue would be complementary. It would have asked what was causing the reduction in available resources and who was bearing the burden.

Governments may introduce tax cuts on business to encourage investment and so, hopefully, to stimulate growth. The hoped-for growth must be weighed up against the human resource investment and consequent growth that would be achieved by spending the foregone money on delivering health and education. Those assessing the tax cuts must also ask who steps in and delivers basic health and education services when these are not provided by government. All too often it is women who do so, on an unpaid basis. And all too often their provision of these services hampers other activities, including income-generating ones. Few gender budget initiatives have looked at these issues in detail. Tanzania and Uganda have done some research into the ministries responsible for industry, commerce and trade but have not looked at the taxation side.

At the individual tax level, a cut for women and men who earn enough to pay personal tax, similarly might diminish the services available for poorer women and men who contribute mainly through value-added taxes. Here, as noted above, we are looking not only at the differences between women and men, but also at the interface between gender disadvantage and other axes of disadvantage.

In most LDCs, only a relatively small proportion of revenue is brought in through company and personal taxes. Conversely, trade taxes account for a larger proportion of locally generated revenue than in wealthier countries. For example, in 1997/8, international trade accounted for just over half of Uganda's government revenue (Kitakule, 1999:381). This area provides a fruitful, but again largely unexplored, avenue for gender budget analysis. It is particularly important to monitor given ongoing moves to lower tariffs, and thus diminish this source of revenue.

Further, as with tax cuts, policy makers need to consider the knock-on effects of cuts in tariffs. In developed countries it is common to have a thorough study of the likely impact of trade agreements and other measures on different parts of the economy before they are instituted. Such studies are less common, but just as necessary, in developing countries. For women, the changes in tariffs on agricultural goods and textile products are particularly important as these are two sectors that, in many developing countries, provide a significant proportion of available employment opportunities.

VII. DONORS

For many LDCs, the largest single source of government revenue will be donors. Again, this is a relatively unexplored area but one that badly needs further investigation. Bilateral and multilateral donors are often strong supporters of gender budget initiatives and the broader call for transparency. Yet in many countries reporting on the use of donor funds is far weaker than reporting on government funds. Many countries are trying to move towards a budget approach which consolidate the recurrent (usually local funds) and development (donor-dominated) parts of the budget, but face severe difficulties in doing so. At least part of the fault lies with donors who are not prepared to report according to standard formats, who channel undisclosed amounts of their funds through other routes, who have delaying disbursement mechanisms, and so on.

The general problems in respect of donor funds might well be greater than the problems in respect of gender analysis. The first gender budget investigations in Mozambique, led by the Ministry of Finance, found that the supporting funding documents for many donor-funded projects made some mention of gender or women where this was relevant. The OECD work in respect of gender markers should mean that most donors will notice and claim all gender-related activity. However, details on specific projects are less meaningful if the full picture is not available.

The need for consolidated budgets that include all sources of revenue is not only important from a gender perspective. Without the full picture, integrated planning is impossible. Without integrated planning, certain 'pet' regions, sectors and issues are likely to benefit while others are neglected. Further, the separation of donor initiatives might be convenient for donor agencies that have to report to their principals on what happened to 'their' money. However, because donor money will not continue indefinitely, these projects and the issues they address will face real problems of sustainability when they no longer attract donor support. There are far too many examples in developing countries of good 'pilots' that have never been replicated because of lack of serious attention to the question of 'what happens afterwards'.

VIII. WHERE DOES TRADE FIT IN?

When people first hear about gender budget initiatives, they often assume that these will focus on the social sectors. As noted above, this focus has been common and is understandable given the legacy of structural adjustment programmes that cut back on existing, already limited, social services. The focus is also explained by the fact that these sectors usually have such large expenditures relative to others. To ignore them would thus be to ignore a sizeable portion of the cake.

Nevertheless, the importance of a sector and its budget cannot be judged only by the relative size of expenditure. In particular, the ministries responsible for trade and other economic sectors often have relatively small budgets. The international financial institutions have generally encouraged ongoing reduction in the relative size of the economic agencies' budgets, and have promoted a regulatory rather than delivery role for them. Yet, in playing this regulatory role, the ministries concerned can have just as great an effect on the overall economy and the individual women and men who comprise it.

The South African Women's Budget Initiative has gone furthest in exploring the full range of ministries, in that it has examined the budgets of all national agencies and found something to say about gender in each. The South African initiative has also done some analysis of the gendered impact of customs and excise. Several other initiatives, including some in LDCs, have examined ministries responsible for industry. As yet, there has been relatively little work on trade, but the possibilities certainly exist.

IX. CONCLUSION

Gender budget work has to some extent been mythologised. There is a danger that it is expected to do more than it can. It is a potentially powerful tool in moving from words to actions in respect of gender, an area where we have perhaps been better at reaching agreement on words than on delivery. It can also, as seen above, strengthen and be strengthened by many other reforms currently being undertaken in LDCs. However, despite the existence of many initiatives, the achievements have been limited to date. And many potentially important issues remain unexplored.

The hype around gender budgets and the existence of unexplored opportunities will be read by some as an invitation to rush in to fill the holes. Indeed, UNIFEM, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the International Development Resource Centre (IDRC) have formed a partnership to provide support in this area and hope to see a further increase and strengthening of these initiatives over the coming years.

These partners and others who hope to work in the area need to work with caution, particularly in LDCs. On one hand, one can argue that the needs are so much greater in LDCs that this is obviously where most effort must go. On the other hand, the governments and citizens of these countries are already subjected to so many other pressures, that a gender budget initiative could prove to be yet another, unwanted and unbearable burden.

This paper has tried to show the complexity and diversity of gender budget work. There is not one recipe for the work, not even one objective. UNIFEM, the Commonwealth and IDRC have a provisional checklist of questions to be answered before the partners will provide their support to stakeholders in a particular country. These include:

- Who are the key drivers in the initiative?
- What expertise do the key drivers have in terms of discipline, experience in public administration, research, training, materials production, advocacy?
- What links to the key drivers have with other players?
- If government is involved, which agencies?
- If civil society is involved, what type of organisations?
- Which steps in the policy-making process is the initiative targeting planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation?
- What activities are planned research, publication, materials development, advocacy, training?
- Who is the 'audience' for the initiative?
- What is the government stance, policy and record in respect of gender?
- What is the overall political situation?

These and other questions could also be useful for other potential promoters and supporters of gender budget work, as well as those who themselves want to embark on it.

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C. GENDER EQUALITY AND TRADE

KEYNOTE SPEECH by Alec Erwin Minister of Trade and Industry, South Africa

TO BE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL VERSION

THE UTILITY AND FEASIBILITY OF MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN TRADE POLICY REVIEWS

by

Jean-Maurice Léger Director, Technical Cooperation Division, WTO Geneva

I would like to begin by first thanking the organisers of this highly important and timely workshop. Second, I wish to underscore the necessity of mainstreaming crucial areas of policy action, of which gender is one, into the overall national development plans and poverty reduction strategies. It is a known fact, that 70 per cent of the world's poor are women. Providing equal opportunities for women is therefore critical to poverty reduction, and mainstreaming gender is vital if we are to achieve the internationally agreed target of reducing extreme poverty by one half by the year 2015. The World Trade Organisation shares this objective and is strongly committed to its achievement.

Although rule making with a view to trade liberalisation and reform constitute the core business of the WTO, the WTO recognises that other key mutually supportive policies are required. Clearly in Africa, and other parts of the world, gender policies constitute one of these key policy areas for many good reasons. (Quoting a World Bank report: "Can Africa Claim the 21st Century?") "women are one of Africa's hidden growth reserves, providing most of the region's labour, but their productivity is hampered by widespread inequalities in education and access. Thus, gender equality can be a potent force for accelerated poverty reduction."

The role of women in agriculture cannot be overstated. In Africa, agriculture is the continent's main source of export, comprising over 40 per cent of exports. Agriculture provides the livelihood for the majority of women and their families in the developing world, but women, compared to men, have difficulty in obtaining access to economic resources, such as property, finance, credit, and technical assistance programs.' As a result, the capability of women to increase their agricultural production for export is less than that of men. These inequalities greatly reduce agricultural productivity and further decrease Africa's share of the global market. Reversing this trend requires a coherent policy that will integrate women into the continental trading system. The WTO believes that progress in the mandated negotiations in agriculture, currently underway in the WTO, will improve the prospects of accelerating the integration of women not only into the agriculture sector, but also more broadly into the continental trading system. Liberalisation and reform measures will engender growth, which is vital for poverty alleviation and development, including of women.

Another example where women have a major role is in the textiles industry. In Bangladesh, the textiles industry work force is 99 per cent dominated by women. Furthermore, the export of textiles has been the main factor promoting growth and therefore poverty reduction in Bangladesh in the 1990s.

Although there is no gender-specific work program in the WTO, several areas of WTO work have direct positive implications for gender integration. Trade liberalisation and reform, focussing on the elimination of restrictions and barriers, generate long term and sustainable resources for entire economies. Reform and liberalisation measures applied on a non-discriminatory basis will have the same beneficial gender-neutral impact. Therefore, at this initial broad policy level, the institutional mandate of the WTO, would no doubt support policies as well as measures designed to integrate gender.

There have been requests, although outside the WTO work program and institutional agenda, for gender analysis and follow-up. Members have not taken this up, at this time. The Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM) is an area where some have stated, is a startingpoint for addressing gender issues. The WTO TPRM periodically reviews the trade policies of its member states. The

process involves a visit by the WTO Secretariat staff to the country under review. The WTO General Council meets as the Trade Policy Review Body to undertake trade policy reviews of members and thus, the TPRM is open to all WTO Members. The objectives of the TPRM are set out in Annex 3 of the Marrakesh Agreement. The purpose of the TPRM is to "contribute to improved adherence by all Members to rules, disciplines, and commitments made under the Multilateral Trade Agreements and, where applicable, the Plurilateral Trade Agreements, and hence to the smoother functioning of the multilateral trading system, by achieving greater transparency in trade policies and practices of Members."

The trade policy review of a country consists of two reports; a policy statement by the Member under review and a report prepared by the WTO Secretariat. These reports contain detailed chapters examining the trade policies and practices of the Member as well as describing the trade policy-making institutions and macroeconomic situation.

It has been suggested by some that gender issues be covered in TPR reports, particularly to include information on the impact of trade liberalisation. Such analysis as stated could also include figures showing the impact of trade liberalisation on women workers, farmers and entrepreneurs; as well as identify national trade policies and measures that affect women's rights. This has been suggested by some NGOs, but never by Members.

While these suggestions offer interesting and useful possibilities, they are not yet covered in WTO's current work program established by Members.

Today, the WTO Trade Policy Review Mechanism is not fit to address such issues as it is intended to be mainly a transparency exercise of national trade policies and trade instruments. Although trade policy reviews are set against the background of each country's wider economic and developmental needs, policies and objectives; they are not intended to impose new policy obligations in other areas such as gender. The function of the WTO review mechanism is to examine the impact of a Member's trade policies and practices on the multilateral trading system.

Nevertheless, it is vital and necessary that gender is mainstreamed into national development plans and poverty reduction strategies. National governments have a decisive role to play in ensuring that a gender analysis is mainstreamed in their trade policies. Decisions on international trade policies and the WTO are mainly the responsibility of the Ministries of trade, economy and foreign affairs. National governments of WTO Member states need to ensure that there is equal participation of women in every aspect of trade, particularly in policy and decision-making. In this regard, it would be useful for governments to undertake an assessment of the impact of trade policy on women workers, particularly since the majority of women are engaged in the agriculture sector. There are huge potential benefits to be realised when governments ensure the incorporation of national equal opportunities and non-discrimination laws into trade policy and trade agreements.

In conclusion, I wish to quote the report of the World Bank, Engendering Development, and say that, "gender equality is a core development issue - a development objective in its own right. It strengthens countries' abilities to grow, to reduce poverty, and to govern effectively. Promoting gender equality is thus an important part of a development strategy that seeks to enable all people, to escape poverty and improve their standard of living." A comprehensive knowledge of gender issues is required and this will involve extensive research, careful planning and further discussions in national governments of WTO member states on the best approach to take. Lack of sufficient knowledge about gender equality issues may lead to a bad implementation of gender mainstreaming.

Thank you.

GENDER & TRADE IN AFRICA: HAS LIBERALISATION GONE TOO FAR?

bv

Mohau Pheko and Winnie Madonsela Gender & Trade Network in Africa

I. INTRODUCTION

Trade policies impact on markets, production, cultural values, social relations, employment, distribution, the environment and consumption patterns. Women engage in all these areas. The globalisation of markets is placing local sustainability under siege, particularly for women in subsistence agriculture, textiles industry, local marketing, micro-enterprise, the manufacturing sector, and processes of the informal economy.

Trade policies have a different impact on women and men because women and men hold different economic and social status. Women and men respond differently to economic and trade policies because their private resources and levels of access to public resources are different.

The era of globalisation has proclaimed free trade the engine of economic growth for Africa. Various countries such as the United Kingdom have declared, "Globalisation is good for the poor". A chorus of decision maker and economic power brokers, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and Transnational Corporations (TNC's) are insisting that markets, not government should determine the production and distribution of goods. However, consensus is building, through voices of the UNDP's Human Development Report, that growth does not guarantee gender equality nor the elimination of poverty.

Discussion around trade at the national regional and global policy levels is gender blind. Trade is still discussed in economic and political terms. Trade is about men, women and children, yet, the gendered impact of trade has not emerged as a critical agenda in government trade policies.

On the road towards the 4th WTO Ministerial Conference in Qatar industrialised countries continue to propose the inclusion of new issues, in addition to the mandated negotiations to be carried out in services and agriculture. A lot of globetrotting by the EU's Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamay, has been advocating to convince Africa and in particular the Least Developed Countries (LDC's) that a 4th Round of negotiations hold out the utopian vision of the prosperity that developing countries will reap if they open their borders to commerce and capital and liberalise trade. This hollow promise has not enjoyed gender impact assessments, and serves to divert poor nation's attention and resources from the key domestic innovations needed to spur economic growth. In this regard, the Gender and Trade Network is against a comprehensive Round of negotiations that will further marginalize the status of women in Africa.

The aim of the industrialised countries is to ensure greater access to markets in the developing world. On the other hand, they have shown no concrete interest in ensuring that implementation issues are adequately dealt with before further liberalisation is pushed upon them. Implementation issues refer to the review and repair of imbalances arising from the Uruguay Round Agreements, which came into effect in 1995.

In contrast to this stated intention, UNCTAD's Trade and Development Report (August 1999) states in its preamble, "The predicted gains to developing countries from the Uruguay Round have proved to be exaggerated... Poverty and unemployment are again on the rise in developing countries... Income and welfare gaps between and within countries have widened further".

The Report further explains why developing countries are concerned about bringing some balance to the Uruguay Round Agreement:

- 1. That the Uruguay Round and its implementation process have done little to improve market access for their exports of goods and services; and
- 2. WTO rules have been unbalanced in several important development-related areas such as protection of intellectual property rights and the use of industrial subsidies, while the special and differential treatment, which the Uruguay Round accorded them, has been inadequate.

Joining the world economy is no longer a matter simply of dismantling barriers to trade and investment. Countries now must comply with a list of admission requirements, from new patent rules to more rigorous banking standards. The apostles of economic integration prescribe comprehensive institutional reforms that took industrialised countries generations to accomplish, yet developing countries are not given a longer time frame to get to the same place, instead as the cliché goes, maximise the gains and minimise the risks of participation in the world economy. Global integration has become, for all practical purposes, as substitute for a development strategy.

This trend is bad news for Africa's women. The new agenda of global integration rest on shaky empirical ground and seriously distorts policymaker's priorities. By focusing on international integration, governments in the LDC's in particular divert human resources, administrative capabilities, and political capital away from more urgent development priorities such as education, public health, HIV-AIDS, industrial capacity, and social cohesion. The emphasis undermines nascent democratic institutions by removing the choice of development strategy from public debate further marginalizing women in the policy decision-making arena.

The US and others have pushed the neo-liberal agenda of fast track liberalisation on African countries, through institution such as the WTO, IMF and World Bank. The one-size-fits-all policy prescriptions have included rapid opening of markets, concentration on exports and reduction or elimination of subsidies with little regard to whether or not women and men and local economic conditions are ready for such foreign competition.

African countries that have bought into the integration orthodoxy are discovering that openness does not deliver on its promises. Despite sharply lowering their barriers to trade and investment since the 1980's, many countries in Africa are stagnating or growing less rapidly that in the import substitution period of the 1960's and 1970's. In contrast, those fastest growing countries are China, India and other East and Southeast Asia. Policymakers in these countries have also implemented trade and investment liberalisation, but they have done so in an unorthodox manner – gradually, sequentially, and only after an initial period of high growth – and as part of a broader policy package with many unconventional features.

Key questions are: How could reducing or eliminating tariffs and quotas or eliminating restrictions on foreign investment have a different impact on women than they do on men? How could opening up the domestic economy to foreign banks and foreign insurance companies affect women differently from men? Or are these not simply gender-neutral processes that affect everyone the same? When questions of gender are broached in trade policy decision-making arena, people raise their eyebrows and grimace or state blankly. Gender considerations are considered irrelevant at the policy level and women have not found a place at the table of trade negotiations.

II. MYTHS ON GENDER AND TRADE

A common myth that circulates often unchallenged is that trade liberalisation brings many benefits at very little or no cost. The reality is that trade liberalisation may impose heavy burdens on women as workers in export processing zones or in commercial agriculture. Thus far trade liberalisation has tended to rely on female labour in these sectors. Increasingly research points to rampant exploitation and abuse of women and violations of their rights in terms of sexual harassment, infringement of their reproductive freedom and unsafe and hazardous working conditions. There is an impact on women's physical and psychological health. Furthermore, reduction in tariffs may result in the reduction of social services, health clinics and rural infrastructure development that will strongly

affect women's unpaid labour. The environment may also pay a heavy cost for trade liberalisation. Intensive commercial agriculture can cause rapid deterioration of the soil as well as have implications for biological diversity. This is being powerfully demonstrated in shrimp farming industries in many Asian countries. UNCTAD's Trade and Development Report (1999) argues that rapid trade liberalisation has contributed to widening the trade deficit in developing countries. While it led to sharp increases in imports, exports failed to keep pace. For may LDC's, the average trade deficit in the 1990's is higher than in the 1970's by 3 per cent, while the growth rate is lower than 2 per cent. The World Bank's trade economist Michael Finger has estimated that a typical developing country must spend \$150 million to implement the requirements under just three WTO agreements (those on customs valuation, sanitary and phyto-sanitary measures, and trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights). As Finger notes, this sum equals a year's development budget for many LDC's.

Another myth is that WTO agreements lead to widespread tariff reduction and that tariff reduction leads to trade creations. The reality is that tariffs have been cut from 40 per cent to 6 per cent on industrial goods (including manufactured goods, tropical goods and natural resource based goods); (Safadi and Laird 1996). At the same time, tariffs are being reduced and there is an intensification of the tariffication (conversion and non-tariff barrier into tariff equivalent). Tariffication has resulted in the application of prohibitive tariffs of 200-500 per cent. Tariff-peaks and tariff-escalations are still pervasive in developed countries' trade policies. Developed countries tend to focus on cutting tariffs in less sensitive areas and protecting some products (with smaller tariff cuts). Less protected goods receive relatively larger cuts. For example, tariff-cut are below average in developed countries for textiles and clothing, transport, leather, rubber footwear, travel goods and fish. These are general areas of LDC's exports. Developing countries, in particular LDC's, have not experienced significant changes in exports. In fact developing countries share of world export markets has remained static since 1990, while that of LDC's has dropped.

Lastly another myth is that increased transparency and stability (primarily through tariff binding) of the tariff system will benefit LDC's and improve market access for LDC's. Tariffs tend to be replaced by non-tariff barrier, i.e. health and safety standards, voluntary export restraints, anti-dumping and safeguards. Furthermore, there has been slow implementation of the agreement to phase out the Multifibre Agreement (MFA). As result textiles have not been integrated into WTO discipline. Only 7 per cent of items restricted under the MFA have been integrated at the beginning of the second stage of implementation (1998).

The capacity of developing countries, in particular LDC's, to further implement another complex array of trade liberalisation rules has been severely stretched and is non-existent. Couples with a serious blind spot in the development policies and programmes of many African countries, gender blindness has prevented policy maker from developing gender-sensitive policies in agriculture, rural development and food security that would have useful multiplier effects and foster sustainable growth and development.

Development policy makers wither treat women as passive members of households headed by me to who growth and development benefits are assumed to trickle down; or exploit women's labour as foreign exchange earners in export processing zones or in sex tourism. This gender blindness has carried over into trade policies and practices to the detriment of women and the economy. Trade policy makers assume that there are no differential impact of trade policy on men and women. This however, is increasingly being shown not to be the case.

III. THE REALITIES OF GENDER & TRADE

What determines status and control over resources? And what determines women and men's choice sets? Households operate in an environment structured by economic incentives and institutional constructs. An institution, both formal and informal, that determines each person's available set of behavioural choices with some choice sets larger than others, governs the behaviour of household members. The economy at the macro and meso level, through the price-quantity mechanism, also determines behavioural choices by supplying the relative prices that households face as each member

interacts (or not) with the market, that is, as each member fulfils his or her productive and reproductive roles.

Trade policy influences macro-economic and meso-economic variables. Gender issue in international trade, require and investigation of the transmission mechanism from policy formulation, to implementation from macroeconomic and meso-economic indicators to microeconomic and social development indicators.

Certain questions should be posed as to whether the impact of trade and trade policy on the lives of women and men in Africa, of poverty eradication programs, gender empowerment and sustainable development: Should these sectors of the economy be subjected to trade liberalisation? Should there be a debate in Africa on prioritising which sectors of the economy, because of their importance, should be kept out of the trade agenda? These are critical questions, which are central to economic development, but have been left out of the current debates in Africa.

Trade is one of the tools of promoting economic development. For LDC's, trade is a tool for promoting development and is linked to ensuring food security and rural livelihoods. Trade rules are important but should not take precedence over human rights and environmental sustainability. Trade policies and associated ruled should be democratically determined through consultative processes with women and men's organisations, at the local and national level. Trade decision-making should be accountable, inclusive and transparent at the national, regional and international level. This is the hallmark of good governance.

A fair trading system that supports gender justice requires policies and rules that:

- 1. Anchored in a framework of sustainable development, that is gender aware and gender sensitive. Grounded in a comprehensive approach to human rights in all its dimensions: civil, cultural, economic, political and social. This process has to begin with national trade policy and move through the WTO Trade Policy Review.
- 2. Provide adequate resources at national and international levels for programmes and projects whose ultimate goal is the expansion of women and men's capabilities. This means that issues of land reform in general and women's access to land rights and inheritance and credit in particular; food security and food self-sufficiency; gender equity and equality in all economic and social policies; the provision of basic health care, safe water and affordable, sustainable fuel and energy.
- 3. Promote and are grounded in good governance and democracy both at the national and international (WTO) level. Democratisation, decentralisation and human rights are fundamentally about promoting women and men's abilities to secure sustainable, meaningful livelihoods. This may require governments to take actions that may not be in line with the trade liberalisation imperative. For example, in South Africa the government should have the right to promote the reverse engineering of patented basic medicines and importation of low-cost drugs from suppliers who can provide them cheaper, even if doing so means violating WTO rules against such practices. Therefore, trade rules should allow governments flexibility to develop such programmes.
- 4. Trade policy should hold corporation accountable and not simply as entities that have procorporate investment rules made on their behalf by governments. Trade policy should integrate the social development framework, which promotes and protects women and men's economic and social rights rather than just creating a "level" playing filed for international competition.
- 5. Trade policy should not single-mindedly focus on trade liberalisation; it must focus on the eradication of poverty and economic and social empowerment of women. Such attempts are not automatically supported, however, and in fact are often contravened and contradicted by conventional orthodox growth/trade liberalisation strategies that emphasize capital and profit accumulation, structural adjustment and perpetuation of external debt.

Trade policy and trade liberalisation can affect the ability of governments to finance social sector expenditure and thereby increase women's workload. When governments eliminate or reduce border taxes such as tariffs, licenses there is bound to be a shortfall in revenue. This revenue shortfall must be offset either by increasing domestic taxes or by reducing government expenditure. Where social service provision is reduced the burden is shifted to the household into women's laps (Sen 1996).

According to UNDP's 1995 Human Development Report, women contributed in 1993 to over 11 trillion worth of household world to the world economy. This is in addition to their contribution to subsistence agriculture, informal sector and paid employment. Trade policies and trade agreements may tend to reproduce the status quo or, in the worst-case scenario introduce new forms of inequality and bias. As pointed out by Sen (1996), "trade liberalisation is not inherently welfare producing; it can produce and re-produce inequality, social disparities and poverty at the same time as it expands wealth".

IV. TOWARDS A POSITION OF GENDER EQUALITY FOR QATAR 4TH MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE

The Built-in Agenda

- Agreement on Agriculture (AOA): this agreement has impacted of women farmers in Africa negatively. Women farmers who have traditionally produced food and vegetables are unable to compete wit inflows of cheap subsidised products from the European Union. A review of the AOA should aim to remedy and remove imbalances in order to benefit women and small farmers. Furthermore food security is impacted upon through the implementation of the AOA, full attention has not been given to this. A review of AOA should apply greater emphasis on eliminating exports subsidies and export restraints by the EU and US. It should be engendered to recognise and provide mechanisms to promote and ensure food security as a critical non-trade concern.
- General Agreement in Trade and Services (GATS): services include more than information and communication sectors. They include medical/health, education, human services and public services. GATS therefore have implications for healthcare/ health standards, job security and conditions of work. The focus should be on the social equity and social justice dimensions of liberalisation of services under the WTO. Poor women's access to water, school an accessible and affordable health care must be protected. Many service areas in Africa rely on women's labour. Before extending GATS into energy, mail/couriers services, maritime and air transportation and environmental service, gender impact assessments should be made in each area to ascertain the potential impact on community development, cost and access to services for the poor and women workers in the service sector. GATS pose serious implications for public service. A critical areas of services which will have fundamental impact on life is water its access, cost and safety all these will be at risk with further liberalisation of services. LDC's should have the right to regulate services to meet national development policy objectives. LDC's should guard against provision that will retard or block their ability to expand into particular service areas in the future.
- Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS): there should be no patenting on life and extreme care and attention needs to be paid to the recognition of the traditional knowledge of women and men in agriculture, healing and the preservation of nature. Indigenous knowledge and cultural heritage have collectively evolved through generations and no single person can claim invention or discovery of medicinal plants, seeds or other living things. I this regards the Convention on Bio-Diversity should have precedence over TRIPS. Article 27.3(b) of the TRIPS, which makes an artificial distinction between plants, animals and micro-organisms, and between essentially biological and microbiological processes, should be amended as per the recommendation of the Africa Group and OAU.

• Trade Investment Measures (TRIMS): Africa should be exempted from the prohibition on local content and foreign balancing requirements. Investment has particular implications for women. Foreign Direct Investment in Africa is highly female intensive and relies on the labour of women in the export-manufacturing sector and in commercial agriculture. Women entrepreneurs in the micro and small business sector may require special assistance form governments to produce goods and services or to protect markets for the good they produce. TRIMS should be review in the context of foreign exchange and foreign debt constraints on developing countries, particularly the LDC's. NO attempt should be made to expand the scope of TRIMS until the working group on investment has completed its work.

In conclusion, trade policy should not reinforce biased informal structure and institutions. In the trading environment, very few, international trading agreements and institutions include women and gender sensitive men in their negotiating teams, panels and trade missions. More critically, fewer still acknowledge the differential impact of trade on men and women and the need to respond to the differences. More often than not, women and men are reactive with respect to trade policy and not active participants in policymaking.

The WTO has to create a framework for gender mainstreaming activities, gendered policy formulation, and gender impact assessment of WTO –led trade liberalisation as integral to their operation, particularly in terms of their role in promoting increased trade.

The neoclassical mainstream neo-liberal approach does not take institutions into consideration and places it's faith in the "market", which assumes instantaneous adjustments, to solve resource allocation problems. While the market may be able to deal with the challenge of efficiency, its view of equity is less that desirable.

Among African countries, unequal distribution of power is reflected this is more profound between African and industrialised countries in issues related to sovereignty, strategic trade policy and competing trade structures. Between genders, ownership and control of resources are usually more concentrated in men than in women. Even sexual division of labour is perpetuated as discriminatory labour markets determine the kinds of occupations and specify the industries that men and women work in as well as the relative wage rates that men and women receive. These issues are inter-related and determine outcomes unique to each permutation.

Decision made in closed national, regional and global trade meetings affect the ability of women, their families and their communities to thrive or to sink deeper into poverty and despair. Women are key actor in the expansion of trade in employment, in production and market systems, in the informal sector, in agriculture and in control of intellectual property, yet they have little or no part in decision.

For these reasons, it is urgent that an awareness of gender issues and concerns intrinsic to trade be reflected as a central issue during all the discussion and communications among civil society, and ministers of trade at the Qatar meeting. Beyond Qatar, work will need to continue to rearticulate and redirect trade and development policies toward an equitable sustainable future. These strategies will include a concerted effort to raise awareness of gender issues intrinsic to trade, monitor trade agreements and their effects from a gender analysis, expand and deepen research on the gender dimension of the changing global realities and institutions, and develop more participatory, transparent and accountable mechanisms for setting international development and trade policy.

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MODELING THE EFFECTS OF TRADE ON WOM EN AT WORK AND AT HOME by

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TO BE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL VERSION

HIGHLIGHTS SUMMARY

Foreign trade affects women's wages and jobs, their household work, and their leisure. A project undertaken at the Institute of Development Studies has developed a model which covers not only all the sectors of the market economy, but also social reproduction and leisure activities, for women and men separately. The model is used to simulate the gendered effects of changes in trade policies and foreign capital flows in Bangladesh. The simulations make clear that, to understand or predict the effects of changes in policies or other economic circumstances on the well-being of women (and their dependents), it is important to take into account the interactions both among different sectors of the market economy and between the market economy and the household.

To understand the impact of trade on women requires a comprehensive framework, to track how the effects in specific sectors percolate through the rest of the market economy, and to analyse how effects in the market economy interact with behaviour in the unpaid household economy where women are the main workers. The IDS study provides this framework by constructing a gendered computable general equilibrium model which distinguishes female from male labour and treats social reproduction (or household work) and leisure as sectors. These two extra sectors behave qualitatively like market sectors, but differ quantitatively from market sectors, with reproduction employing mainly women and being less responsive to price changes. Although this project focused on Bangladesh and on trade, the same framework could be applied to other countries and other gender-related policy issues.

Simulation of the effects of a three-fold increase in ready-made garment exports from Bangladesh suggests that:

- Women's participation in market activities increases by nine percent.
- Women's wages rise, absolutely and relative to men, by about eight percent.
- Women experience a six percent reduction in their leisure time.
- The time spent on social reproduction by women and men falls by three percent.
- If there were greater rigidity in gender roles, the increase in female labour force participation would be only five percent, while the decline in their leisure time would be greater, nine percent.
- Women's overall well-being and more generally social welfare do not necessarily improve when
 economic gains for women are achieved. It is important to design complementary policies to
 enhance women's ability to respond to economic incentives and to reduce the many competing
 demands on their time.

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D.ENGENDERING STATISTICS

ENGENDERING STATISTICS IN LDCs: OPPORTUNITIES AND CAPACITY LIMITATIONS

by

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I. GENDER ISSUES IN SOCIETY

Gender issues relate to all aspects of women's and men's lives and are to a large extent universal. Women and men have different needs and opportunities and different access to and control over resources. They face different constraints in responding to economic change and are affected by policies and plans in different ways.

A critical distinction needs to be made between the words sex and gender, which often are used erroneously as synonyms. The word sex refers to biological differences between women and men. Sex characteristics are universal and unchangeable. Gender is a social construction and codification of differences between women and men. Gender inequalities are shaped through history of social relations and can be changed by political, economic and cultural influences.

There is a growing awareness around the world that policies and measures affect women and men in different ways and that policies and plans need to be designed accordingly. At the international as well as the national level in many parts of the world, policy makers have become more aware of the importance of integrating gender issues into all development policies and plans.

A number of international conferences have been held and agreements made since the first World Conference on Women 1975. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted in Beijing on 15 September 1995 by the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace, urges governments, the international community and civil society to take action on twelve critical areas of concern.

At national level there is a widespread commitment to work to eliminate gender inequality in all spheres of life, economically and socially. In most countries today gender concerns are considered in development plans and policies. Many countries have set precise goals for full equality between women and men and have formulated strategies to achieve them.

II. DEMAND FOR GENDER STATISTICS

Statistics are important tools for the improvement of the living conditions of individuals and for the well functioning of the society. Hence, statistics on the situation of women compared to men in various subgroups, over the life cycle and in all spheres of society, are needed during the whole process of policy making, planning, implementation and evaluation of the work to reach gender equality. Such statistics are needed to:

- Raise consciousness, persuade policy makers and promote changes
- Provide ideas and inspire measures for change
- Provide an unbiased basis for policies and measures
- Monitor and evaluate policies and measures.

For this to be possible, statistics must be disaggregated by sex. Sex should be the basis for an overall and thorough breakdown of all statistics relating to individuals. In addition, statistics should be presented in such a way that they are easily accessible to users.

However, statistics disaggregated by sex is not sufficient. Data by sex does not guarantee that concepts, definitions and methods used in data production and presentation reflect gender concerns in society. Gender statistics implies that statistics adequately reflect gender issues in society and take in consideration all factors that can produce gender-based bias. Gender statistics not only provide general comparisons between women and men, but also ensure that women's and men's participation and contribution are made visible, correctly measured and valued.

The ultimate goal for gender statistics work is that:

- All statistics on individuals should be collected by sex.
- All variables and characteristics should be analysed and presented with sex as a primary and overall classification. This, in turn, enables all analyses and presentations to be sex specific.
- All statistics should reflect gender issues.

The production of gender statistics concerns the entire official statistical system and cover data from different sources and statistical fields. Hence, gender statistics cannot be produced and improved in isolation. The work must be integrated into the development of the entire national statistical system. Improvement of content, methods, classifications and measurements should be made within the ongoing work to improve statistical sources – censuses, surveys and administrative systems.

The 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action includes a number of paragraphs on statistics in each of the twelve areas of concern. Needs for improved statistics cover various statistical fields, including health, education, work and economic activities, violence, power and decision-making.

Under "Strategic objective H.3. Generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation" a number of paragraphs of specific importance for improvement of national statistical systems are presented. Specifically the following four should be considered:

- 206 (a) "Ensure that statistics related to individuals are collected, compiled, analysed and presented by sex and age, and reflect problems, issues and questions related to women and men in society".
- 206 (d) "Design or appoint staff to strengthen gender statistics programmes and ensure coordination, monitoring and linkage to all fields of statistical work, and prepare output that integrates statistics from the various subject areas".
- 207 (a) "Ensure the regular production of a statistical publication on gender that presents and interprets topical data on women and men in a form suitable for a wide range of non-technical users".
- 207 (b) "Ensure that producers and users of statistics in each country regularly review the adequacy of the official statistical system and its coverage of gender issues, and prepare a plan for needed improvements, where necessary".

III. THE GENDER STATISTICS PRODUCTION PROCESS

Statistics is a scientific discipline whose methods should be used universally, adjusted to the level of development of the national statistical system. International statistical standards and classifications should also be used in all countries. This fact gives an excellent opportunity for cooperation between countries to improve statistics with a gender perspective.

The production process of gender statistics can be described through a flowchart, showing the necessary steps to be taken, from identification of problems and questions related to gender to analysis, presentation and dissemination of available gender statistics. The flowchart is attached as annex 2.

The same production process holds for all countries. In fact, the gender statistics process includes the same activities as for all other statistical fields. The only difference is that a gender perspective is integrated in the analysis of problems and questions in society, the needs for improvements and goals for development – something that in the future all statistics are expected to reflect.

The gender statistics flowchart was developed as a result of gender statistics work in Sweden and in consultations in other countries during late 1980's and early 1990's. The flowchart is also the basis for the publication "Engendering Statistics. A Tool for Change", by Birgitta Hedman, Francesca Perucci and Pehr Sundstrom, produced by Statistics Sweden 1996. This publication presents the fundaments of this new area of work in statistics and provides an overview of the necessary steps for the production and dissemination of gender statistics. It emphasises the important role of users in stimulating the production of adequate statistics and the need for their continuous dialogue with statisticians. This book is now available in English, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Japanese and for sale at Statistics Sweden (except the Japanese version).

The gender statistics consultations undertaken by Statistics Sweden cover a number of countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe including a number of LDCs. Most of the consultations have been funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida. Countries having received such support are presented in annex 1.

There are many common features among countries for a successful gender statistics result. It must be stressed that there are no specific features in possibilities and constraints to develop gender statistics in LDCs compared to other developing and even developed countries.

A. LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE - ENGENDERED NATIONAL STATISTICS

Production and dissemination of gender statistics is an infinite and iterative process. The long-term objective of gender statistics work is to develop the whole national statistical system with a gender perspective integrated.

The work must be mainstreamed in the statistical office and involve statisticians from all statistical fields. In addition, permanent staff has to be appointed to co-ordinate gender statistics work within the government agencies and to have special tasks related to analysis and presentation of gender statistics covering several statistical subject matter fields. Strong support from the highest managerial level at the national statistical office is needed. The presentation of statistics has to relate to the capability of various users to read and understand statistics. It must be kept in mind that most users are not trained in statistics.

B. SHORT-TERM PROGRAMME FOR NATIONAL GENDER STATISTICS WORK

A well structured programme and a strong foundation in real life with concrete steps on the way is needed to integrate a gender perspective in the development of the national statistical system. To encourage this process it is recommended to start with a special gender statistics project. The project should preferably have a length of two years and cover all steps in the gender statistics flowchart. Suggestions for such a project is given in the following.

a. Short-term objectives for a gender statistics project

- (i) Identify the goals for development for women relative to men in the country.
- (ii) Identify a first list of statistics and indicators needed in different areas related to gender issues in the country.
- (iii) Evaluate existing official statistics with respect to their gender responsiveness and identify deficiencies.
- (iv) Present basic statistical information on national gender issues for a broad audience.

(v) Present a report with actions to be taken to address the statistical deficiencies identified.

b. Important outputs

- (i) A national statistical booklet on women and men has proved to be an important tool to promote work related to gender concerns in a number of countries. Statistics and indicators with basic information on the situation of women compared to men in all spheres of society, presented in a way easy to understand for non-statisticians, reach out to a large audience. [Ref. Beijing Platform for Action 1995, § 207 (a)].
- (ii) A report on needs to improve the official statistical system to better reflect gender concerns in the country should be prepared on the basis of the work to produce the statistical booklet. This report should identify activities within areas of work and give strategies in to improve gender statistics in the country. [Ref. Beijing Platform for Action 1995, § 207 (b)].

The areas of work could be to:

- Improve ways to present and disseminate available statistics.
- Improve concepts, definitions, measurements and classifications.
- Improve production of statistics to fill in data gaps.
- Improve user-producer co-operation.

c. Organisation

The national statistical office should have the main responsibility for the project. A core working group should be formed with statisticians from various fields within the official statistical system. This group should identify, produce and disseminate needed statistical outputs.

A key activity in the process is to establish a close and continuous co-operation between users and producers of statistics, where they together review the statistical system and make a plan for improvements related to gender concerns, where needed. Potential users of gender statistics, and specifically those responsible for the national equal opportunity policy and its implementation, are responsible for specification and presentation of problems and questions related to gender in the country.

The project should include seminars and workshops with various groups of users and producers of statistics to increase awareness of gender issues world-wide, national gender concerns and production of statistics with a gender perspective. These activities will also increase the understanding of the active role users and producers of statistics have to play to build up a close and continuous co-operation between them.

If needed, the project could be supported by short-term consultancies by international gender statistics experts at various steps of the process.

d. Project activities

The main activities could be as follows to cover all steps in the flowchart:

- (i) Establish a gender statistics project group at the national statistical office.
- (ii) Identify important potential users of gender statistics and establish a close and continuous cooperation with them.
- (iii) Prepare a summary of the national plan for equal opportunities for women and men including problems and questions related to needs for improvements of the situation and goals for equal opportunity. Potential users of gender statistics are responsible for presentation of these concerns, based on the national gender policy, the Beijing Platform for Action and their own knowledge of gender concerns and ongoing activities.

- (iv) Prepare a first draft list of statistics and indicators needed to reflect gender concerns.
- (v) Identify available gender statistics in the above list and compile basic tables for analysis and presentation. Take notes on definitions of used concepts, sources of data, problems related to quality and data gaps.
- (vi) Prepare a first draft of a booklet on "Women and Men in X-Country" including tables, graphs and text. The presentation should be done in a way easy to understand for non-statisticians.
- (vii) Review the draft together with potential important users.
- (viii) Prepare a final original and print the booklet.
- (ix) Prepare a plan for dissemination of the booklet to various groups of users including a press release, a press conference and seminars and workshops.
- (x) Disseminate the booklet according to the plan.
- (xi) Prepare reports on:
 - Activities related to dissemination of the booklet. Subjects to be covered include target
 groups for information and dissemination; ways of information and dissemination, e.g.
 press conferences, press releases, seminars, workshops; training of staff in presentation;
 users' comments on the booklet, e.g. suggestions for improvements in presentation,
 content and presentation; and presentation and discussion of the booklet within the
 statistical office.
 - Needs to improve the official statistical system to fully reflect gender concerns at national, regional and local level in the country.
 - 12. Conduct a workshop with users and producers of gender statistics to:
 - Discuss experiences gained during the project.
 - Develop plans for further work.

C. SOME SPECIFIC PROBLEMS RELATED TO QUALITY OF GENDER STATISTICS

In all countries there are problems, more or less serious, related to the production of statistics with a gender perspective. These are characterised by:

- Underutilization of existing data
- Biased concepts, definitions, classifications and measurements
- Data gaps
- Poor linkage between users and producers of gender statistics.

Needs for improvement in all these respects are expressed in a number of paragraphs in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action.

D. MAIN NEEDS FOR IMPROVED GENDER STATISTICS EXPRESSED IN THE BEIJING PLATFORM FOR ACTION 1995

A number of paragraphs in each of the twelve areas of gender concerns in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action include needs for statistics. In summary, these requests cover the following items relevant worldwide.

a. Improve production and use of gender statistics related to:

- Content [§ 206 (a)]
- Presentation [§ 207 (a)]
- Organisation [§ 206 (d)]
- User-producer co-operation [§ 207 (b)]

b. Improve concepts, definition, classifications, measurements and collection of statistics by sex on:

- Power and decision making
- Work and economy
- Violence and crime
- Health and disability.

Some concepts and definitions used in statistics were developed with the perception that women were only housewives with no education and economic role. Very little attention was given to women's and men's specific needs and problems and to their interrelation in the family and in society. Many times data was only collected for the man in the household. New standards and recommendations have already been developed by international organisations, but many countries have not yet adopted these. Also, some topics have only started to be investigated.

Women and men contribute in many different ways to economic and social growth and to eliminate poverty. However, gender related problems limits improvements of women's and men's well-being in society on equal terms. To identify these problems, their underlying causes and effects, women's and men's various contributions must be made visible in statistics. Also, the interrelations between various gender concerns and their impact on gender equality should be identified. Key areas of improvements are measurements and valuation of all kinds of work, remunerated and unremunerated, inside and outside the United Nations System of National Accounts. Demand for such statistics are expressed in § 206 (f) and (g).

E. COMMON EXPERIENCES FROM NATIONAL GENDER STATISTICS WORK

The following positive and negative experiences are common to gender statistics work in many countries, developing as well as developed.

a. Positive experiences

- 1. A clear work-plan with activities, expected outputs, a timetable, and responsible person(s) indicated and strong support from high managerial level is a prerequisite for a successful result.
- 2. Analysis and presentation of gender statistics give the producers training to study the society with a gender perspective, which lead to a broadening consciousness of the use of statistics in general.
- 3. Through production and dissemination of gender statistics booklets the producers reach out to new user groups and receive a very positive response. This increases their understanding of user-friendly presentations. It also gives them a deeper understanding of the users' problems

and needs for statistics. This has inspired a work to continue this way of presentation during the production of other publications from the statistical offices.

b. Negative experiences

- 4. Gender concerns are many times not of high priority among potential users, not even among persons at executive power level.
- 5. Low level of gender-awareness among users of statistics affects their capability to request gender statistics relevant to their area of responsibility.
- 6. Users of statistics many times have difficulties to read and analyse statistics.
- 7. Gender awareness is often at a low level among producers of statistics.
- 8. Producers have problems to distinguish between needed statistics, relevant for the specific problems and questions, and available statistics.
- 9. Producers are not always aware of the distinction between the terms sex and gender. Statistics are always collected by sex, the biological identity of individuals, which is unchangeable, while gender refers to women's and men's position in society, their social identity, which is shaped through history of social relations and can be changed.
- 10. Producers often lack knowledge in how to present and disseminate statistics in ways suitable for various groups of users.
- 11. Communication between users and producers of statistics is scarce in general and, specifically, in gender statistics.
- 12. Human and technical resources are lacking in production and improvement of statistics in general.
- 13. High turnover of statistical staff.
- 14. Support from higher managerial levels is many times weak.

IV. ENGENDERING STATISTICS IN LDCs and other countries – summary and recommendations

The ultimate goal for gender statistics work is that:

- All statistics on individuals should be collected by sex.
- All variables and characteristics should be analysed and presented with sex as a primary and overall classification. This, in turn, enables all analyses and presentations to be sex specific.
- All statistics should reflect gender issues.

As stated earlier, supporting and hindering factors are to a large extent common for all national work to integrate a gender perspective in an official statistical system, in LDCs as well as in other developing and developed countries. The same holds for the needs for improvement listed in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action.

In all countries it is possible to produce some basic gender statistics to give an overview of the situation of women and men, using available official statistics. This statistics should be presented in a way easy to understand for non-statisticians. It is important that the process starts with a dialogue between users and producers of statistics – a dialogue that should be close and continuous. This is the only way to identify statistics needed in the work to reach gender equality, to encourage a critical and constructive evaluation of the quality of existing statistics, and to improve the entire statistical system.

Such a process has already started in many countries. A large number of countries have also produced gender statistics publications for a broad group of non-statisticians. Such publications are very important to increase both understanding and usefulness of statistics and knowledge of gender concerns.

Needed ingredients for a successful gender statistics project are:

- The National Statistical Office has the main responsibility for gender statistics work.
- A core working group with representatives from various statistical fields and a project manager.
- A clear work-plan with activities, expected outputs, a timetable and responsible person(s) indicated.
- Enough time assigned for the activities.
- Support and follow-up from high managerial level.
- Close and continuous co-operation between users and producers of gender statistics to increase awareness and knowledge of both gender issues in society and the possibilities and problems to produce statistics with a gender perspective.
- Support from gender statistics experts including training of users and producers and training material.
- Technical equipment and soft ware.

Sharing of experiences between countries is an important way to encourage engendering national statistics. Another way is co-operation between countries with similar statistical problems, e.g. to improve concepts and classifications and develop new measurement methods.

Finally, it is recommended that a new paragraph is included in the National Statistical Act or other relevant official statistical policy or law to strengthen the obligation of the National Statistical Office to mainstream a gender perspective in the official statistical system. Paragraph 206 (a) in the Beijing Platform for Action give guidance for the content of such a paragraph: "Ensure that statistics related to individuals are collected, compiled, analysed and presented by sex and age, and reflect problems, issues and questions related to women and men in society".

ANNEX 1

GENDER STATISTICS DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS EXECUTED BY STATISTICS SWEDEN WITH SUPPORT FROM SIDA 1985–2000

The popular statistical booklet "Women and Men in Sweden. Facts and Figures 1985", produced by Statistics Sweden, was presented at the UN World Conference on Women in Nairobi 1985 at seminars organised by the Council on Women, KIB, at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida. The booklet became recognised world-wide and contributed to increased interest in presentation and use of statistics on the situation of women and men which was easy accessible and easy to understand for non-statisticians.

Since1985, Sida has actively supported activities to develop gender statistics in various countries. Statistics Sweden has acted as gender statistics consultants in this work. Until today, projects have been undertaken in the following countries:

Africa	Asia	Latin America
Botswana ¹	The Philippines ¹	Chile ¹
Etiopia ¹	India ¹	Nicaragua ⁴
Kenya ¹	Pakistan ¹	Guatemala ⁴
Lesotho ¹	Sri Lanka ¹	Bolivia ⁶
Malawi	Thailand ¹	
Mozambique ^{1,5}	Vietnam ¹	Europe
Namibia ¹	Laos ³	Russia ²
Swaziland	China ^{1,3}	Estonia ⁴
South Africa	Uzbekistan ⁷	Lithuania ⁴
Tanzania ¹		Ukraine ⁴
Uganda ¹		Armenia ^{1,3}
Zambia ¹		Georgia ^{1,3}
Zimbabwe ¹		Azerbaijan ^{1,3}

¹ Has published a booklet, "Women and Men in X-country. Facts and figures 19.."

12 countries in Africa (all listed except South Africa) and in Asia (all listed except Laos and China) have, in addition to national work, participated in regional projects with the objective to strengthen the national development of gender statistics and improve comparisons between countries. The Asian project was half funded by UNIFEM and half by Sida. ESCAP's Statistical Division was executing agency. Included in the projects were production of national booklets, regional publications with comparable statistics on the situation of women and men in various spheres of society within the respective region and reports on how to improve national official statistics to better reflect gender concerns.

² Has published booklets for all Russia, for Moscow City, Moscow Region, St. Petersburg City, Leningrad Region and for the Regions of Arkhangelsk, Kaliningrad, Karelia, Komi, Murmansk, Nighny Novgorod, Rostov and Vologda. Also, fact sheets named "Women and Men in St.Petersburg" and corresponding for Kaliningrad Region and Murmansk Region have been produced. Further, the project "Improving Gender Statistics in Russia" includes reports from all regions involved and for all Russia on needs to improve the official statistical system to better reflect gender concerns.

³ The project also includes a report on needs to improve the official statistical system to better reflect gender concerns.

⁴ Started in the autumn 1997.

⁵. Phase 2 started in February 1999.

⁶ Started in October 1999

⁷ Started in October 2000

The African project, which ended in 1996, included a regional publication, "Women and Men in East, Central and Southern Africa. Facts and Figures 1995", a report on "Needs to improve gender statistics in East, Central and Southern Africa and plan for future action 1997-1999", a regional Newsletter and a larger publication from Tanzania, "Analysis of African Women and Men. The Tanzanian Case". This publication is a country specific version of the UN publication "The World's Women".

All country specific and regional statistical projects have included training activities (courses, workshops, seminars). Material developed for this training, together with experiences from practical work in various countries, is the basis for a publication/ training manual. The book "Engendering Statistics. A Tool for Change" was published by Statistics Sweden in December 1996 and is now sold world-wide. The book was published in Japanese at the end of 1997, in Spanish in February 1999, in Chinese in September 1999 and in Russian in December 1999. The books are among other things used in training activities in various Sida-projects.

At the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing in August/September 1995 workshops and seminars for users and producers of gender statistics took place. Organisers were the UN Statistical Division and INSTRAW in co-operation with Statistics Sweden and Statistics Finland. Results and experiences from Sida's projects and suggestions for further activities were presented by statisticians from some of Sida's project countries and by Statistics Sweden.

GENDER STATISTICS THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

GENDER STATISTICS IN TANZANIA

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

Reliable statistics are needed for appropriate planning and/or proper decision making and as women's needs differ from those of men, sex-disaggregated statistics is needed. Women's issues will then be adequately covered in planning of development activities.

For many years, statistics collected and analysed has been "gender blind". In population statistics, however, the distribution of the nation's population has been by sex and age group and presented in population pyramids, with the right side of the pyramid indicating the distribution of women and the left side indicating the distribution of men, both sides by age group. Through the population statistics, mortality rates by sex and life expectancy of women and men have been revealed.

The "gender blind" statistics do, however, not decompose data according to sex but only provide an overall total. For example, the average income of workers in Tanzania (in Shilling) does not indicate how the average income is distributed within the population. Data on the specific income of female and male workers is needed for policy makers to take the right decisions.

In general, gender-sensitive national statistics is produced when:

- (i) All sectors are gender mainstreamed; and
- (ii) Questionnaires are designed in such a way that the sex variable appears for every activity for which data is being collected.

In addition to the National Bureau of Statistics in Tanzania, a number of institutions, as indicated below, are in charge of collecting specific statistics:

Table 1: Institutions collecting National Statistics in Tanzania

Sector	Institution		
Agriculture, livestock and fishing	National Bureau of Statistics		
	Ministry of Agriculture (statistics section)		
Manufacturing	National Bureau of Statistics		
Transport and Communication	National Bureau of Statistics		
	Ministry of Transport and Communication (statistics section)		
Construction	National Bureau of Statistics		
Mining	National Bureau of Statistics		
	Ministry of Energy and Minerals		
Labour (formal and informal employment)	National Bureau of Statistics		
	Ministry of Labour and Youth Development (statistics section)		
Trade Local Trade	National Bureau of Statistics		
Balance of Payment	Bank of Tanzania		
National Accounts	National Bureau of Statistics		
Education	Ministry of Education (planning section)		
	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (planning section)		
Health	Ministry of Health		
Water Utilization	National Bureau of Statistics (Household Budget Surveys)		
Tourism	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism		
Census	National Bureau of Statistics		

II. CURRENT STATUS OF NATIONAL STATISTICS

Most national statistics have been collected through major statistical surveys. The following major surveys have been conducted in "recent" years in Tanzania.

A. THE NATIONAL HOUSEHOLD BUDGET SURVEY (NHBS) OF 2000/2001

One of the preliminary findings was that female-headed households are increasing and that the male-headed households are declining. Judging from the questionnaire distributed for the collection of household data, there is room for improvement with respect to gender. One of the questions, for example, was "Has any member of the household made any expenses for purchases of any of the following during the last 12 months?" This could be improved by adding to this question the member by sex and age of those who purchased the item.

B. THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND HEALTH SURVEY (DHS) OF 1996

The DHS was a nationally representative survey where, in selected households, information was sought on women of reproductive age (15-49 years old) and a sample of men aged 15-29. In the survey, 8,120 women and 2,356 men were interviewed and provided information n fertility, family planning, infant and child mortality, knowledge and attitudes on AIDS, female circumcision, etc. The survey was relatively gender-sensitive. As far as possible, the results were broken down by sex, e.g.

infant and under 5 mortality rates for female and male children; knowledge of and attitudes on AIDS of women and men in households.

C. THE REPRODUCTIVE AND CHILD HEALTH SURVEY (RCHS) OF 1999

The RCHS used the same method as the DHS. Data was collected from 4,029 women aged 15-49 years and 3,542 men aged 15-59 years. The findings were very similar to those of the DHS. It indicated an increased awareness of HIV/AIDS by both women and men. It also indicated an increased use of contraceptive by women and men. For example, in the 1996 DHS, 11.7 per cent of women and 14.0 per cent of men were using contraceptive methods and the respective figures for the 1999 RCHS were 15.6 per cent of women and 20.8 per cent of men. An improvement of the RCHS was that in the household questionnaires, there was a module for questions on child labour by sex (ages 5-14), which were not included in the DHS questionnaire.

D. NATIONAL SAMPLE CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE (NSCA) OF 1993/94 AND 1994/95

Among other things, the surveys show the numbers of female and male headed households for each type of agricultural holding. For example, in the rural area survey (1993/94), the following was observed.

Table 2: Agricultural Households (by type of holding)

Type of	Number of agricultural household with:				Total
agricultural household	Crops only	Livestock only	Crops + livestock	Other	
Female headed	511,184	1,205	135,467	0	647,856
Male headed	1,885,288	14,257	1,143,583	1,344	3,044,472
Total	2,396,472	15,462	1,279,050	1,344	3,692,328
% female headed	21.3	7.8	10.6	0	17.5

Source: Compiled from URT (1994)

Thus 17.5 per cent of the rural agricultural households were female headed and 82.5 per cent were male headed. Gender-wise comparison show that the majority of the female-headed households were mainly occupied with growing crops only (78.9 per cent). For the male headed households the share was a bit lower, 61.9 per cent.

The questionnaire is gender sensitive with respect to agricultural activities in the household and asks who does what and refers to age sex, education and relationship of household member to the head of household.

E. THE NATIONAL INFORMAL SECTOR SURVEY (NISS) OF 1991 AND DAR ES-SALAAM INFORMAL SECTOR SURVEY (DISS) OF 1995

The NISS and DISS showed that women constitute 35 per cent of the total employment in the informal sector. Men's wages are generally higher than those of women, and men are generally more educated than women. About two thirds of women in the informal sector are unpaid workers whereas one third of them are unpaid male workers.

Another survey, not described here, is the Labour Force Survey, which method is similar to the NISS.

III. OTHER SECTORAL DATA

A. EDUCATION

In education, questionnaires are designed by the Ministry's headquarters and sent to regions (provinces) which in turn send them to the districts. Each Head of School fills the questionnaire, provide data on school enrollment by sex and age, among other things. Following these questionnaires, data on school enrollment is available at district, provincial and national levels.

Questionnaires are also sent to teacher training colleges and to institutions of higher learning where enrollment of trainees by sex, age and year of training are readily available. Moreover, the national examination council of Tanzania provides examination result by sex.

In my opinion, the education sector is far more advanced in engendering statistics compared to other sectors. Female enrollment and performance in examinations can be easily seen and compared to that of male. As a result, appropriate actions can be taken. Such actions include pre-university remedial courses for girls in science who fall below the cut-off point for admission into science degrees. After the remedial courses, girls are given examinations and those who pass get admitted in the science degrees of their choice.

B. HEALTH

The Ministry of Health produces an annual report called *Health Statistics Abstract*. However, examination of the 1999 Abstract (URT 1999b) reveals that the statistics are gender blind. The sex variable needs to be included in the questionnaire (what they call *Routine System of Data Collection* or HMIS) which would make it possible to analyse the data on the basis of sex. Currently, the Ministry produces tables on *Out patient Diagnosis* for, for example, Malaria. These tables only indicate the number of patients under and above five. In order to know the leading diagnosis for female and male out patients, the tables can be improved through disaggregating the data by sex.

IV. TOWARDS ENGENDERING NATIONAL STATISTICS

In this section, attempts made by two institutions, the Ministry of Education and the National Bureau of Statistics, in collecting and publishing sex-disaggregated statistics are presented as well as a highlight on the way forward.

A. MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

In the mid-1980's, the Ministry of Education started publishing booklets on educational statistics. The booklets were entitled Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST). In these booklets, enrollments in primary and secondary schools, teacher training colleges, and the universities were provided, among others.

The booklets were widely circulated and a plea was included in the booklet requesting for advice on improving them. Women groups and some individuals send in their comments requesting the Ministry to present separate figures for women and men. This contributed to the Ministry's improvements in designing the questionnaire, this making sex a major variable. Improvements took place slowly but us rather complete with respect to sex-disaggregation of the data.

B. THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS (NBS)

In the late 1980's, with support from Statistics Sweden, the NBS initiated a discussion group on gender statistics with members of women research groups and a number of ministries. The group's

discussions led to collection of secondary data (by the group members) which finally led to the 1992 publication of *Women and Men in Tanzania*.

After the above publication, a National Gender Advisory Committee to the NBS was formed. Most of the members were selected from the former discussion group. The group advised the NBS to prepare a Kiswahili version of the 1992 publication with the aim to reach a wider section of the population. The translated version was published in 1993.

Finally in 1996 and in 1997, more secondary data was collected and the Women and Men in Tanzania publication was updated in 1997.

C. GAPS IN STATISTICS

Gender gaps exist in the publication Women and Men in Tanzania and a good percentage of the data come from small surveys which are not nationally representative. Moreover, some of the surveys quoted in the booklet are more or less outdated.

V. CONCLUSION

The major statistical surveys discussed do have gender gaps. In most cases, the sex variable is not carried out to the "logical end" in the questionnaires. As a result, it is only possible to get limited sex-disaggregated data. It is therefore recommended that the sex variable be included in the questionnaire as far as it is possible.

In some sectoral statistics, sex disaggregation of data is lacking, in particular in sectors such as health, transport, construction and mining, and sex-disaggregated data need to be produced.

A time-use study involving a nationally representative survey is also needed which would create knowledge on how adult women and women, and female and male youths utilize their time.

Tanzania, like many other least developed countries, has not reached a good stage in engendering national statistics. Gender advocates, in collaboration with National Statistical Bureaus, need to sensitize decision-makers and planners on the need for gender statistics.

GENDER STATISTICS: THE MOZAMBICAN EXPERIENCE

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I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to present the work on Gender statistics carried out by the INE (National Statistical Institute of Mozambique) from 1999 and up to date. This work is carried out as part of the institutional capacity-building program (Twinning Arrangement) that exists between INE and Statistics Sweden and has benefited greatly from the input of the short-term consultant Pehr Sundstrom from Statistics Sweden.

The paper will first present some introductory remarks on what constitute gender statistics and what mainstreaming gender statistics means. Then we go on to describe more in detail the work carried out in Mozambique. This work has been carried out in three stages. The First Stage constitutes the planning, elaboration, publication and presentation of the booklet "Women and Men in Mozambique". The Second Stage constitutes the elaboration of a Gap Report related to the need for gender statistics in Mozambique, while the Third Stage involves the elaboration of a Long Term Plan to integrate gender statistics as a part of the total statistical system in Mozambique (mainstreaming)

Statistics is an important tool in the achieving the goal of equality between men and women in the society. Based on stated gender concerns in a society, statistics can show the existing differences, and when used in causal analysis, can also provide guidelines for policy action to reduce those same differences. Statistics can also be used to evaluate the various actions and programs aiming at reducing gender differences in a society. Hence the need for statistics desegregated by sex is an important step towards obtaining needed information about existing gender differences in a society.

It is on this background that the work on a booklet Women and Men was started in Mozambique. This booklet was based on existing statistics already collected in Mozambique, and it is quite obvious that not all important gender issues were adequately covered on the basis of those existing statistics.

The "Women and Men in Mozambique" booklet is an instrument designed to provide Gender Statistics, which means statistics desegregated by sex on subject matter areas of gender concern. These statistics are important for helping to promote change; demolish stereotypes, old customs, and traditions; and provide an understanding of the current situation of women and men in the country. It is a tool intended to enable a wide range of users, especially in Government and among policy makers, to raise consciousness and provide impetus for monitoring policies and programs working toward gender equality.

As Gender Statistics is not only statistics desegregated by sex, but is statistics which reflect gender issues and concerns as well, it is necessary to define those gender concerns that are relevant in the context of each and every country. Hence collaboration with the potential users is crucial to the success of the work.

However, there also exists internationally accepted gender concerns, as defined by the Beijing Conference in 1996, that also are important inputs in the production of gender statistics. Even to look to other countries, both with similar cultural and social situation, as well as countries with different cultural and social conditions can give important input to the selection of indicators to monitor gender issues in a particular country.

To produce gender statistics is a long process in which the entire collection of statistics on individuals and households, as well as the presentation and analyses of all variables and characteristics should be made from a gender perspective, meaning not only that sex as a variable should be included as an overall classification variable in all stages of the production of statistics but the analysis and presentation in gender perspective as well. One important aspect of this work is, through the contact with users and the critical review of existing data sources so that important data gaps in relation to gender concerns will be identified. An important aspect for further work will then be to try to see how to improve the statistical system from a gender perspective. The basic idea is to list activities that support the improvement of statistics to better reflect gender concerns in Mozambique. This is to start the implementation phase of a gender mainstreaming approach and to formulate a strategy for the implementation of a gender perspective in all statistical fields. It's a process of awareness among people inside INE as well as among major other users and producers of gender statistics. Use of gender statistics could also be part of strengthen the democratic process. Dissemination of statistics to ordinary people could also be important for strengthening the popularity and credibility of INE.

As stressed before, work to improve gender statistics must be integrated and related to the social development activities in Mozambique and the development of the whole statistical system. This is an on-going mainstreaming process, which have to be considered both in the in-put statistical process as well as the output process.

Todays approach to gender statistics implies both improving of existing statistics, improving concepts, definitions, measurements and data collection as well as identifying the real datagaps for reflecting gender issues in society. To generally improve statistics in the National Statistical System is also to improve gender statistics. The importance of good reliable statistics are also pointed out as one of the main source for the elimination of stereotype views on women and men activities in society.

A. ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE FOR GENDER STATISTICS WORK

To strengthen the gender responsiveness of the whole National Statistical System in Mozambique (SEN) is the main objective for improving gender statistics. Work in governamental institutions as well as among NGOs could serve as supporting factors for improving gender statistics because they act both as users and producers of gender statistics.

In accordance to Sundstrom, Pehr at all, (1996) the ultimate goal for gender statistics work is that:

- All statistics on individuals should be collected by sex
- All variables and characteristics should be analysed and presented with sex as a primary and overall classification. This, in turn, enables all analyses and presentations to be sex specific
- All statistics should reflect gender concerns

B. MAINSTREAMING AS A TOOL FOR IMPROVING GENDER STATISTICS

Gender mainstreaming is a tool that implies:

"A process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programs, in all areas and all levels" (United Nations 1997). Mainstreaming is a process rather than a goal. It's a process undertaken to achieve gender equality as well as achieve a gender perspective in statistics. It's not an end in itself. The main needs for the improvement of gender statistics and to follow the mainstreaming approach are:

- To make the whole National Statistical System (SEN) in Mozambique gender sensitive
- To integrated a gender perspective in all traditional statistical fields as a cross-disciplinary approach
- To make both producers and users of statistics more gender sensitized

Gender *mainstreaming* of the statistical system, means that all statistics produced and planned to be produced, should have as a specific aim as to give information to highlight, monitor all the relevant gender issues in a country. This means that the content of the statistical system will be changed as new gender issues comes to the forefront. Mainstreaming gender statistics is not something that will be done in one point of time, but will be an ongoing process, reflecting the main gender issues in the society.

II. THE PRODUCTION PROCESS OF THE BOOKLET "WOMEN AND MEN IN MOZAMBIQUE"

A. INTRODUCTION

The process of production of the booklet Women and Men in Mozambique Consisted of the following stages:

Organizing the work at INE, contact with users, consultancies, seminars, Data sources, compilation and analysis, editing and printing, dissemination.

Focus will be on experiences learnt during this period, so that INE, and other statistical institutes embarking on this kind of work, will be in a better position to do this kind of work in the future.

B. ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK AT INE

To start the work on gender statistics at INE and in Mozambique, it was recommended that a focal point for gender statistics was appointed, so that responsibilities for the initiating and progress of work were well defined.

INE appointed the DEMOVIS at the Pelouro Demografico as the focal point, and this Directorate has been responsible for advancing the work on gender statistics. In addition to the work carried out within INE itself, two short-term missions from Statistics Sweden have been crucial in the production process of the booklet. To ensure user participation in the elaboration of the booklet a reference group with representatives from the main users and also producers was appointed. To enhance gender awareness in statistics, two seminars were organized, one in-house at INE and one external with the main users.

C. CONSULTANCIES

For the production of the booklet, two short-term consultancies were carried out in the area of Gender statistics.

The first mission was carried out in February 1999, having as its objective to make a short-term plan for gender statistics at INE, covering 1999-2001. The main recommendation from this first mission was that a booklet on the situation on women and men in Mozambique should be produced and disseminated based on existing statistics and in close collaboration with the main users. It was also recommended that, after launching the booklet, an assessment on data gaps should be done and submitted to the President of INE and all the staff for discussion in order to make a long term program for work on Gender statistics.

The second mission, in November 1999, had as its main objective to review the work done on the booklet so far, as well as to conduct a workshop with the main users in order to:

- (i) enhance the awareness of gender statistics among the various users, and also producers, of statistics
- (ii) Highlight the need for gender statistics in education, population and the labor force
- (iii) Discuss the proposed content of the booklet

The results from this second mission were important inputs for the further work on the booklet, and have also been important in the work to identify data gaps.

D. REFERENCE GROUP

As mentioned above, the production of the booklet is a long process, which encompasses collection, analysis and presentation of data desegregated by sex and in gender perspective. The assessment of data quality and reliability is particularly important as well as relevant for gender issues in general. Thus, the cooperation between users and producers is crucial. Hence a reference group, consisting of the main users and producers was established.

The reference group was first presented with a draft list of indicators, based on what had been previously compiled for the first (unpublished) booklet on Men and Women in Mozambique (1995) and on international recommendations (Engendering Statistics: A tool for Change) as well as based on similar booklets both from the Sub-region and outside, with a view to what would be possible to compile on the basis of existing data in Mozambique.

After a list of indicators had been agreed upon, a list of dummy-tables was presented to the group in order to determine the level of desegregation needed in addition to sex desegregation, as well as what time series to include. Based on those discussions as well as the discussion in the workshop mentioned above, the final content of the booklet was decided upon.

E. SEMINARS

In addition to the regular meetings within the reference group, the seminars mentioned above were also conducted and held as part of the missions from Statistics Sweden.

Various aspects of gender issues and data requirements, such as, Beijing Paragraphs on gender statistics, data needs in education, employment and population, data needs related to Mozambique Post-Beijing plan and gender issues worldwide were discussed.

During the first mission from Statistics Sweden an in-house training seminar was held for INE-staff. The main topics covered were basic concepts and ideas of gender issues and statistics, the production process of gender statistics, identification of gender statistics and issues as well as statistics and indicators in gender perspective.

The second seminar was carried out during the second mission. It involved the main users and producers of statistics, having as main target discussion of the proposed content of the booklet.

F. DATA SOURCES:

The booklet Women and Men in Mozambique was based on existing statistics within the INE and the relevant ministries. The existing statistics are from sources such as:

- The Censuses 1980 and 1997 as well as projections
- The Household survey on living conditions 1996-97
- The Demographic and Health Survey 1997
- Administrative records from the Ministry of health and Education

G. COMPILATION AND ANALYSES OF DATA

The analysis and compilation of data was done within INE itself. In most cases new tables had to be compiled from existing data-files. That is not to say that data desegregated by sex did not already exist at INE, but the groupings and sometimes the definitions of variables had to be changed in order to accommodate the gender perspective.

New tables based upon administrative data had to be provided by the relevant Ministries. The compilation and analysis of data were organized within the DEMOVIS, with the Director as head of the analysis and compilation team. The work was conducted according to a work plan where compilation of the tables was the responsibility of one person, while the interpretation and comments were the responsibility of the rest of the team. Regular meetings were held within the group, at least every two weeks, to discuss the analysis and the tables and to resolve problems encountered. Also questions concerning layout and the mixture between tables and graphs were discussed during those meetings.

H. EDITING AND PRINTING

Editing and printing were the last steps in the production of Women and Men in Mozambique. This was done through the INE's Department of Diffusion (DISI). At first one hundred copies were printed. The high demand led to a second printing of two hundred more copies.

I. DISSEMINATION

The booklet was disseminated through a seminar with users and producers and in radio and television programs. A summary presentation, was given at the workshop, covering key issues such as population size and characteristics like marital status, education, all attainment economic activities, occupation and employment status. The booklet was sold at a reasonable price, but is also given out for free to visitors to INE. INE is also on the "visiting list" for short-terms missions and delegations related to various gender issues.

INE also has contacts with the Ministry of Women's affair to discuss gender issues and the need for gender desegregated statistics. Ministries, like the Ministry of Health, has been elaborating plans for future statistical work, where gender issues, and the technical cooperation from INE in order to produce more gender sensitized statistics has been stressed.

J. LESSONS LEARNT

Normally, in the production process of a booklet like Women and Men in Mozambique the user participation and user input in defining statistical needs and needed indicators are stressed. However, even though the users and producers outside INE express interest in gender statistics and indicators to measure gender inequalities, the process up to now has been very much INE-driven. The work has been initiated by INE, and without DEMOVIS as the focal point for this work, it is doubtful whether the booklet would ever have been produced.

Even though some users and Ministries are now approaching INE for assistance it is still a long way to go before the demand for gender statistics will be user-driven in Mozambique. The situation will rather be, for a long time to come, that INE will have to educate the users in what statistics do demand, and also for INE to try to develop a statistical system that incorporates fully the gender perspective.

It will be a task for INE, based on political programs and plans, to try to extract the relevant gender issues and translate them into indicators, but of course with the input from users.

II. DATA GAPS

A. INTRODUCTION

Action plans in various areas of society that has been formulated both to promote gender equality, and to promote development in general, or plans to alleviate poverty, have shown that more statistics and more refined indicators will be needed to monitor the gender issues in society.

Hence, this chapter will outline some of the data gaps existent in Woman and Men in Mozambique, as well as some thoughts on how to improve the statistical system so that those gaps can be filled.

It should be noted, however, that when we are talking about gaps in the statistical system, we are talking of several different things. We can talk about statistics needed but not collected, statistics collected but not presented, statistics existing, but not desegregated by sex, and also about the concepts used, not reflecting gender issues. For example, the concept "head of household" can have various meanings and definitions, and may therefore induce errors when data are represented in a gender perspective.

B. CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS IN GENDER ISSUES

_As is well known, statistics can be defined as information presented in an aggregated form, as numbers, proportions tables and graphs. Statistics will in a quantitative form shed light on the different aspects of society, and will also provide information to evaluate programs and goals related to the development of a country.

Gender statistics represents a new framework. This is statistics that are desegregated by sex, presented in a gender perspective and represent the development of women and men in different sectors of society, like in the economy, the social sphere and the political sphere. This framework does not, however, differ in coverage from the normal statistical system. The new aspect is that sex or gender will be the overall classification variable in all statistics collected and presented within the national statistical system, and that all important gender issues should be covered by statistics. Thus, even in gender statistics all the important areas of society are covered, like population, Families and Households, Economic activity, Economy, Education, Health, Crime and Justice and decision-making.

C. THE CONCEPT OF DATA GAPS

A lack of concepts and definitions that are adequate to monitor the participation of women and men in the development of a country can introduce errors, and hence data gaps. Thus, the concepts, the definitions, the methodologies used in the data collection as well as how concepts are measured can influence the data quality from a gender perspective, and hence induce errors when the situation of women and men are analyzed.

In gender statistics, concepts like head of household, economic activity and marital status have been given special attention, because of the potential problems encountered in their definition and measurement.

D. THE CONCEPT OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

As has already been mentioned, the way this concept is defined can influence the number of households either headed by women or men. The definition can be based on:

- who sustains the household financially
- Who makes major decisions on the behalf of the household
- Who is designated by the household as head of household
- Culture and tradition, which most often implies that a man is designated as head

Depending on the definition used the estimation of female headed and male-headed household will differ.

E. THE CONCEPT OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

This concept refers to any activity that is geared towards the production of goods and services for sale or for own consumption.

The economically active population comprises all those who are available for economic production, whether they are paid in money or in kind. The concept includes both the employed and the unemployed population. The minimum age for being included in the economically active population may vary between countries. In Mozambique, the minimum age used in the 1997 Census was 15 years and above.

The 13th ILO (International Labor Office) conference distinguished between the population economically active at one point in time, and the population usually active. The distinction is based on the period worked. Those who are actually active are those who during a definite reference week worked for at least one hour. The population usually active refers to those who have been working during a longer period of time, at least during the last one-year.

The reference period chosen will influence the estimates of the economically active population. If the concept of actually economically active is used, people with seasonal work or piecework will tend to be excluded, in many cases this will be a woman, thus underestimating the female economically active population. If the concept of usually active is chosen, more people will be included, but fluctuations on the labor market will not be taken into account.

The definition of economically active population will also underestimate domestic work normally done by women, since activities like fetching water and firewood and taking care of the sick and the children. Also special care has to be taken to ensure that women's work on the households fields will be registered as an economic activity and not as domestic work. In the Mozambican 1997 Census, all persons who said that their main activity in the reference week was domestic work was given a follow-up question just to ensure that work in the fields and even petty vending was registered as work.

This means that both the reference periods used, as well as the data collection instrument can underestimate the female economically active population.

F. THE CONCEPT OF MARITAL STATUS

This concept reflects the marital status of a person in relation to the marital laws and customary laws that exist in each country. The categories used in data collection and analysis need to reflect the reality in each country. This means for instance that the categories of married and cohabitation (marital union, but not according to formal law) has to be very well defined. Otherwise polygamous marriages might create difficulties when it comes to defining the total married population and the proportion of married women and men. Also, the definition of the term marital union may differ from country to country, hence creating difficulties in international comparisons.

G. REMARKS

Even though the concepts might be adequate and measured in an appropriate way, this does not necessarily mean that the statistics collected are presented in a gender perspective. For this to happen, the production process as outlined in annex 1 will have to be followed.

As shown in the annex, the production process of statistics from a gender perspective will have to follow definite steps. The most important of those are the identification of gender issues in a given society and the needs to improve the situation of women and men. To specify the goals helps to identify the need for statistics in various areas and consequently the relevant indicators needed to monitor the achievement of those goals. In this process, the cooperation between the users and the producers is of the utmost importance.

The National Statistical Institute of Mozambique (INE) produces official statistics for Mozambique based on Censuses, surveys and administrative data. This data will be used in the production also of statistics in a gender perspective. Hence there is a need to scrutinize very carefully the data collection instruments used in all areas of statistical production in order to secure that the gender perspective is included. This process is under way. Just now INE is carrying out the agricultural census, which will give much needed information on the gender situation in agriculture (one of the priority areas for Mozambique (see later). Also, in the process of being carried out is the CWIQ (Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire) that will be the core element in the proposed National Household Survey Program. The ongoing survey, as well as the planned future rounds, will provide a rich data source for gender statistics and gender analysis. (Main gaps yet to be found: Time use and victimization and violence not yet covered, but planned within the system)

The Post - Beijing Action plan for Mozambique gives concrete recommendations for the socio-economic development of women and men. Those recommendations are reflected in country-specific plans for Mozambique, such as The Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan 2001-2004, (PRSP). More specifically, Mozambique has selected 7 areas for main concern in the Post-Beijing Action plan. Those are;

- Poverty and employment
- Health
- Education and training of women and girls
- Human rights for women and violence against women
- Agriculture
- Mass communication
- The machinery for advancement of women
- (SADC 1999)

H. POVERTY AND EMPLOYMENT

Women constitute the major part of the Mozambican population, 52 per cent in 2000. Women also are more vulnerable to poverty than men. This is mainly due to traditions and cultural customs creating barriers for women in the access to education, more often than not resulting in female illiteracy and hence less access to gainful employment.

Statistics presented in the booklet Women and Men show that almost 75 per cent of the women were illiterate in 1997, as compared to 45 per cent among men. 67 per cent of the women were economically active (mainly due to participation in subsistence agriculture) as compared to almost 75 per cent among men.

The same source shows that among female headed household; single women, widows or divorced women, (58per cent), head either the majority. Among male-headed households, those groups constitute only 9 per cent.

Most studies show that female headed households, especially those headed by women without support are the most vulnerable to poverty, both in urban and rural areas.

The PRSP defines households headed by women, especially widows, divorced or separated women as well as single mothers as one of the target policy action.

In this context, goals are defined as regards employment in order to reduce poverty. For instance, one goal is to identify and train 16 000 poor people to reduce their future chance of being poor. Even though this goal does not distinguish between women and men, the implementation of

actions as well as the evaluation and monitoring should be made in a gender perspective, and the above mentioned vulnerable group should be an important target population.

I. HEALTH

Analyses of health from a gender perspective show that there exist differences in health between the sexes. Women and men have a different disease pattern. The work environment can for example cause those differences, habits, and use of tobacco and alcohol.

On one hand, the woman's role as mother and wife sometimes makes her give priority to the health of her children and spouse. On the other hand, women's access to, and use of, health facilities have been more limited than men's, due to traditions and the general limited access to health services in Mozambique. As a consequence, women have not been offered sufficient medical attention, especially when it comes to maternal health. This is shown in the high rate of maternal mortality (in hospitals) (158/100 000 live births).

The National Health Program defines maternal and child health as a priority. The PRSP has as one of its goals to reduce the maternal mortality (in hospitals) to less that 100/100 000 live birth.

J. EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS

Education is one of the most important determinants for the development of a country. It is on the basis of education that employment opportunities are provided and professional careers are created.

Traditionally, the education of boys has been given priority in relation to the education of girls. Also, when government does not subsidize education, this might have as a consequence that many families with low incomes prefer to educate the boys and not the girls. Consequently, the woman with a low level of education will meet difficulties in most arenas of life, such as in marriage, in reproduction, in health as well as in employment and professional career.

Mozambique has universal primary education as one of its main goals and has elaborated a Strategic Plan for Education in order to achieve this. Still sex differences in education persist. The school attendance rate among 6-10 years olds is 32.5 for girls and 37.4 for boys. For the 6-12 years olds, the rate is 36.9 for girls and 42.9 for boys. Equal access to education and the elimination of those existing sex differences are some of the main objectives of the above-mentioned plan. Therefore, even the PRSP states that "the increase in the proportion of female students in lower primary education from the existing 43per cent to 45 per cent is one of the goals to be reached in order to reduce absolute poverty"

K. HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WOMEN AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The term violence against women refers to any act of violence based on gender that results in physical, sexual of psychological sufferings.

Sexual abuse and rape are the most frequent types of violence that negatively affect the relation between women and men. Also, those cases are most often not reported to the authorities. Statistics on victims of violence and crime as well as on the perpetrators constitute one of the most important areas to develop

Even though the INE of Mozambique collects data on crime and justice, statistics on victims are not yet included. To fill this gap a survey on victimization is planned.

L. AGRICULTURE

In countries with a large subsistence-farming sector, women are more often engaged in this type of activity while men have more differentiated employment opportunities, and also opportunities for paid employment. This also implies that normally the work carried out by women is unpaid.

According to the Post- Beijing action plan as well as policies and programs to promote sustainable development, to reduce poverty and increase food security are overall strategic goals. In this context access to land and credit, especially for women is of utmost importance. INE is now conducting an agricultural census in order to be able to monitor the implementation of such programs.

M. WOMEN AND MASS COMMUNICATION

To promote gender equality and the sensitization of gender issues in the society is dependent on what is presented in the mass communication media. Therefore, the impartial presentation of gender issues in the mass media is important. One way to achieve this is to increase the number for female journalists and reporters.

N. THE INSTITUTIONAL MACHINERY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN.

Coordinated institutional machinery for the advancement of women is necessary in order to see to that actions and programs aimed at the development of women are implemented and evaluated. In this context, statistics are needed just to see to what extent those programs and projects succeed, as well as to establish the indicators needed to monitor the situation of women and men. In this context, statistical institutes play an important role in collecting and presenting reliable, relevant and timely statistics.

O. THE QUALITY OF EXISTING STATISTICS

Data gaps are here defined in the way presented earlier in this report and related to existing data needs referred to earlier.

The first column in the table refers to the content as presented in the booklet. The second represents some of the statistics and indicators in the booklet and the third column indicates sources of data related to the statistics and indicators presented. The last two columns are showing data gaps, either defined as problems with concepts, definitions, and "real data gaps" meaning that information is lacking.

Table 1: Some statistics and indicators from a gender perspective as presented in "Women and men in Mozambique"

Content	Statistics and Indicators	Source of Data	Problems with Concepts and Definitions	Data Gaps
Population	Infant mortality	Census 97		Lack of data
	National and international migration	Census 97	Migrant is a person that has been outside the home more than 6 months	Lack of data for international migration
Families and households	Household by sex of head	Census 97	Variations in the concept affects the measurement	Underestimation
Economic activity	Population 15 years or more by activity	Census 97	The concept of domestic work	The population whose main activity is domestic work is not counted
Health	Population with disability	Census 97	Definition of types of disability	Lack of data on disability by type
	Maternal mortality rate	DHS 97		Data does not reflect reality
	Female population 15-49 years by number of consultations during pregnancy	DHS 97		Low coverage
	Population in reproductive ages by use of contraceptives by sex	Access to health personnel		Low coverage
	Female population 15-49 years by assistance during childbirth	Access to health facilities		Low coverage
Decision- making	Men and women in various decision-making positions			Low coverage

Source: National Statistic Institute, 1999

Time use and violence against women are important themes in gender statistics. Those aspects are not yet incorporated in the statistical system in Mozambique. However, in the system of Households surveys that has been introduced, those two areas will be covered.

VI. NEEDED STATISTICS

According to plans and programs elaborated for Mozambique, a list of statistics and indicators to monitor and evaluate those plans and programs are needed. Mozambique has signed the Beijing Declaration, and has adopted the Post-Beijing Action plan, in order to promote the situation of women. This plan includes strategic recommendations for gender statistics. Those objectives should be the base for production of gender statistics. In this context national priorities were elaborated, and each sector developed its action plan. Of special importance does the Ministry of Planning and Finance recently elaborate the PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan)? This is a multi-sectoral plan and

should constitute the planning instrument for the Government and should complement other plans already developed.

Also this plan will demand statistics desegregated by sex and in a gender perspective. The PRSP also presents a list of needed indicators, and even though those as of present do not stress the gender perspective, they will have to be analyzed and evaluated in a gender perspective, thus presenting a demand for gender statistics in all areas covered by the PRSP.

If we compare the statistics presented in Women and men in Mozambique on the one hand and the data needs presented in the PRSP it is obvious that there still need of statistics and indicators that at present do not exist, and hence can be presented as data gaps. Some of those indictors can be collected through the National household survey program. Also, there exist lists of internationally recommended indicators for gender statistics, as well as a number of booklets presenting gender statistics in various national contexts.

It is on the basis of national plans and programs, as well as on the basis of those international experiences that INE will embark on the work of further concretization of data gaps and strategies for filling those gaps, in close collaboration with all producers within the National Statistical system (SEN) as well as with the main users.

IV. DRAFT ACTION PLAN FOR IMPROVING GENDER STATISTICS IN MOZAMBIQUE 2001—2005

A. INTRODUCTION

The future Action Plan for improving Gender Statistics in Mozambique are based and referred to both internal needs inside INE to strengthen the commitment to gender equality and related to national and international gender concerns and documents. The Action Plan will primarily be based on nationally identified needs for gender statistics and deficiencies identified in available statistics to fully reflect gender concerns in the country. Internationally recognised problems related to gender statistics will also give information on national needs. The Beijing Platform for Action 1995, which includes a number of statistical paragraphs on needs to improve gender statistics together with the Beijing +5 document from 2000 will give good guidelines to areas of concern for improving gender statistics in Mozambique.

B. Draft Activities in an Action Plan for 2001 –2005

The aim of the Action Plan is to suggest activities that support the final goal and the process of establishing a gender mainstreaming approach into the whole statistical system (SEN). The proposed activities will be part of a long - term strategy plan to be discussed and approved by INE and related to other program activities during the coming years. The activities should be part of the daily work with different statistical products but also separate project aiming to support the gender perspective in statistics.

Work to improve gender statistics in Mozambique should be formalized as an area of responsibility and co-ordination within INE. The proposals presented are based on the results from the previous work 1999–2000 as well as on discussions within INE as well as with different Ministries and NGO: s and an assessment of the current status of gender statistics in Mozambique.

Since gender statistics is a rather new field that cuts across all traditional statistical fields and pertains to the entire statistical system improvements should cover all areas in the production of gender statistics. The plan covers the following items:

- Improve content of statistics with a gender perspective in the areas of priority in Mozambique according to the SADC suggestions from 1999 (See Part 2 Data Gaps).
- Improve use of statistics with a gender perspective
- Improve organisation of statistical work to integrate a gender perspective in the National Statistical System (SEN)
- Improve co-operation between users and producers of statistics
 - Suggested areas of improvement are work to:
- Strengthen the awareness of gender issues and problems among both users and producers
- Improve use of existing statistics with a gender perspective
- Identify and make a plan to fill in the datagaps
- Gender sensitise questionnaires
- Improve analyses and presentation of gender statistics
- Improve dissemination of gender statistics including marketing
- Improve concepts, definitons and measurements
- Improve data collection
- Facilitate the production of gender statistics (institutional arrangements)

As stressed before, work to improve gender statistics must be based on national needs

identified in national documents: The following national documents will be regarded as main sources of information to monitor the needs for gender statistics:

- The Gender Statistics Plan of SADC
- The Post Beijing Action Plan
- Absolute Powerty Reduction Action Plan 2000-2004
- Population Policy
- National Integrated Social Action, Employment and Youth Programme

The Beijing Platform for Action stresses the needs for gender statistics. National statistics reflecting gender issues are important to evaluate what has been achieved according to development programs and to identify problems that still remain to be solved. This is a major task for INE to be considered in the future Action Plan of gender statistics in Mozambique. A training program for strengthen the awareness of gender issues and problems among the staff of INE and main users of statistics are also needed to facilitate the implementation of changing the existing statistics and add more gender sensitized indicators. The organization must be well aware of the gender dimension in society in order to be able to change statistics in a more gender-sensitized way. Both women and men have to be engaged in this work. In order to follow the process it is recommended to write an annual report on the progress of gender statistics. The structure of the report will be depending on the proposed activities during the year.

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ENGENDERING STATISTICS: THE ZAMBIAN EXPERIENCE

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

Zambia has produced two reports on sex-disaggregated data. The first was entitled Women and Men and was produced in 1989 with the support of the Swedish Government. The follow up report, entitled Gender Statistics Report, was produced in 1996. Financial resources for the second report were provided by the United Nations Population Fund under the auspices of the then Women in Development Department at the National Commission for Development Planning.

The need for documents on gender statistics arose from the need for sex-disaggregated data for planning for national development using a gender perspective. On the other hand the civil society also wanted gender desegregated data to use when championing the cause of women's advancement or when addressing specific issues like property grabbing at the demise of a spouse especially in the case of women.

II. WHEN DO WE USE STATISTICS?

Statistics can be used for different reasons and some of them are briefly mentioned below:

Planning: Statistics countries to plan their development, identifying problems and the people they are planning for, which helps in mobilizing the resources required. This also allows for prioritization and targeting as the data shows the exact need.

Projection: There is also a need to estimate data of what might be required in future. For example, the population fertility rate would assist in estimating how many people there will be in a given area in a few years time. The figures obtained could be used to plan for schools or hospitals or jobs.

Analysis: Statistics are very good at showing the true picture of a situation. As we discuss poverty reduction, statistics would show who is poor, where are they located (in the rural or urban areas?). Sex-disaggregated data in poverty reduction strategy statistics would indicate where the resources were allocated or have to be allocated. In this way users would start questioning if indeed the strategy were formed to benefit the intended target group,

Monitoring and Evaluation: Having set targets to be achieved, there is need to see if what was planned has been achieved or not. Statistics once again would come in handy to show the magnitude of achievement. This is a very important aspect of development if we have to gurge whether we are moving forward or not. In the case of LDCs it is important that we monitor where the few resources available to us are going.

Lobbying: Statistics are a very good tool of influencing others. They tend to bring out facts about a situation, which in some case people would have been blind to. In fact this is a tool, which should be a must for all those involved in gender mainstreaming. At the moment gender issues are dismissed as hearses or having no basis. Statistics would go a long way in providing the basis and proving gender inequalities as reality in our various countries. Gender advocates should take a leaf from the mainstream. Already LCD's and cooperating partners are talking about poverty being an African problem and everyone is convinced, why? It is because they keep on quoting figures about

how the majority of the LDCs are African countries. In this case there is need to show how in every area for development the most affected are women.

III. EXPERIENCES FROM ENGENDERING STATISTICS

Statistics as they are currently presented tend to be a big mystery for most intended users. As a result most intended beneficiaries of statistics loose out, as they are not keen to go anywhere near them. Yet if the statistics were demystified people would start wondering how they ever managed without statistics. The statistical jargon used either in symbols or presentation, has lead to that most users are not able to add value to the information, especially qualitative data. In short, statistics make a difference between myths, hearsay, circumstantial evidence or allegations and reality, facts, physical evidence or substantiated information.

The production of gender disaggregated data in Zambia has led to legitimization of gender issues which has been accepted by an increasing number of policy makers, politicians and the civil society at large. The Zambian society has to a large extent become increasingly aware of gender issues existing within our communities. In addition women's role in national development has been grudgingly accepted. Grudgingly in a sense that, up to date, there are certain areas where when one mentions gender people do not easily accept that they are gender issues in those areas. Examples of such areas are the mining sector, the construction sector – be it in building houses or construction of roads- to mention a few. However, they are a few sectors were collection of gender desegregated data has worked very well. Examples are education sector where one can follow the progression of girls and boys, youths – young women and men, and women and men as they go through the education system in the country.

As a result of the statistics collected in the education sector a number of remedial programmes have been put in place to assist females to progress in the education tier. The health sector is another area in which sex-disaggregated data is kept. In spite of this, there is a feeling that a lot could be done in areas where statistics are not collected. It is argued, rightly so, that when statistics for deaths resulting from diseases like malaria are recorded they should also indicate the data by sex and age group. The reason advanced is that this would help to research further in the causes of death in that in some cases women may be more susceptible to die from malaria when they are pregnant.

The awareness created and accepting of the existence of gender issues in Zambia resulting from the production of gender statistics has proved that so long as there are no gender statistics or hard facts or empirical evidence, then gender will remain a topical issue. There is an outcry for gender statistics to help people move from the rhetoric to action.

Need for Interpretation of Gender Statistics

In creating awareness it was also discovered that gender awareness was not good enough. It was generally agreed that there was need for further work to be done on the interpretation of gender statistics. There was consensus that there need to build capacities in people who could turn the statistics into user-friendly information. This analysis it is anticipated that it could be used to show the causalities of gender imbalances. The gender analysis would also show clearly the actual magnitude of gender inequalities and hence assist in coming up with strategies that are well formulated and are achievable.

The interpretation of gender statistics has influenced the policy analysis in the country with the current Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper being in the process of being engendered. The other policy document, which has become a subject of gender scrutiny, is the National Budget. If one looks at the 2001 Budget it seems to be gender sensitive in that it does mention the need for gender mainstreaming. The Budget says: "As part of this framework, [Poverty Reduction Framework], gender mainstreaming will be expanded so as to remove conditions that lead to the impoverishment of women. We expect these efforts to be supported by our cooperating partners through the funding of programmes incorporated in the budget to achieve poverty reduction." (2001 Budget Speech, p. 14). Yet when one

looks at the statistics in the budget summary there is no allocation for gender mainstreaming or for empowerment.

Statistics on poverty in Zambia show that out of the 70% poor people, 90% are women and mainly from the rural areas. This shows that when an analysis is done from a gender perspective the questions below need to be asked:

- Where are the poor found?
- What is causing poverty among them? Is it lack of resources/ empowerment or lack of basic needs?
- What can we get rid of the causes?

To further show what the need for gender interpretation or analysis can do, we still look at the breakdown of some finances anticipated to be served from the Enhanced Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. It is estimated that Zambia will get about K351.8 billion {US \$ 75million}. The money has been broken down, in the Budget, as follows:

- K117.3 billion to Education and Health
- K 31.3 billion to HIV/AIDS
- K 33.5 billion to Water and Sanitation
- K 30.2 billion to Social Safety Net.

The above figures look impressive but what on wonders is how much of those figures will go to women as the main health caregivers, more at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. Will there be substantiating amounts to train women in negotiating for safer sex. As for education and Health, how much will cater for improvement of women's health and education. Will some money be spent on building more physical educational facilities for girls? The answers to these questions will come out next year as people review the performance of this year's Budget

Unfortunately as things stand now we do not have the critical mass of gender budget analysts to be able to carryout a comprehensive gender analysis and interpretation of figures presented. Just as much as Government has shown willingness to gender mainstream it is incapacitated by limited numbers of people who can carryout a comprehensive gender analysis.

IV. THE ROLE OF STAKEHOLDERS

In the production of the gender statistical reports the key players can be classified as follows:

A. USERS

The users of gender statistics justified the need to produce gender statistics by creating a demand for them. In addition to this they set the pace for what kind of statistics to be produced. The first report on gender statistics provided an avenue for users to be able to determine the gender gaps on statistics available and the sources of these statistics. In identifying the gender gaps in information, the stakeholders were able to make demands on what they wanted to be contained in the next gender statistics document.

Users in this sense is the key to generation of ideas on what type of gender statistics should be produced and in what format. Presentation of gender statistics in user-friendly format is very cardinal as it helps to demystify statistics. One of the major complaints of gender analysts is that statistics are usually in format, which is difficult to use. Apart from identifying the data gaps and making suggestions on the presentation formats, the users have also proved to be very useful in identifying the entry points for gender mainstreaming in statistics. Some of the opportunities for gender mainstreaming being used by user are:

- National Censuses: These are seen as an opportunity time to ensure that data collected is gender sensitive. One of the reasons that this is regarded as being a very key entry point is the fact that it provides a very large sample, which is regarded as being big enough to generalize. It must be borne in mind that some of the sample sizes are rejected as being to small to be used as a general norm. In the 2001 National Census the Users both in government and outside government ensured that the questionnaire contained questions, which would generate both quantitative and qualitative data. An illustration was on the question on highest qualification in education. The question had supplementary question which looked at those who dropped out of school and why. The essence of the last question was to establish whether women, men, girls and boys drop out of school for the same reasons or there are differences.
- Demographic Health Surveys: These have been very instrument in bringing to the fore the plight of women especially in the area of reproductive health. Once more in terms of gender the analysts are raising the issue of gender-desegregated data on diseases peculiar to one sex e.g. cervical cancer in women and prostrate cancer in men. The reason why users are raising these issues is to know what is happening to both women and men and to know what can be done to help them overcome their difficulties.
- Household Surveys: These surveys are being used as monitoring tools for poverty in that they being carried out to establish the living conditions of the Zambian people. This is also another area which gradually adopting a gender face.
- Poverty Assessment Surveys: It has been noticed that the poverty levels keep on shifting in the country leading to a situation where statistics have to be collected at periodically in order to enable planners and other users to plan properly. The instruments being developed are taking on more and more questions with a gender dimension. The definition of concepts is also being expanded to make the statistics more user friendly hence widening the ownership of statistics in the country.
- Ministerial Statistics: There has been strong call for the establishment of Ministerial Statistical
 Units. In setting up these Units it is hoped that capacities at institutional level will build for
 collection and analysis of data. More so it is anticipated that this will ensure that sector specific
 data will be accessible when required by users as opposed to the current arrangement where data
 gets swallowed up in national aggregates.

In all the above the development of instruments is very important. Users to a certain extent are consulted as to what questions they would want to appear in the questionnaire. There still remains a problematic area and this is the training of enumerators and their supervisors. The implications of this are that there exists a gap in ensuring that the data collected is of quality as far as gender is concerned. Allow me to share with you the fact that in Zambia the words you use in addressing people is the key to the quality of answers you get. In some societies it is regarded as taboo to talk or ask someone about their pregnancy directly. This simply means that enumerators need to be trained in the usage of appropriate language, which will yield the results required.

B. Providers

There is an increasing tendency by the statistics providers to liaise more and more with the users. However, this has been more from a perspective of inquiring from the users what they want to be included in the statistical reports as opposed to the Providers- who are the Central Statistical Office-accepting to get statistics from the users. Some of the users like the NGOs have very good data, which can be infused into the National Statistics. CSO at the moment, in as much as it has embraced the aspect of engendering statistics, it still has difficulties of accepting other sources of statistics like churches who may collecting data on poverty levels, NGOs working in different fields like YWCA which has been collecting data on gender based violence especially against women and children.

The other major issue is that of accepting new concepts in the collection of data. In identifying information gaps it is being noticed that new areas that need to be put on board. One immediately things of HIV/AIDS which has its unique dimension in caring for the sick. Its tendency to prolong the

suffering of the infected person has led to the need to look at who is the health care giver and what is the cost to the health care giver in terms of risk to get sick, lost or reduced productivity in other areas like work places or family agricultural plots. It is important that the CSO finds ways of meeting the Users halfway in taking on new concepts and revisit some of the old concepts like they are trying to do with the definition of head of a household, which in the past meant only men could be heads of households. Nowadays there is increasing number of female headed, child or elderly people – especially females- heading households for various reasons including HIV/AIDS.

Institutionalisation of Gender Statistics: In spite of some of the rigidities of CSO, it has gone a long way in ensuring that the gender statistics are institutionalized by creating a Gender Statistics Unit within CSO. This was done in collaboration with the National Gender Machinery, which was being called the Women in Development Department before it was moved to Cabinet Office as a Division. The financial requirements were divided between the Zambian Government and the UNFPA.

C. PRIVATE SECTOR

This is an area in Zambia, which has not been harnessed properly by the women's movement. It very rare that the private sector is consulted let alone asked to contribute to the fulfillment of gender empowerment activities. It is time that gender activities picked a leaf from the soccer fraternity who do not hesitate to request for financial or material support from various private companies.

D. COLLABORATING PARTNERS

It has already been said that SIDA and UNFPA put in the financial or human resources in the production of the gender statistical reports. SIDA had been quite active in the area of Women and Development put in money for the production the first ever attempt in having sex-disaggregated data. It was after their departure that UNFPA through the Gender in Development Division supported the establishment of a Gender Statistical Unit. UNFPA also funded the production of the Gender Statistical Report.

From the above discussion it can be said that sustainability of the initiatives might be delicate, especially when the donors have to pull out. Experiences from the Zambian experience shows that so long as there is ownership by the government, then the initiative will carry on. I say so because show in the case of Gender Statistics Unit it was set up with funds from donors but it is still running in spite of our cooperating partners having take a very low profile

It is also important that at the moment most of the LDCs budgets are being funded by over 50% by donors. In short one is tempted to say that it goes without swaying that both governments and the cooperating partners should fund production of gender statistical reports.

In fact as we look at the sources of financial requirement let be suggested that a certain percentage goes to capacity building among various stakeholders.

IV. LESSONS LEARNT

The Zambian experience on engendering statistics has not been easy neither has it achieved to have all the statistics engendered. There is still a lot to be done. There are some sectors, as has already been mentioned were even the initial basic statistics have not been gender mainstreamed. Reasons why this cannot be done abound within those areas. In most cases the people in charge do not feel that gender could have anything to do with their sector. However, all the experiences shared in the paper have resulted in a number of lessons being learnt and some of them are:

• It is important to win over the heads of statistics units. In order to convince the Zambian government to seek funding from the donors, there were preliminary statistics required to convince the policy makers in the National Commission for Development Planning and the Ministry of Finance. This was done with the personal involvement of the Director of CSO, who

ensured that the data was put in a manner that would convince the decision-makers. In fact the Director sat in most of the negotiating meetings to give guidance on what could be done within the limitations of the Institution.

- Resources need to be mobilised across Institutions apart from the donors. This was confirmed when the Women in Development, CSO and UNFPA put their resources together in order to establish the Gender Statistics Unit and produce the second booklet on gender statistics. Moreover this cooperation in putting resources together resulted in capacities being built in the staff that was in the Unit. The capacities of the statistics staff in other units are very limited. There is need to train the others in other units like Public Finance Unit or the Social Statistics Unit so that the Gender Unit only becomes a watch dog overseeing that all Units are gender mainstreaming.
- The capacities to turn gender statistics into user-friendly information are also very limited among the users and the providers.
- Financial resources need to be made available for all the stages in data production. It was learnt that in some cases only certain aspects would be budgeted for while the others are left out. IN the 2000 National Census gender was incorporated into the questionnaire, yet it was not part of the training programme for the Supervisors and enumerators. It is hoped that there be funding for the data analysis and dissemination stages.
- As tool for lobbying and educating decision-makers, gender statistics are very effective.

V. CONCLUSION AND THE WAY FORWARD

This paper was not meant to be a technical paper on how gender statistics can be collected, but it was intended to share Zambia's experiences in engendering statistics and how this has been used as an effective tool for putting up a case for mainstreaming gender into our policies, programmes and activities. The paper was meant to be in plain lay-person's language, shared by a person who uses gender statistics a lot but a non-statistician. It is my sincere hope that as we move on to New York next month, then Brussels in May this year, the LDCs would have collected the little data that may be available to put up arguments for gender mainstreaming in Poverty Reduction Strategies and allocation of resources for engendering our national statistics.

Given the above it is being recommended that:

- Linkages between governments, NGOs, Private Sector and Central Statistical Office be strengthened and established- where they do not exist;
- Gender mainstreaming should be planned and budgeted for at every stage of the data production process i.e., from the identification of a problem or information gap through to the dissemination stage.
- Dissemination of statistical reports should be wide, affordable, accessible and in a user-friendly manner.
- It is imperative that capacities are built in statistical office staff and among users and a core team of gender experts to transform statistics into gender information should be established.

Some thoughts on the role of statistics in mainstreaming gender

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I. Introduction

South Africa is a middle-income rather than a least-developed country (LDC). South Africa is, however, also one of the most unequal societies in the world, at least in economic terms. Thus the poorest areas of South Africa – typically the most rural and 'black' areas – share many characteristics with LDCs.

In the six years since the end of apartheid, Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), as the country's official statistical agency, has had to grapple with how to provide statistics on a range of topics which were not of interest to the previous government. In particular, the previous government collected very poor statistics on the poorest people in the country. The so-called 'independent' homelands were considered as separate countries and so not covered at all in official investigations. Informal urban settlements and the non-independent homelands were covered, but poorly.

The 'new' South Africa brought not only a new focus on poverty, but also a new focus on race and gender. To a large extent race and poverty overlapped, so the focus on black people was natural. But the democratic government stated a clear commitment to a non-sexist as well as a non-racist society. Equality in respect of race, sex and gender as well as many other variables is one of the foremost articles in the bill of rights in our Constitution. The country also ratified, without reservations, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Thus both national and international law compelled government to take action in respect of gender, and statistics were seen as one tool in tackling this challenge. The Statistics Act (No 6 of 1999) recognises the role of statistics in respect of gender equality in the clause on the purpose of official statistics and statistical principles of which sub-clause 3(2)(g) states that official statistics must be "sensitive to distribution by gender, disability, region and similar socio-economic features."

Given this background, we hope that some of our experience of the last few years in trying to change the focus of Stats South Africa's work will be helpful to participants in this conference despite our non-membership of the LDC club. We know that others with greater expertise than ourselves will also be writing and speaking at this conference and will, therefore, not attempt to cover the topic of gender statistics comprehensively. Instead we will point to some of the ways in which we think that a statistical agency and government more broadly can develop statistics as a tool for gender equality.

II. WHAT ARE NATIONAL STATISTICS?

When we talk of statistics, people often think immediately of the official statistical agency in their country. In truth, the statistical agency usually collects only a fraction of the 'numbers' collected by government as a whole. Clause 14(7) states of South Africa's Statistics Act states that the Statistician-General can define as official statistics any statistics produced by Stats SA or by any other government agency, after consulting with the head of

the agency concerned. Clause 14 also gives authority to Stats SA to review and advise government, producers and users on official statistics, whatever their origins. The agency is taking up this challenge and has recently released a proposed framework for a national statistics information system for the country (Lehohla, 2001). The framework sees the system as providing a basis for greater use of 'evidence' as the basis for policy choices and decision-making. Further, by having a single integrated system, it hopes to avoid unnecessary and costly duplication. Both of these objectives should appeal to governments of other countries, and in particular those that are short of resources.

Most government agencies generate some statistics. Most also collect a lot of information which could form the basis of statistics but which is not collated or – if collated – not disseminated. For example, all health clinics and hospitals almost certainly record the sex, age and other demographic details of those they attend to. Agriculture extension officers, similarly, could easily record the characteristics of the people that they assist each day. But often these administrative records are not collated or analysed. Gender activists often bemoan the lack of sex-disaggregated data. What is not always realised is that much of the work necessary to have these data happens as a matter of course, and it is only the last steps that are missing. For governments, this realisation might make the call for gender-disaggregated information seem less daunting.

In some countries all official statistics may be collected in one central place. This is not the case in South Africa, and is probably not the case for most other countries. Those responsible for generating the four-yearly reports required by CEDAW will testify to the problems they encounter in finding the necessary statistics relevant to each of the different articles. This is an area in which statistical agencies and the national gender machinery could work together to build a basic database on the best sources for the most important data. One approach would be to try to keep a central and updated record of information on each topic. A less ambitious and resource-hungry, but still useful, approach would be to keep a central and updated record of sources and contacts.

International and regional agencies could assist by supporting the compilation of lists of the most important indicators on key areas. Several of the regional offices of the World Health Organisation already have this type of project. The aims include the generation of comparative information across countries in a particular region, and expansion of the understanding among government officials and others of women's health beyond reproductive health.

There are several challenges in this type of regional or international work, especially where one is dealing with poorer countries. Several of the challenges involve focus. Sometimes gender initiatives, in their recognition of the pervasiveness of gender issues, become too broad-ranging and all-encompassing. To encourage take-up, this sort of initiative needs to focus on the most important, most feasible and most understandable indicators. 'Most important' means those indicators that point to ('indicate'), or are proxies for, the central issues on the topic of hand. 'Feasible' means data that are likely to be routinely collected already, or that could be routinely collected with relatively little additional effort and resources. 'Understandable' means that the user should easily be able to see what the indicator is measuring and what this means in terms of gender equity.

A second consideration is duplication of effort. For example, a collation of information on health should not need to duplicate what is already being collated and reported on for CEDAW. Long repetitive reports will consume unnecessary resources in terms of time,

personpower, money and trees. Long repetitive reports are also less likely to be read by any but the most dedicated people, and those who are already convinced.

III. POLICY RELEVANCE

Stats SA's proposed framework for a national statistics information system argues that official statistics should be measured in terms of their policy relevance. When resources are limited, government agencies need to focus on measuring things that they can do something about rather than measuring things that are 'interesting' or 'nice to know'. A policy focus implies that the statistical agency needs to work closely with other government agencies so as to know their needs. It also needs to lead discussions on how and by whom different data can best be collected. Inter-agency work of this kind is never easy. The statistical agency will face challenges when other agencies all have their competing 'very important' needs that they want to see in a questionnaire which the statistical agency wants to keep at a length that is manageable for respondents and analysis. On the other hand, a statistical agency that serves the needs of other agencies well might get a more sympathetic hearing in negotiations around how the government budget should be divided.

Inter-agency collaboration will not, on its own, generate gender-sensitive statistics. Many countries have gender focal points in government agencies whose task it is to promote mainstreaming of gender in all activities. The challenges commonly faced by these focal points are well-known. They include under-resourcing, lack of seniority and lack of expertise in the full range of technical issues covered by the agency. All three of these weaknesses mean that gender issues are often forgotten. One way in which statistical agencies could be proactive in this respect is by suggesting to other agencies that they include their gender focal points in the inter-agency meetings that discuss statistical needs. At the least, representatives of the central part of the national gender machinery (the gender or women's ministry or similar office) should be involved throughout.

What does gender-sensitivity in terms of policy relevance mean? The most common call from gender activists in terms of data is that they be gender- or sex-disaggregated i.e. that they distinguish between women and men, girls and boys. This is certainly important, but not the whole story. Gender-sensitivity in terms of policy relevance also means that data must be collected on *issues* that have particular significance in terms of gender relations and the roles and responsibilities of women and men, girls and boys in the society. For example, in most poorer countries data on availability of water have gender significance because women and children are the main water-carriers; data about housing are significant because women are likely to spend more of their time than men in the domestic sphere; data about the informal sector, about home-based work and about childcare are important because women more than men are likely to be involved.

IV. BUILDING TRUST IN THE STATISTICAL SYSTEM

Many South Africans distrust statistics because of the way they were used in the past. The suspicion in South Africa arises from a perception that black people were ignored and not 'counted' under the old dispensation. In many countries there is a clear analogy with gender in that many women believe that they, and their concerns, are inadequately reflected in official statistics. As noted above, the issue is not simply one of counting women, but rather whether important gender issues are recognised.

South Africa's census of 1996 was recognised as an important opportunity for nation-building, coming, as it did, only two years after the first democratic elections. In South Africa we substituted the slogan 'Count me in' used in many other countries of the world with our own slogan of 'Count us in'. The more inclusive approach was intended to emphasise the fact that we were now one nation, and that 'our' government was concerned about us all.

The census covers the whole country and thus should, by definition, be 'representative' of the population. When Stats SA conducts surveys, one of the first questions we are frequently asked is which provinces were covered, and whether fieldworkers went to rural as well as urban areas, and informal as well as formal dwellings. We hope that the levels of suspicion are falling, but we know that we are fighting against the experience of many years of undercounting and blindness.

In terms of gender, many women's activists are suspicious of official statistics in respect of issues such as gender violence. Most statistical, police and justice agencies will readily admit the difficulties they face in producing reliable figures about gender violence. On the other hand, they note that relying on reports from available non-governmental support agencies is likely to result in a biased picture as the women and girls who use these services are usually not representative of the full female population. In terms of official information collection such as surveys, women's activists acknowledge that there are difficulties because, due to social and personal pressures and fear of the consequences, many of the women concerned will not admit to, or report on, their experiences. Further, where women do report on experiences, a socially responsible collector of the information would need to ensure that the necessary support services were available should such reporting evoke unhappy memories. In many countries these services are few and far between.

In the face of these difficulties, the temptation for an official agency might be to say that it 'cannot be done'. Such an approach will, however, suggest to gender activists – and to women more generally – that those responsible do not care about an important issue. The first step in building trust is for all parties openly to acknowledge the difficulties. A second route is to draw on multiple sources, recognising that none will tell the full story, but that together they provide a fuller picture. A more medium- to long-term route is to put in place the policies and programmes that acknowledge the problem of gender violence, remove the stigma for 'victims' and provide them with the support that encourages them to report.

Working with women's organisations and other non-governmental organisations (NGOs) can bring benefits in other areas beyond gender violence. Many statistical agencies are increasingly recognising the importance of involving users in designing instruments and other activities. Sometimes, however, there is a narrow conception of users which focuses on those with technical skills, or on those in other government agencies. There is enormous scope for expanding the conception beyond the narrow technical focus. There is also scope to extent the conception to potential as well as existing users.

India is a leader in this respect in relation to gender. For example, when designing, refining and analysing censi, work-related surveys and their time use study, the Indian National Statistical Organisation has included gender experts and women's organisations in their teams. All players seem to have gained from this interaction, and the output has been improved.

V. BUILDING STATISTICAL LITERACY

One aspect of building trust involves helping people to understand statistics and recognise their importance. In most countries, lack of statistical understanding is probably more severe among women than men. Firstly, in many of the poorer countries in the world there is still a marked gap between educational achievements of women and men and between enrolments of girls and boys. Sub-Saharan Africa, where the largest number of LDCs is found, is also the region where gender gaps at secondary level are most prevalent (Elson, 2000:66). Secondly, even when enrolments become more equal, there are usually subject differences, with fewer girls and women studying mathematics and science. Thus, at the simple technical level there are differences in capability.

Beyond the technical level, there is an ideological issue. Many gender activists distrust quantitative information. They prefer to rely on qualitative information that they see as more revealing of the nuances and inter-relationships between issues. Here the challenge is to convince doubters of the complementarity of qualitative and quantitative data, and to convince gender advocates that by using quantitative statistics they will often be taken more seriously by 'malestream' economists and other powerful decision-makers.

The support which the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) provided to many countries around the world to provide 'Women and men' booklets in the run-up to the 1995 Beijing Conference was an admirable intervention in respect of popularisation. Many countries report that these small and simple publications have been among the most popular publications produced by their statistical agencies. Some countries have provided updates of the booklets. These are important, but are not necessary on an annual basis as most of the indicators will take longer than one year to change significantly. The challenge is to find more methods of reaching wider audiences in ways that are accessible and at the same time build their understanding of and demand for statistics.

What we need to remember in doing the popularisation and simplification is that 'pretty' and 'whiz-bang' are not the same as 'simple'. Three-dimensional, multi-coloured graphs are far more exciting visually than black, white and gray two-dimensional ones. However, the message of the latter is often clearer. Popular material need not be expensive, but it must draw on the experience and learning of adult educators and media specialists who understand how to reach our target audiences – and particularly those who are less educated.

VI. Understanding employment and unemployment

Removing blind spots is not only relevant in terms of building trust. It is also important for policy makers, in enabling them to understand the real situation of people in the country. One blindness of statistics in many countries is that women's productive work is under-counted because many women doing productive work are treated as 'housewives'. The problem is particularly acute in developing countries in respect of activities such as subsistence work. A related blindness is under-counting of work in the informal economy. Here, again, the inability of statistics to see workers who do not do a 'normal' (in fact, atypical) eight-to-five job in the formal economy often undercounts women's work more than men's.

These blindnesses have economic and political repercussions both for the country as a whole and for individuals. Who we include in the categories 'employed', 'unemployed' and 'not economically active' affects unemployment rates and apparent levels of poverty. These

measures can influence investment and – especially for poorer countries – the likelihood of donor aid. Who we include also influences political and social perceptions of problems and thus decisions as to whom government policies should assist and how.

In South Africa we have, over the last few years, tried to improve our capturing of all forms of work. Most importantly, in our labour force survey we no longer simply ask whether the person 'worked' economically in the past seven days. Instead, we prompt for each of seven different activities. Without these prompts, respondents might not realise that we see all these activities as economic work. Analysis of the results of the latest survey suggests that we are picking up better on some activities that were previously under-reported. In particular, we seem to be picking up on more informal activity and on more subsistence and other small-scale agricultural activity.

Of interest to this conference is the fact that there does not seem to be a marked difference between the extent to which 'new' activity is reported for women and men. The more marked improvement is in respect of rural as against urban levels of activity. In South Africa, it seems, many types of women's work are recognised as 'economic' by fieldworkers, the women who perform them, and household members who are survey respondents. In other countries the situation is likely to be different, and there may need to be special efforts to raise the awareness of fieldworkers and respondents as to what is wanted. India has done innovative work in this respect in some of its previous censi.

While we have not found major gender differences when changing our approach to employment, we have found such differences when tackling unemployment. In South Africa our official definition of employment is the fairly strict International Labour Organisation one which is used by the majority of other countries in the world. In particular, to be classified as unemployed the person not only needs to want work, but also to have taken active steps to find work in the past month.

In addition to the official definition, Stats SA also regularly reports the rates of what we call 'expanded unemployment'. The definition for expanded unemployment relaxes the strict rule that the person must have actively looked for work. It thus includes 'discouraged work seekers'. These are people who know that there is so little work around that they decide that spending time and money going to look for it is not worthwhile. When we compare the numbers of people who are employed according to the two definitions, we find that the increase from official to expanded definition is particularly marked for women and for people in rural areas. The official definition is important for comparative purposes so that we can see how we are performing compared to other countries. The expanded definition is important for policy and programme purposes. The discouraged work seekers are often the most disadvantaged – those who will need most help in finding ways to earn money and support themselves.

VII. REFINING INDICATORS

Above we note that indicators should be important, feasible, understandable and relevant for policy. In this section we want to be a bit provocative and suggest that some of the commonly used indicators do not necessarily satisfy the third condition, understandability, in terms of usefulness in policy-making. We take three indicators – woman-headed households, the gender development index (GDI) and marital status – as examples. Each illustrates different points that we think are worthy of consideration.

A. WOMAN-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

Writers of policy documents who wish to demonstrate their gender-sensitivity often place a lot of emphasis on the number of woman-headed households, or on how these households are faring in terms of poverty and access to services. The category is an especially attractive one in respect of characteristics and services that are targeted at a household rather than an individual. For example, while it is easy to make comparisons between male and female educational achievement and access, it is less easy to do so in terms of access to household services such as electricity and water. Yet these are services with important gender implications. For example, when a household does not have easy access to these services, it is usually women and children who collect the fuel and water.

Despite the attractiveness of the woman-headed household concept, it has several weaknesses. Firstly, in most countries there will be more poor people – and more poor women and girls – living in man-headed households than in woman-headed ones. Thus analysis and programmes that target woman-headed households will miss out on a large part of the problem. Secondly, in most countries the category 'woman-headed households' covers subcategories that are very different in terms of other characteristics and thus needs. In South Africa, for example, it includes older widowed woman in rural areas who are the caregivers of their migrant children's children, older and better off widows living alone in urban areas, and young woman in urban areas who are economically and otherwise independent enough to live without a man. This 'jumbled' category is of little use in devising policy without further disaggregation.

At a conceptual level the woman-headed household category is further flawed if the agency that collects the statistics (a) does not have a clear idea as to how it defines 'head' and (b) does not ensure that collectors and respondents have the same understanding. Without a clear definition, cultural and other differences will mean that some households will tell you who is the oldest member of the household, some will tell you who has the greatest earning power, some will tell you who has the greatest decision-making power, and some will simply name the oldest male. When it comes to analysis, without a clear definition analysts will bring their own understanding of what constitutes a 'head' and thus reach potentially very different conclusions.

B. THE GENDER DEVELOPMENT INDEX

The GDI is a gender-sensitive measure of wellbeing. It is based on the human development index (HDI), which is itself a composite of indicative measures of income, health and education. The HDI is clearly an advance on simple money-metric indicators of wellbeing of a population. Nevertheless, its composite nature makes it more difficult to understand than a simple measure. And for policy purposes, a country would need to look on which of the different constituent measures they were performing poorly in order to devise ways to raise levels of wellbeing of the population.

The GDI elaborates on the HDI by adjusting each of the components making up the HDI for the degree of gender inequality. Again, this is a welcome advance insofar it recognises that an average of male and female might conceal serious gender disparities. The index is also used regularly for advocacy purposes, where people in the country point out that their country is performing better or less well than it should in gender terms when one compares it HDI and GDI rankings. In terms of policy-relevance, however, the measure needs some unpacking before it is useful.

C. MARITAL STATUS

Most census and survey instruments include questions on marital status as a matter of routine. Much administrative data will also include this variable. Marriage is certainly an institution with great gender significance. Nevertheless, there are times when the marital status indicator is incorrectly interpreted.

In South Africa, partly as a result of our apartheid past, we have a very diverse and often fractured family and household structure. To give but one example, many men left rural areas to work on mines in urban areas far away. In doing so, they left behind wives whom they then saw for about two weeks each year. Many of the men started new official and unofficial families nearer their work. These and other factors have left us with a high rate of extra-marital births, and a high rate of non-marital unions.

To complicate matters, even where people are officially married, this could be under civil law, customary law, or a range of religious laws. Some couples are married in more than one of these ways. Many others are not married in any of these ways, but live together as husband and wife. Some go through a marriage process which can take several years, with different interpretations as to when in the process they will consider themselves 'married' and when it would be appropriate to adopt 'married' behaviour. Further, while the law is being adapted to grant recognition to different forms of marriages, at present the different regimes yield different legal, social and personal benefits.

Many of these issues can be tackled to some extent in statistics. For example, we can ask what type of union the person is in, and we can ask whether they have a single or multiple spouses. The answers will certainly not be exact. It is noteworthy in South Africa, for example, that while polygamy is relatively rare except in a few areas, surveys report a far greater number of married women than men. It seems that women are more eager to claim marriage and men more likely to deny it. But even if the answers were exact, we need to be careful as to how we interpret them. We cannot, for example, make any simple deductions about fertility rates from marital status. We also cannot plan our reproductive health services on the basis of marital data unless we want to have policies based on how we wish the world would be rather than how the world actually is.

South Africa's household situation may be different from that of some LDCs in respect of marital patterns, but is unlikely to be unique. In particular, those countries that have experienced wars and significant displacement of people are likely to have similar fractures. Data producers in all of these countries need to think whether they and their users

VIII. EQUALITY AND EQUITY

Many people use the terms equality and equity interchangeably. Indeed, where English is a second or third language, it may seem like nitpicking to distinguish between the two. We want to do so here because we think that the difference has implications for statistics.

We use equality to refer to equality of opportunities. In terms of gender, this means that women and men, girls and boys, must get the same treatment. We use equity to refer to equality of outcome. Equity acknowledges that all people are not the same, that we have different roles and responsibilities and thus different starting points. A commitment to equity means that equal opportunity is not enough in that all people are not equally able to take

advantage of opportunities. In legal terms the distinction between equality and equity is sometimes referred to as the difference between formal and substantive equality. The South African Constitution shows a clear commitment to equity.

For those who collect and publish statistics, the distinction means that we need to have data both on starting points and on outcomes.

IX. BEYOND WORDS TO IMPLEMENTATION

Probably all LDCs have signed CEDAW. Indeed, the wealthy United States of America is one of the few countries which have not done so. CEDAW provides a solid basis for gender mainstreaming towards gender equity because governments, by signing, acknowledge the rights of women and must then report regularly on what they have done to rectify gender imbalances.

Other international, regional and national processes have also increasingly acknowledged the existence of gender inequalities and the need to rectify them. Many governments, including many of those in poorer countries, have developed gender policies. Many have incorporated a commitment to gender equality or equity in their constitutions.

Economic inequality is both the cause and result of other forms of inequality and is clearly one of the most important issues that governments of LDCs need to address. The gendered nature of poverty is now recognised by most of the stakeholders involved in policy-making. The gender team at the World Bank has provided a useful tool for translating this recognition into practice with their manual on how to incorporate gender in the formulation of poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs). These PRSPs are required by the Bank and International Monetary Fund before countries have access to the Highly Indebted Poor Country debt relief. The World Bank's stress on the importance of public participation in drawing up the PRSPs can also encourage gender-sensitivity if the organisers recognise that the 'public' includes both female and male people, and that special efforts might be needed to hear female voices.

Many countries are getting good at incorporating gender into the discursive parts of documents such as the PRSP. Some are less good at taking the gender-sensitive insights and observations into the planning stage. One statistically-related way of encouraging gender sensitivity throughout the process is to build gender into the monitoring and evaluation indicators. In many countries this will best be achieved if gender experts from inside and outside government are drawn into the process of both devising indicators and assessing them once they are collected.

X. UN WORK ON TIME USE

Above we noted that gender sensitivity in statistics extends beyond sex- or gender-disaggregation to a focus on issues with great salience for gender relations. One such issue is the roles that women and men, girls and boys play from day to day in their families and the wider society. One of the most effective ways of capturing the different roles is through time use studies in which respondents are asked how they spend the minutes and hours of a day.

The developed world has far more experience of time use studies than the developing world. The developed world bias is partly a matter of resources, in that time use studies tend

to be resource intensive. It is partly a matter of literacy and numeracy as in the past most studies required respondents to keep a diary in which they filled in activities as they performed them. The bias is ironic. One of the strengths of time use studies is that they can pick up on unpaid economic activities that are far more common in developing than developed countries. These activities are usually poorly captured by other survey instruments. This is an important issue in gender terms, as women tend to spend a far larger portion of their days doing unremunerated work. The latter includes both unpaid 'reproductive' work such as bearing, rearing and caring for children and other household members, housework, and community caring. It also includes unpaid 'productive' work such as work in a family business and work in subsistence agriculture.

In recent years there has been an increase in the number of time use studies in developing countries. Ways are being found of overcoming literacy, numeracy and other obstacles. In South Africa we completed the fieldwork for our first national time use study last year and are currently analysing the data. Other developing countries which have done or are currently doing such studies are Morocco, Benin, Chad, Nigeria, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Cuba (pilot), Dominican Republic, Korea, Mongolia, Indonesia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Philippines (pilot), Viet Nam, India, Nepal, Palestine, and Oman. The United Nations Statistical Division is supporting this area of work by, among others, developing a coding system which is more appropriate than the traditional systems to the sorts of activities and concerns of developing countries.

XI. TRADE

Before concluding, we want to make a few suggestions as to what gender sensitivity might mean in terms of trade. Other speakers at this conference will have more experience than ourselves in this area, and so many more ideas to share.

One step in mainstreaming gender in trade would be to measure trends in exports and imports, see what this means in terms or growth and decline or particular industries, and then see what that means in terms of probable growth or decline in employment of women and men. This type of analysis – usually without the third gender step – is regularly done in developed countries before them embark on trade agreements. It is done far less often in developing countries.

Taking it further, one could estimate what trade and growth patterns will mean for women and men in different occupations and with different skill levels. These studies can inform government policy, whether in respect of skill development programmes, or in finding alternative ways to support groups which are likely to lose employment opportunities.

The above focuses on women and men as workers. In making policy, one can also draw on statistics to determine how excise and other 'taxes' on external and internal trade affect women and men and other social groupings as consumers. For example, research commissioned by the South African Department of Finance found that our excise tax is strongly regressive. It found that the poorest decile of households spent 0,8% of their income on excise taxes while the richest spend only 0,2% (Simkins and Woolard quoted in Goldman, 2000). If women are over-represented among the poor, they will be relatively disadvantaged by excise tax.

Also from a gender perspective, analysis of South Africa's income and expenditure survey suggests that excise ('sin') taxes on alcohol and tobacco hit men harder than women.

For example, households in which women account for 10% or less of the adults allocate 0,26% of their expenditure on alcohol, while households with no adult men allocate an average of 0,04% of their expenditure on this item. In non-monetary terms, alcohol is notorious as a cause of domestic violence, so again women should gain if less alcohol is bought (Goldman, 2000).

XII. IS GENDER-SENSITIVITY IN STATISTICS AFFORDABLE?

We began by noting that some parts of South Africa's population are very poor, and thus analogous to people living in LDCs. We must, though, acknowledge that as a government and country we are very privileged compared to LDCs. We know that in South Africa we do not have enough resources to collect and disseminate all the statistics we want to. LDCs have far less money. How then can we put an extra burden on already over-stretched LDCs in asking that they 'add gender'?

We argue that there are costs to being gender-insensitive that could well outweigh the cost of resources needed to become more gender-sensitive. Some of these costs will be borne by the women and poor people who are disadvantaged by the lack of gender-sensitive and pro-poor policies which results from poor information. Some costs will be borne by society as a whole, which will not be able to benefit from the full available human capacity and potential in the country. Just as apartheid South Africa denied itself the potential of the 80% of the population that is black, gender-insensitive policies deny countries the potential of the 50% or so of the population that is female. The loss imposed by apartheid should be obvious. The loss imposed by gender-insensitivity has both its obvious side and its less obvious side. It is with the less obvious side – in respect of unpaid labour, and the less visible parts of the economy – that statistics have a special role to play.

All statistics have a cost. Above we have stressed that statistics must be feasible, and this includes economic feasibility. We have stressed that they must be policy relevant and understandable. With these sorts of guidelines as criteria, we think that gender mainstreaming in statistics is both possible and advisable.

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E. MICROCREDIT

FOR THE FINAL VERSION OF THE PUBLICATION THE FOLLOWING PAPERS WILL BE INCLUDED:

- 1. Impact of Banking on Women, by Women's Development Bank of South Africa;
- 2. Poverty, Women and Microcredit: Experiences of Grameen, by H.I. Latifee, Grameen Trust, Bangladesh;
- 3. Microcredit, by John de Wit, Small Enterprise Foundation, South Africa

F. THE WAY FORWARD: PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTOR INITIATIVES

THE CISCO NETWORKING ACADEMY PROGRAM by Carl Hendricks Academy Area Manager, Sub-Saharan Africa

TO BE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL VERSION

ADDRESS

By

H.E. Ambassador Yasukuni Enoki

H.E. Mrs. L. Hendricks, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, South Africa Distinguished Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very much delighted to be able to participate, as on of the sponsors in this three-day workshop on gender issues, being held in this beautiful city of Cape Town in South Africa.

I am especially pleased to participate at this important event at this crucial moment of high leap of bilateral relations with South Africa, which was boosted by the first ever official visit by the Prime Minister of Japan to Africa in January. And I am also very pleased to mention that this is one of my first assignments as Ambassador to this country representing the Government of Japan.

Firstly, let me take this opportunity to introduce to you the initiative taken by Japan for gender issues, mainly from the perspective of WID (women in development).

Of the 1.3 billion people living in conditions of poverty throughout the world, 70 per cent are women. Similarly, women are placed in disadvantageous positions in terms of education, employment, and health. Assistance for women is an important factor in achieving balanced and sustainable economic development in developing countries, as is the balanced participation of men and women in assistance projects and the distribution of the benefits derived from such projects. Japan, as one of major ODA donors, attaches a particular importance to addressing poverty and social development, in particular all issues relating to the protection of women's dignity and livelihoods through the empowerment of women. From this viewpoint, at the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, the Government of Japan launched an Initiative on Women in Development, in which education, health and economic and social participation of women are priority areas. In line with this initiative, the Government of Japan has been steadily implementing its WID-related assistance.

As expressed at the twenty-third session of the UN General Assembly "Women 2000" in June last year, Japan intends to continue supporting women in developing countries, including, among others, a gender perspective in its humanitarian and development assistance. Specifically, Japan endeavors to incorporate WID/gender aspects into the formulation and implementation of a number of projects in its official development assistance (ODA) schemes, including projects whose primary beneficiaries are women, and dispatch WID/gender specialists and survey missions to sound out local people on the need for and viability of projects.

In the education area, the primary school enrolment ratio of girls is still lower than that of boys in many countries. Japan intends to support efforts in this area as well as the targets of closing the gender gap in school education for 6 to 11-year old children by 2005 and providing a universal education for all 6 to 11-year old girls as well as boys by 2010.

In the health area, Japan will support efforts to achieve the target of reducing both maternal mortality and infant mortality in all countries and regions to below 200 per 100,000 childbirths by 2010 and below 35 per 1,000 by 2015.

In the area of economic and social participation, Japan will support the enhancement of job skills training and learning opportunities for women to acquire relevant skills, the improvement of their working environment and the establishment of a legal and institutional framework for women's full participation.

Japan also pursues aid coordination with other donor countries and international organizations. For example, under the US-Japan Common Agenda for Cooperation with a Global Perspective the United States and Japan have worked together since 1995 in two areas: girls education and microenterprise development. Successful projects have been implemented in Guatemala, Cambodia, and Egypt. The US-Japan Common Agenda Seminar, whose theme was support for women in developing countries, was held with the participation of NGOs not only form the US and Japan but also from Thailand, in March 1999 in Tokyo. Japan has also cooperated with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to facilitate the empowerment of women in Ethiopia, Nigeria and Cameroon, promoting micro-credit services as a tool for community development activities.

Japan has been extending a number of economic cooperation projects in accordance with local circumstances and goals through bilateral assistance, i.e. technical cooperation, grant aid, loans and other bilateral aid, as well as contributions to international organizations. WID/gender perspective are incorporated into the initial formulation, implementation and evaluation of projects by assigning gender specialists to missions sent by Japan and making efforts to hear women's opinions in the communities where projects take place. In terms of assistance through international organizations, the Government of Japan established the Japan Women in Development Fund (JWIDF) within UNDP in 1995. The contribution to this fund from the Government of Japan totaled US\$13 million, from 1995 through 2000. The JWIDF supports projects aimed at social and economic development to enhance gender equality and the advancement of women. Key strategies developed towards these goals include aspects of the following three areas:

- (i) Capacity-building at both the individual and institutional levels, so that women become able to empower themselves to achieve sustainable human development;
- (ii) Sustaining locally managed development initiatives in partner countries;
- (iii) Promoting collaboration with Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) at the country level to take advantage of complementarities of JICA and UNDP to maximize project impact. And the increase in women's access to information and communication technology as a means to achieve their empowerment is also being supported by the JWIDF.

To the least developed countries, JWIDF contributed, for example, about US\$120,000 to the project of "Capacity Development of the Association of Former Women Fuelwood Carriers" in Ethiopia, and about US\$190,000 to the project of "Women's Participation in Economic Development" in Cambodia.

Japan also contributed US\$1.42 million in FY2000 to the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), whose priority is to increase women's empowerment in developing countries by giving assistance to grassroots projects. In addition, Japan contributed US\$400,000 to UNIFEM's Trust Fund in support of Actions to Eliminate Violence Against Women, and US\$65,000 to the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), which promotes research and training for the empowerment and participation of women in development.

As mentioned earlier, the Government of Japan has been supporting women in developing countries in various ways. In addition, it is of our view that a due priority should be given to the following forms of support:

- (i) to provide active assistance for the health and education of women, family planning, micro-financing for promoting the economic independence of women, job training, and the improvement of the work environment, and to assist developing countries in improving policy formulation capabilities in these fields;
- (ii) to utilize monitoring and evaluate results pertaining to gender, while paying due attention to the impact of the participation of male and female community members in assistance projects on gender.

Mainstreaming gender into development strategies is a serious challenge for developing countries but more so for the least developed countries struggling against poverty. At the Third United Nations Conference on the least developed countries (LDCIII) in May, we will discuss about the future guidelines for the development of the least developed countries. I sincerely hope that the fruitful

outcome of the discussions in this workshop will be a good input to the LDCIII and that the gender issue will properly be reflected in the Programme of Action for the decade 2001-2010, which will be adopted in the LDCIII.

It is very important for us to seek ways and means to create a world in which all the people in this planet can share prosperity and enjoy spiritual peace in stability, amid accelerating economic globalization and information-oriented transactions. I would like to conclude my speech by sharing my hope with you that a genuine global prosperity can be brought about through combined efforts of the least developed countries fighting poverty and promoting development, with the industrialized countries, other developing countries, and the international organizations.

Thank you.

ADDRESS BY SWEDEN

by

Helena Nilsson Ambassador Permanent Representative Embassy of Sweden, South Africa

Madam Chair,
Ministers,
Excellencies and
Distinguished Guests,

I am honoured to have this opportunity to address this important workshop which aims at promoting a gender perspective in all areas related to development of the least developed countries. I am very pleased that both my own country, Sweden, and the country hosting this workshop have taken strong measures for the empowerment of women.

Women and men of the two countries have cast their votes in elections in a way that women and men now are represented in decision making institutions. We have at this workshop watched a video called "Women in Cabinet"—a video from South Africa, our host country, and what we cen see is that women are there—at the tables where the decisions are made. Decisions such as priorities in the budget—where to expand and where to cut—priorities in macro-economic policies, priorities in infrastructure and industry, engergy, communication, education and so on. I think this is very very important.

In most societies in the globe, not least in the LDC, women are discriminated against as regards education, the possibilities to obtain the credits, to obtain assets and to have the right to heritage as regards land etc., and the prospect of having access to technology. But again, if women are in Parliaments, or where the decisions are made, this can be changed. Or the other way, women are requesting their representatives to change this situation.

World-wide women are key contributors to the economy. Women have always been trading and making business to combating poverty. However, a lot of the work they perform is, while crucial for the wellbeing of their families, seldom recognised in the economy at the national level.

Furthermore, the impact of globalisation and global trends and their effects on women often remains unrecognised.

In most countries of the world women are the main producers of food consumed within the families. Whereas men manly work with sales oriented production, women are mainly to be found in needs oriented productions.

We must learn to work on women's abilities in aiming at eradicating poverty and promoting sustainable development.

World-wide women constitute 20-30% of the entire business population. Thus, women initiatives are crucial for creating employment in all societies.

The private sector can play a crucial role in poverty reduction by contributing to economic growth and creating employment. Support to the private sector development should therefore be strengthened and given additional focus on poverty reduction, through more attention to local level development and the development of services more adapted to the need of the poor. Specific attention should be given to the needs of micro, small and medium sized enterprises, including enterprises

owned by female entrepreneurs, and to the development of a sustainable financial sector. Partnership co-operation between the public and private sector has to be intensified.

To achieve viable economic growth LDCs must develop their financial sector to cater not just for the needs of medium-sized and large scale enterprises but also for the undergrowth of micro enterprises and small scale farming that provide employment and training for large sections of the population and in many countries from the sees bed of entreprenuerial drive. Donors, on their part, should support the acceleration of efforts to develop effective local financial markets, supporting the establishment of an appropriate regulatory framework and a banking supervision system, and contributing to the development of micro-finance institutions.

The majority of the poor live in the rural area. Increasing the sustainable productive capacity of agriculture and fisheries and the income of people working in these sections in LDCs is therefore a key priority. It requires new investments into regional and national agricultural and fishery research and rural infrastructure, extension of better farming and fishing practices and innovative and sustainable technologies. It is also important to take action to control over land for female farmers, irrespective of their marital status. Increased environmental awareness by consumers in developed countries may provide market opportunities for sustainable produced goods from LDCs enabling them to obtain premium prices and increase prices and increase in sale.

The last paragraph that I have read is the European Union's Draft Plan into the Brussels Conference, which I find important to share with you. When the third world conference on the LDCs in Brussels in mid May will adopt programme of action it is thus crucial that the programme contains a strong gender perspective. As a sponsor of this workshop, I will report back on what you have as expectations and aspects to this matter.

The gender perspective has to be visible both in analysis and actions. For instance, the perspective must be made clear in the general objectives of the plan and in areas related to good governance and actions needed to set up an enabling environment, in establishing an infrastructure required for development, as regards recourses to be allocated for development and finally as regards follow up mechanisms.

I also would like to emphasise what has been said by so many previous speakers, that of course the main role in promoting gender equality rests with the national government. That is why it is so important that we report back on what has been achieved so far at this workshop.

Thank you very much.

CPLP (COMMUNITY OF PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING COUNTRIES)

Dulce Maria Pereira

TO BE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL VERSION

ADDRESS BY FINLAND

by

Ville Luukkanen

Consulting Programme Officer, Human Rights and Democracy Fund Embassy of Finland, Pretoria, South Africa

Madame Chairperson,

Distinguished Delegates,

Ladies and Gentleman,

First of all, Finland would like to thank the convenors of this workshop, UNCTAD and South African government, for their initiative on this extremely important topic in the context of LCDs.

As pointed out by Pregs Govender on Wednesday, the issue of mainstreaming gender is essentially political rather than technical. Engendering of statistics, of national budgets, and other technical gender interventions can only be meaningful, and lead to sustainable results when the engendered knowledge is received openly in society, and utilised actively. The reception and utilisation of such knowledge in any given society clearly depends on its politics and on the political will of the players.

For the LDCs, by far the most relevant aspect of the political conditions they find themselves under, is the fact of their persistent poverty. The developments of the past decade or so have unfortunately not produced a drop in the numbers of people living in absolute poverty. Perhaps more importantly, the relative inequality between countries and within nations has tended to increase at the same time, in some instances dramatically so. For the LDCs especially, despite best efforts at reforming and strengthening national institutions, this negative development has meant that state capacities for the provision of human security for all citizens equally have suffered a great deal.

At the receiving end of the hammering the state has taken, have been the most disadvantaged groups in society. Among those, poor women and their dependants probably form the biggest group. It can hardly be a coincidence that violence against women and children, especially girls, has become the focus of much attention at the same time. Although reliable statistics are far too rarely available the recent studies show alarming trends of rises in violence against women and children. We have come to learn that violence against women is common both in rich and poor countries. However, in a situation where central authorities' power to control society in a comprehensive way is contested, and when the social competition over diminishing resources is growing, the spill-over effect in the margins of society may lead to a back lash against those with the least power both within families and in the society - women and children.

With the state capacity for human security dented, and effective organs of civil society yet to develop to an extent they could fully complement the shortcomings of the public sector, women may find themselves between rock and a hard place: The social formations closest to them in the household or at the community level - family, clan, traditional justice systems, civic associations etc. - might themselves be sources of gender inequality in as much as they are simultaneously sources of security. If women have to choose between transforming such institutions in favour of more equality, but perhaps at the cost of less security, the choice might go against equality. And nobody can blame the woman there. For positive choices, men are needed to join women in these efforts.

In supporting efforts to increase gender equality, Finland emphasises capacity-building

of the most disadvantaged women. Also, Finland emphasises capacity-building in key areas where interventions can have the maximum impact in increasing basic human security. Capacity-

building in order to empower poor people - women and men - in the rural areas in this regard is of special importance.

Finland's support to the LDC-countries takes increasingly place within the framework of PRSP-strategies and of sector-wide programmes. It is of utmost importance, that gender is fully mainstreamed in these programmes, be it health, education or forestry or any other sector. It is also crucial that the sectoral programmes are in line with the national poverty policies. Non-governmental organisations including women's groups have to be able to take part in planning and monitoring of these programmes. Thus, the planning processes should be allowed proper time. The experience shows that if planning of sectoral programmes or PRSPs is made too hastily, gender concerns are too often left out. The OECD-DAC together with some partner countries such as Bangladesh, Kenya and Zambia, has produced highly relevant and useful material on experiences of gender mainstreaming in sectoral programmes.

Capacity-building itself should be multi-pronged. In engendering large-scale public sector reforms the focus should be as much outside the institutions as inside: capacitating the end-users of public goods and services is crucial. The meaning of the rights-based approach is that the customer who is evoking a constitutional right, is always right. This should be taken seriously. Institution building is sometimes seen only in the context of systems, and in isolation of those people that actually use those institutions. When building gender capacity within institutions, empowering clients of these institutions should be seen as part and parcel of the same package.

The importance of partnerships cannot be overestimated in this context. However, one must consider the structure of partnerships. Governments naturally and by their own right lead partnerships. More often than not, though, the impetus and innovation for effecting structural changes comes not from the official state partner but from the civil society and grass-roots partners. Therefore, it is imperative that capacity for gender mainstreaming continues to be built within the various levels of government and civil society groups alike. It is particularly important to recognise here, that this should not mean exclusively or even primarily, the capacity-building for women's organisations but the on-going gender training of all non-governmental organisations.

Although all gender strategies need to be culturally adjusted, the Beijing Platform for Action, and the re-affirmed commitment to it last year in Beijing+5, provide an excellent framework for all countries in our respective work towards gender equality. These, together with universal human rights and democratic governance, guide also Finland's work for gender equality. In as much as efforts to mainstream gender are instrumental to development, the attainment of gender equality, in its own right, continues to be one of the major human rights and democratisation goals of our time. In that sense, it is universal and non-negotiable.

Finland herself has now for some time mainstreamed gender in her own development cooperation and continues to improve her efforts on that score further. Regular gender training for departmental personnel and other actors in Finland is by now a standard practice. Increasingly, we evaluate the impact of development projects and programmes against gender criteria. However, efforts to mainstream gender need to continue for us, too.

Even though gender is about including men - not excluding them - it does not change the basic fact the gender equality can truly be attained only through the leadership of women themselves. Yet, both men and women are crucially needed in order for this to happen. The all-important term "empowerment" directly implies a transfer of power. To change social structures in favour of women, they clearly need more power. Transfer of power is, however, not a zero-sum-game. As the South African experience clearly teaches us, transferring power to the powerless need not be to the detriment of anyone but benefit everybody, as the whole society takes a step forward.

GENDER, POVERTY AND EMPLOYMENT (GPE) MODULAR PROGRAMME by Cynthia Yinusa ILO Office in Pretoria

In his first report to the International Labour Conference in 1999, the ILO Director-General, Mr. Juan Somavia, stated that 'the primary goal of the ILO today is to promote opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity'. As a follow-up to this, the ILO will readily support national and international interventions (at policy and programme levels) geared towards generating employment for growing numbers of jobless and underemployed people, improve the lives and working conditions of women and men as well as forging a new consensus between the international community, business and labour to address the social consequences of globalization.

We are all quite aware of the fact that the twin problem of unemployment and poverty constitute the major development challenge facing the forty-eight Least Developed Countries - LDC's-(67% of which are in Africa). Though the extent and characteristics vary within and among regions, gender remains a key determinant to vulnerability to poverty and social disadvantage.

The Fourth World Conference on Women held in 1995 identified as a priority to 'review, adopt and maintain macro economic policies and strategies that address the needs and efforts of women in poverty.' It emphasized the need to 'develop gender-based methodologies and conduct research to address the feminization of poverty.' The recently concluded Beijing +5 Summit reiterated strongly the need to address the gender dimensions of poverty and poverty eradication.

In response to this challenge of poverty with its gender dimension, and as a reinforcement to the global commitment for employment promotion, poverty eradication and gender equality emerging from the World Summit for Social Development as well as the demand from ILO constituents to address the persistence of women's vulnerability to poverty, the ILO has developed the capacity building programme Gender Equality, Employment Promotion and Poverty Eradication (GPE).

The GPE Programme argues that productive employment is strategic to the fight against poverty, it also argues that basic rights at work is as important as having work. In many cases, poverty eradication through employment will call for removing gender inequalities and advancing women's equal rights. The GPE Programme reflects and advocates the ILO's concept of Decent Work. It is a concrete means of action to advance the decent work agenda in general, and the Declaration on Fundamental and Basic Rights at Work in particular, on a practical level within the context of anti-poverty agenda of member countries.

The GPE programme has two objectives:

- (i) Enhance the capacity of the broad spectrum of policy makers, planners and stakeholders to understand the interface between gender, poverty and employment; and therefrom develop, implement and assess employment-led anti-poverty policies and programmes which contribute to gender equality;
- (ii) Ensure that on the basis on (i) above, a gender perspective is integrated into national and international policy and programme agenda on poverty reduction and employment creation.

The programme is a "hands-on" response to the identified and expanding needs of Governments and other stakeholders in designing and implementing policy reforms and direct interventions for employment generation, combatting poverty and promoting an effective gender perspective. Using the thematic approach, this programme reviews major issues, trends, strategies and actions developed as well as lessons learnt from past experiences (by highlighting best practices and principles). It also provides indicative guidelines for action in eight priority areas. This guide lays emphasis on five underlying theses:

- (i) Promoting productive employment constitutes the key strategy for sustainable poverty alleviation;
- (ii) Escape out of poverty requires more that productivity enhancement. Organisation for participation in decision making processes is an essential ingredient for breaking out of the circle of vulnerability and marginalization;
- (iii) Deliberate and positive actions are imperative if an effective breakthrough is to be achieved in the fight to reduce gender-based poverty;
- (iv) Inter-linkages between the social, economic, legal and political spheres of action for effective eradication of poverty should be recognised; and
- (v) The dichotomy between policy and reform and direct intervention is a false notion. The complementarity between these two types of action is very crucial.

While aggregate figures on poverty incidence are not disaggregated by sex, available data from a number of studies indicate that women tend to have a higher share than men of certain populations living in poverty, and that women tend to be more vulnerable to poverty. The issue is not simply that women suffer more in terms of numbers, but that gender differentiates the processes that lead women and men into poverty and out of it. Poverty cannot be explained solely by social class, ethnicity or household membership. At the same time, poor women, because of gender-based constraints, find it more difficult to break out of poverty.

Since women's poverty arise from a combination of general mechanisms creating labour market vulnerability for the poor and more specific disadvantages related to social and cultural norms, the generic modular package identifies policy issues and direct actions in a number of interrelated areas namely:

- (i) The overarching linkages between gender, poverty and employment;
- (ii) Access to assets like land, information, technology;
- (iii) Expanding productive employment opportunities;
- (iv) Financial resources for the poor (with a special focus on credit);
- (v) Organisational and negotiating power which entails the ability to initiate and sustain change;
- (vi) Extending social funds (social safety nets).

As indicted earlier, the conceptual issues in each thematic area are identified, thereafter strategies and possible areas of action are proposed based on best practices that have been distilled from past successes and failures. This flexible modular package is a primary tool for awareness-raising, building knowledge base and skills and facilitating social dialogue and consensus, has been adapted for use in Latin America and is being adapted to the Southern Africa situation to reflect the peculiar needs of the local environment. The Southern African adaptation, based on consultations with selected stakeholders will also include a new module focussing on HIV/AIDS as it impacts on poverty. After the adaptation, this package will be available as a distance learning programme anchored in South Africa.

The demand for the programme is expected to increase in the light of renewed national and international commitments to fight poverty and reduce gender inequalities as a result of the Beijing+5,

Copenhagen+5, the Millennium Summit and the expected Conclusions of the LDC III Conference as well as the ILO's own commitment to the decent work agenda.

Finally, I must mention that the initial fund for the development of the generic package was provided by DANIDA, while the adaptation for Southern Africa is being funded largely by the Flemish Regional Government (Belgium). The ILO has benefited from the technical comments of the UNDP, World Bank and UNIFEM, which were provided during the validation workshop held in February 1997.

Please feel free to take copies of the brochure titled 'Gender, Poverty and Employment: Turning capabilities into entitlements'. The brochures, which present very succinctly a comprehensive summary of the GPE programme, are available on the display stand outside in English and French.

ANNEXES

CAPE TOWN DECLARATION

We, the Ministers and officials of LDCs participating in the workshop on Building Capacities for Mainstreaming Gender in Development Strategies, held in Cape Town, South Africa from 21 to 23 March 2001, having noted that gender mainstreaming was not adequately covered in the first two Preparatory Committee meetings, hereby declare as follows:

- Gender mainstreaming is an essential strategic component for poverty reduction, gender equity and empowerment of women in LDCs.
- All efforts must be made to ensure that the above can be attained through effective partnership among different actors in the global community.
- We strongly endorse the Beijing Declaration of September 1995 following the 4th World Conference on Women.
- We strongly believe that the Programme of Action to be issued by LDC III should contain gender perspective as a cross-cutting issue.
- We strongly believe that the empowerment of women in LDCs must be one of the major goals
 of Governments in partnership with the civil society. Hence, we urge national Governments to
 give the needed resources to national machineries for gender mainstreaming in all their
 developmental programmes.
- We urge Governments, as well as development partners, to provide maximum support to this Declaration and to the implementation of the recommendations emanating from this Workshop.
- We mandate the Chairperson of this Workshop to convey the contents of this Declaration and the recommendations to the Chairperson of the Intergovernmental Preparatory Committee for the Third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries with a request to have them incorporated in the Programme of Action and urging their speedy implementation.
- We request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to establish a Group of Eminent Persons in order to examine the best methods as to how the above goals can be attained and who should submit their report to the Secretary-General within six months after the Brussels Conference.
- We thank the Government of South Africa for hosting this Workshop and pay tribute to Minister Mrs. Lindiwe Hendricks for skillfully guiding it to a successful conclusion.
- We thank the Governments of Denmark, Finland, Japan and Sweden, as well as UNDP, the Industrial Development Corporation, Khula Enterprise, Petronas and Sun International, whose financial contributions made this Workshop possible.

AGREED CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The workshop on LDCs: Building Capacities for Mainstreaming Gender in Development Strategies was held on 21-23 March 2001 at the Mount Nelson Hotel, Cape Town, South Africa. It was organized by UNCTAD, hosted by the Government of South Africa and sponsored by the Governments of Denmark, Finland, Japan, Sweden, as well as UNDP and the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa.

The Workshop was convened as part of preparations for the Third United Nations Conference for Least Developed Countries to be hosted by the European Union in Brussels on 14-20 May 2001. The primary objective of the Workshop was to highlight the link between gender, poverty reduction and economic development and the necessity to mainstream gender into LDCs' national policies and programmes. The following five themes were discussed: Poverty Reduction Strategies and Gender Equality; Engendering National Budgets and Development Strategies; Gender Equality and Trade; Engendering Statistics; and Micro-credit.

POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGIES AND GENDER EQUALITY

The Workshop on LDCs: Building Capacities for Mainstreaming Gender in Development Strategies:

- (i) Acknowledged the important linkages between development, poverty reduction and gender equality. It recognized that while the status of women in LDCs has advanced in some important respects in the past decade, progress has been uneven, inequalities between women and men have persisted and women remain the vast majority of the poor. Major obstacles remain to fundamental mainstreaming of gender issues throughout all stages of national development policies strategies, programmes and resource allocation.
- (ii) Underscored the importance of mainstreaming gender in poverty reduction programmes like Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). The Workshop identified constraints that must be dealt with, including feminization of poverty, unequal status of women and men in terms of ownership and access to assets and decision-making, inadequate legal frameworks, harmful traditional practices and voicelessness of women.
- (iii) Noted that the effective representation and participation of women in all spheres of decision-making, including the political process at all levels, can improve accountability, transparency and consequently lead to good governance.
- (iv) Noted that, when they have the opportunity, women can be drivers of inclusive sustainable development.
- (v) Reiterated the need for full and active participation of civil society organizations and other critical stakeholders, including women's groups, in the design and implementation of the development agenda.

Against this background, the following key recommendations were addressed to LDC Governments and development partners:

- (i) Promote gender mainstreaming as a strategy to reduce poverty, alongside other strategies such as those focusing on empowerment and vulnerability reduction. Women's and men's roles and responsibilities should equally be an integral part of national development policies, strategies and programmes, e.g. PRSPs and national budget processes, in order to ensure social justice and economic development.
- (ii) Promote capacity building in gender mainstreaming at all levels, including reforms of institutional and legal frameworks.
- (iii) Enhance women's full and equal participation in decision making at all levels.
- (iv) Allocate adequate human and financial resources to facilitate the implementation of the commitments made at national and regional levels, as well as at international conferences.
- (v) In order to eradicate poverty, national Governments should promote and protect women's equal access to, ownership and inheritance of property and other productive resources.
- (vi) Invest in basic economic and social infrastructure and services, such as health, prevention of HIV and other pandemic diseases, sanitation, shelter, education, water, energy, transport and other time-saving infrastructures which reduce women's and girls' domestic work load.

ENGENDERING NATIONAL BUDGETS AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

 Budgets are national policy instruments with an important impact on people through their redistributive effects and creation of opportunities. Gender budgeting is a collection of methods that illuminate the allocation and impacts of budgets on women and men and is an important tool to mainstream gender in development strategies. Due to lack of knowledge of their importance, and of human and financial resources to implement them, gender budgeting has been undertaken in very few countries.

Against this background, the following key recommendations were addressed to LDC Governments and development partners:

- (i) Build local teams of experts from both within and outside the Government in order to initiate and sustain gender budget activities. Create partnerships between the Government and the civil society to ensure transparency and accountability in the budget process. Strengthen advocacy and information dissemination on how budgets affect ordinary citizen.
- (ii) Macro-economic policies, which underpin the budget allocations, should be analysed from a gender perspective with attention to both the revenue and expenditure sides of the budget. Gender analysis should be part of the whole budget cycle.
- (iii) Impart gender analysis skills to policy makers, planners and to PRSP thematic group participants, and economic literacy skills to gender advocates to enable them to be effective in their work.
- (iv) Relevant international organizations, including the United Nations and its agencies and international financial institutions, should assist upon request in the implementation of gender budgets in LDCs.

GENDER EQUALITY AND TRADE

- The Workshop acknowledged that trade policies and programmes are not gender neutral. As
 women and men occupy different economic and social positions, have different tasks and
 responsibilities as well as different access to private and public resources, they experience trade
 reforms differently, in both their roles of producers, consumers and providers of care to their
 families.
- Because of existing gender inequalities, women tend to be more vulnerable to the negative effects of trade liberalization and less able to benefit from the positive effects. For example, job losses in industries that are not competitive in the regional and world markets, due to increased availability of cheap imports, are more likely to affect small firms, most of which are run by women. Moreover, the removal of import duties also diminishes government revenues, which often leads to reduction of public expenditure (e.g. in education or health), if not replaced by other sources of finance. This has serious consequences for welfare and poverty, and has particular implications for women.
- Gender inequalities hamper economic development by preventing women from responding to the new trade opportunities. For example, women, despite constituting 70-90 percent of the workforce in agriculture, which is still the main sector in most LDCs, have very little control over land, credit, inputs, extension services and good infrastructure. These inequalities greatly reduce their productivity and further decrease LDCs' share of trade in agricultural goods in the global market.

Against this background, the following key recommendations were addressed to LDC Governments and development partners:

Include gender specialists in the trade negotiation teams set up for national, regional and
international negotiations and impart gender analysis skills to members of these teams. Ensure
greater participation of women and the adoption of a gender perspective in the formulation of
trade policies and in the WTO negotiations.

Provide the Ministries of Trade with gender sensitization training, gender analysis skills and knowledge on how to use gender sensitive trade statistics.

In partnership with the private sector and the civil society, identify those sectors that have the greatest impact from trade liberalization and formulate specific measures to alleviate the negative effects on women and to enable them to take advantage of the opportunities created.

Collect and make available information and statistics on which sectors women and men work and how they are remunerated, e.g. who are the cash crop farmers and food crop farmers, remunerated workers and unpaid family laborers, land-owners and land users, etc.

Develop specific tools, targets and indicators for a framework that systematically analyse the links between trade and gender.

International development partners should assist the LDCs in collecting gender sensitive trade statistics and undertaking case studies on the impact of international trade on women and men in LDCs, in particular on the poor.

ENGENDERING STATISTICS

- Gender statistics refer to all statistics on individuals, collected by sex, with all variables and
 characteristics analysed and presented using sex as a primary and overall classification, so that
 all analyses and presentations are also sex-specific. With a few exceptions, this is not the case in
 practice; even where sex-specific data have been collected, it is not analysed from a gender
 perspective.
- Gender statistics is an important tool for evidence-based development planning. It is needed throughout the entire process of policy making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Against this background, the following key recommendations were addressed to LDC Governments and development partners:

- The production of gender statistics must be the responsibility of the official statistical system at all levels, and cover sex-disaggregated data from different sources and all sectors. Moreover, all statistics should reflect gender issues.
- Participatory and qualitative methods of collecting statistics to complement existing quantitative
 methods should be adopted with a view to raising consciousness and inspiring measures for
 change.
- Existing data collected by sex should be analysed from a gender perspective, repackaged, presented and disseminated in a manner that is accessible to different types of users.
- Train and promote awareness among producers of statistics regarding gender concerns in society, to enable them to collect and analyse gender sensitive statistics to present them in a user friendly manner.
- Improve cooperation and regular dialogue between producers and users of statistics, which would enable them to arrive at a consensus on priorities, as well as provide a monitoring mechanism on data collection.
- Continue to revise the 1993 United Nations system of national accounts in order to incorporate all, as yet uncounted, relevant women's unpaid labour and reproductive economy.
- Assist LDCs to collect and analyse sex disaggregated data to include gender analysis into their national policy formulation by sharing of good practice experiences.

MICRO-CREDIT

- Micro-credit is one of the approaches dealing with the issue of poverty alleviation within the development agenda. The aim of micro-credit is to extend financial help to the poor by creating new opportunities and jobs for them. During the last two decades, the experience in a number of LDCs has shown that the poor, especially women, are good creditors and fund managers and have made a lot of progress. If the poor are given opportunities through micro-credit, they can overcome poverty.
- Experience has also shown that in order for the micro credit programmes to be successful, the poorest of the poor have to be specifically targeted. Moreover, there is general lack of supportive legal and institutional framework for micro-credit. Cultural practices have also

constrained the overall success of these programmes in empowering women in a number of LDCs.

Against this background, the following key recommendations were addressed to LDC Governments and development partners:

- Provide women with greater access to credit and other financial services to enhance their economic status and to improve household welfare.
- Develop mechanisms for effective targeting of the poorest of the poor.
- National Governments to put legal policy and institutional frameworks into place. These would be conducive to enabling micro finance institutions to effectively target the poorest of the poor, especially women.
- Conduct capacity building and empowerment of all stakeholders involved in micro credit delivery systems.
- Encourage sharing of experiences on micro-credit among LDCs and all relevant bodies.

THE WAY FORWARD

- National Governments, with support from international development partners, should allocate the necessary resources for the implementation of these recommendations.
- In order to ensure continuity, a focal point with all the necessary resources should be established within UNCTAD to follow-up on this Workshop. This is to ensure that its outcome is reflected in the preparations up to the LDC III Conference and also the implementation of its recommendations, in particular those related to trade and gender.

ANNEX 3

PROGRAMME OF THE WORKSHOP

DAY 1

8.30—9.00 Registration, Tea and Coffee

9.00—9.45 Opening Session

- Mrs. L. Hendricks, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, South Africa—Welcome Address;
- Mr. R. Ricupero, Secretary-General of UNLDCIII and of UNCTAD;
- Mrs. J. Mukwaya, Minister of Gender, Labour and Social Development, Uganda.

9.45—13.00 Theme 1: Gender, Poverty Eradication and Economic Development

Chair: Mrs. L. Hendricks, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, South Africa

Moderator: Mrs. A. Tibaijuka, Executive Director of UNCHS (Habitat)

10.00—10.10 Ms. M. Sahami-Malmberg, LDCIII Gender Coordinator, UNCTAD.

Multimedia Presentation: Gender, Poverty and Development—What are the issues?

10.10—11.40 Panel

- Mr. J. Page, Director, The World Bank, "Guidelines on Engendering Poverty Reduction Strategies"
- Prof. Y. Muramatsu, Tokyo Women's Christian University, "Gender Asymmetrical Impact of Economic Crises and Structural Changes";
- Ms. J. Mpagi, Director, Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, Uganda, "Challenges and Opportunities for Gender Mainstreaming in the National Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP): A Case of Uganda"
- Ms. A. de Abreu, Forum Mulher, Mozambique Case study
- Ms. A. Guedheu, Association des Professionnelles Africaines de la Communication, Cameroon, "Gender Equality, Poverty Reduction and Development the Case of Frenchspeaking LDCs in Central and Western Africa"

Annotation

This session will provide a forum for discussion on how gender inequality hampers economic development and poverty reduction in LDCs. Case studies, based on information regarding the extent to which the gender perspective has been given attention in the national programmes of action/PRSP/other national policy documents relevant to LDCIII, will be presented: What were the main difficulties faced by the national preparatory committees and what were the factors facilitating success?

11.40—13.00 Debate

Participants from other LDCs will have the opportunity to share experiences from (i) gender equality, poverty reduction and development potentials; and (ii) engendering their NPAs/PRSPs, giving additional information on the specific obstacles and suggesting areas where there is a need to build capacity.

13.00-14.15 Lunch

14.15—17.00 Theme 2: Engendering National Budgets and Development

STRATEGIES

Chair: Ms. P. Govender, MP, Chair of the Joint Committee of the Quality of Life and Status of Women, South Africa

Co-Chair: Mrs. A.E.V. King, Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, United Nations

14.45—15.30 Panel

- Ms. A. Zaoude, Senior Advisor on Gender in Development, UNDP, "Budget as if people mattered"
- Ms. R. Khemani, Senior Economist, IMF, "Poverty Reduction Facility and Growth"
- Dr. N. Ngwira, Lecturer, University of Malawi, "Engendering National Budgets: Lessons from Experiences in Malawi"
- Ms. D. Budlender, Community Agency for Social Enquiry, South Africa, "The challenge of engendering national budgets in African LDCs"

Annotation

This session will focus on: (I) gender sensitive policies' implications for the budget; (ii) the impact of gender sensitive budgets on gender equality, addressing both the revenues and the expenditures; and (iii) the role of civil society in policy formulation and in the budget process.

15.30-17.00 Debate

The debate will give an opportunity to discuss and learn from different attempts, experiences and approaches to engendering budgets.

17.00—18.00 Summing up, What did we learn today?

Drafting of recommendations for the Global Programme of Action

Task force: Composed of LDC representatives Ms. Mmabatho Matiwane, Gender Officer, Department for Trade and Industry, South Africa, Ms. Masoumeh Malmberg and Ms. Anna Faelth of UNCTAD

19.00-22.00: Welcome Evening Reception/Dinner—Celebration of Human Rights in South Africa

Hosted by the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Industrial Development Corporation, at Village Spier, Stellenbosch, Cape Town.

DAY 2

9.00-12.30 THEME 3: GENDER EQUALITY AND TRADE

Chair: Ms. L. Hendricks, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, South Africa

Co-chair: Mr. I. Chowdhury, Special Advisor to the Secretary-General of UNLDCIII

Key note speaker: Mr. A. Erwin, Minister of Trade and Industry, South Africa

9.30—9.40 Ms. A. Faelth, LDCIII Gender Officer, UNCTAD.

Multimedia presentation: "Gender Equality and Trade – what are the issues?"

9.40—11.00 Panel

- Mr. J.-M. Léger, WTO, "The Utility and Feasibility of Mainstreaming Gender in Trade Policy Reviews"
- Ms. W. Madantsela, Gender and Trade Network in Africa (GENTA), "Gender and Trade in Africa"
- Ms. M. Fontana, International Food Policy and Research Institute, "Measuring the Impact of Trade Liberalization on Gender"

Annotation

The session will provide a forum for discussion on how gender inequalities hamper the development of national and international trade and how trade policies may produce or reproduce gender inequalities.

11.00—12.30 Debate

The debate will focus on national attempts to use gender analysis for formulation of trade policies and the obstacles faced. Where do we need to build capacity?

12.30-14.15 Lunch

14.15-17.00 Theme 4: Engendering Statistics

Chair: Dr. A. Molokomme, Senior Programme Officer, SADC

14.25—15.00 Panel

- Ms. B. Hedman, Gender Statistics Expert, Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics, "Engendering Statistics in LDCs—Opportunities and Capacity Limitations"
- Prof. R. Katapa, Associate Professor, University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, "Gender Statistics in Tanzania"
- Ms. D. Uinge and Ms. G. Iversen Moyo, National Institute of Statistics, Mozambique "Gender Statistics: The Mozambican Experience"
- Ms. E. Mutale, Chief Gender Analyst, Cabinet Office, Zambia, "Engendering Statistics: The Zambian Eperience"
- Mr. P. Lehohla, Chief Statistician, National Statistics Institute of South Africa, "Engendering statistics in South Africa"

Annotation

This session will provide a forum for discussing the need for and the ways and means of building capacity for evidence-based policy making. Success stories, new and emerging initiatives, such as PARIS21, will be presented and discussed. Ways and means to effectively disseminate and make available sex-disaggregated statistics and other relevant information needed for gender sensitive policy making, will also be presented and discussed.

15.00—17.00 Debate

Opportunity will be given to share national and international experiences related to engendering statistics in LDCs.

17.00—18.00 Summing up, What did we learn today? Drafting of recommendations for the Global Programme of Action

Task force: Composed of LDC representatives, Mmabatho Matiwane, Gender Officer, Department for Trade and Industry, South Africa, Mrs. Masoumeh Sahami-Malmberg and Ms. Anna Faelth of UNCTAD

18.30—20.30 Evening Event— Women as the drivers of poverty alleviation and the impact of micro credit

Organized by: The Women's Development Bank of South Africa

Chaired by: Mrs. Zanele Mbeki, Director, Women's Development Bank of South Africa

DAY 3

9.00-12.30 Theme 5:The Way Forward—from concepts and promises to action and implementation

Chair: Mrs. L. Hendricks, Deputy-Minister of Trade and Industry, South Africa

Keynote speaker: Mr. J. Scavee, Chair of the Preparatory Committee of LDCIII "How the output of the workshop will feed into the LDCIII and the Global Programme of Action"

Private and Public Sector initiatives

- Mr. C. Hendricks, Cisco Systems
- Mr. Y. Enoki, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Japan
- Ms. H. Nilsson, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Sweden
- Ms. Pereira, Executive Director, CPLP
- Mr. V. Luukkanen, Consulting Programme Officer, Embassy of Finland
- Ms. A. Zaoude, Senior Advisor on Gender in Development, UNDP
- Ms. C. Yinusa, Gender Focal Point, ILO

11.15-12.30 Debate

Annotation

This session will provide the opportunity for both the private sector and development partners to present and discuss their future plans and initiatives with the potential beneficiaries, i.e. LDCs.

12.30-14.15 Lunch

14.15-16.15 THEME 5 CONT. THE WAY FORWARD—FROM CONCEPTS AND PROMISES TO ACTION AND IMPLEMENTATION, CONTINUED

Chair: Mrs. L. Hendricks, Deputy-Minister of Trade, South Africa

14.15-14.45 Report of the drafting task force

Annotation

This session will provide a forum for discussing and making both policy recommendations and capacity building suggestions for LDCIII.

14.45-16.15 Debate

Closing: Mrs. L. Hendricks, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, South Africa

ANNEX 4

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