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WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT:

A FRAMEWORK FOR PROJECT ANALYSIS

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ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

What women do will have an impact on most projects whether or not women are considered explicitly in their design and implementation. Similarly, most projects will have an effect on women's lives. The framework we propose can improve the definition of general project objectives, assess how these relate to women's involvement with a project, and anticipate the effect of the project on women. The analysis which we introduce here is not intended to be limited in its application to projects which are directed only to women. This analysis is equally applicable, and probably more important, precisely for projects where women's roles and responsibilities have not been explicitly noted but are implicitly assumed in project design and implementation.

Development projects are vehicles for generating change. Project design and implementation, therefore, require an adequate data base. "Visibility" is the starting point for integrating women into development projects and visibility also comes through data. Thus the cornerstone of the proposed framework is an adequate data base which considers what women do and why. The key challenge, however, is how to organize and present this information so as to facilitate its translation into project terms. The framework we propose uses four interrelated components: Activity Profile; Access and Control Profile; Analysis of Factors Influencing Activities, Access, and Control, and Project Cycle Analysis.

The first component, the Activity Profile is based on the concept of a gender-based division of labour. The Activity Profile will delineate the economic activities of the population in the project area first by age and gender and then by ethnicity, social class, or other important distinguishing characteristics. In addition, it will indicate the amount of time spent by individuals to accomplish these activities. The second component, the Access and Control Profile, will identify what resources individuals can command to carry out their activities and the benefits which they derive from them.

Analysis of factors influencing the activities, Access and Control focuses on the underlying factors which determine the gender division of labour and gender related control over resources and benefits. These analyses identify the factors which create differential opportunities or constraints for men's and women's participation in and benefits from projects. Because the work that men and women carry out shifts over time in response to the processes of change, an understanding of the underlying trends within the broader economic and cultural environment must be incorporated into this analysis.

The final component of the analytical framework, Project Cycle Analysis, consists of examining a project in light of the foregoing basic data and the trends that are likely to affect it and/or be generated by it. Together these four components provide a sufficient basis for designing and implementing projects which can best benefit and be benefited by women's participation.

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ACTIVITY PROFILE

To assess the interaction between women and projects, it is important to know what women do. How one categorizes activities conceptually is important. We suggest the following categories.

1. *Production of Goods and Services*

Too often planners have failed to recognize women's roles as producers. Specific productive activities carried out for all goods and services by men or women should be identified. It is not sufficient to identify only female activities. Male activities must also be specified because the interrelationships can affect or be affected by the project.

Specific delineation of activities is needed for each country and project setting because general typologies can be very misleading. Huntington's critique of the early Boserup work emphasized the difficulties of generalizing "... even if the classification and causal relationships of Boserup's conceptualization are pertinent to African societies, they do not hold elsewhere".[5] The work of Deere and Leon in Andean areas reinforces the problem with generalization .... "Boserup's propositions ... hold only for the middle and rich states of the peasantry ...."[6]

The degree of specificity of the activity listing should depend on the nature of the project. Those areas most directly associated with a project should carry the greatest detail. For example, if the project concerns a new agricultural production technology, the gender division of labour for each agricultural productive activity should be delineated, e.g.,land clearance, preparation, seeding, weeding, processing, etc.

2. *Reproduction and Maintenance of the Human Resources*

Activities that are carried out to produce and care for the family members need to be specified according to who does them. They might include but are not limited to fuel and water collection, food preparation, birthing, child care, education, health care, and laundry. These activities are often viewed as non-economic, and they generally carry no pecuniary remuneration, and are usually excluded from the national income accounts. In fact, these household maintenance tasks are essential economic functions which ensure the development and preservation of the human capital for the family and the nation. Galbraith observed "What is not counted is usually not noticed". In project analyses not noticing a major activity can lead to defective project design.

Giving explicit attention to these functions is critical. Women's project involvement can depend on whether or how a project affects reproduction and maintenance activities, the production of goods and services, and/or the interrelationship between these activities. The scarcest resource for most low income women is time. The design of projects which increase time

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requirements for particular activities must consider these requirements in relation to the time required for other necessary activities.

The activities listed in the above categories need to be further classified to increase their utility for the subsequent project analysis. Three parameters are suggested for describing the activities:

(a) Gender and Age Denomination — identifies whether women, men, their children or the elderly carry out an activity; reveals gender patterns in the work activities; and is the key to identifying subsequent gender effects;

(b) Time Allocation — specifies what percentage of time is allocated to each activity and whether it is seasonal or daily;

(c) Activity Locus — specifies where the activity is being performed — in the home, in the family field or shop or in the outside community; reveals female mobility; and carries implications for project delivery systems.

Table 1 provides an example of how information on activities can be summarized.

Most projects are not targeted to homogeneous population groups. The gender-based division of labour as well as the access to and control over resources and benefits are likely to differ, often quite substantially, according to socio-economic class or ethnic affiliation. Therefore it is essential to develop the activity profiles separately for each of the distinct population groups to whom the project is targeted.

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ACCESS AND CONTROL PROFILE

Identifying the gender specific activities in production, reproduction and maintenance is a necessary, but not sufficient step in the data preparation for project design and implementation. The flow of resources and benefits are fundamental concepts in the analysis of how projects will affect and be affected by women. Of particular concern is the access that individuals have to resources for carrying out their activities and what command they have over the benefits that derive from these activities. Table 2 illustrates how this information can be usefully summarized.

Two points are important here. First, it is essential to differentiate between access and control. Access to resources does not necessarily imply the power to control them. To control a situation is to impose one's own definition upon the other actors in that situation. In other words, access can be determined by others but control implies that one is the determining force.

Second, it is also important to differentiate between access to and control over the use of resources, on the one hand, and access to and control over the benefits derived from the mobilization of resources on the other. Even where women have unrestrained use of resources they are not always able to realize the gains from their use. Huntington's observation on female-dominated African agriculture illustrates this situation. Men have power and control over the fruits of women's labour because "tradition gives men a position of authority over women .... Men get their wealth, their livelihood and their leisure from women's labour."[9] By focusing on both resources and benefits, one obtains an accurate assessment of the relative power of members of a society/economy and can utilize this knowledge to analyze the probable interaction of women with a project and its likely effect on them.

ANALYSIS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING ACTIVITIES, ACCESS, AND CONTROL

The factors which determine who does what in any population subgroup and what access and control individuals will have to resources and benefits are broad and interrelated. They could be categorized in numerous ways. The following are suggestions:

(a) general economic conditions, such as poverty levels, inflation rates, income distribution, international terms of trade, infrastructure;

(b) institutional structures, including the nature of government bureaucracies and arrangement for the generation and dissemination of knowledge, technology, and skills;

(c) demographic factors;

(d) community norms, such as familial norms and religious beliefs;

(e) legal parameters;

(f) training and education; and

(g) political events, both internal and external.

The reason for specifying these determining factors is to identify which can facilitate or constrain a project. Some factors, if not most, will not be amenable to change by a project. Therefore, the task for project design and implementation is to assess the above factors in terms of whether and how they will have an effect on or be affected by a project.

In addition, it is important to identify the exogenous trends or dynamic forces which are already affecting change on what men and women actually do. Projects are not implemented and carried out within the static

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environment implied by the Activity and Access and Control Profiles. Dynamic forces — political, social, environmental or physical — can either enhance the accomplishment of a project's objectives or seriously impede it.

The consideration of exogeneous trends and dynamic forces, while always important, is even more so in relation to women. There are a number of forces that affect women on a world-wide basis. Life-expectancy is rising, particularly for women. Availability of birth control information and techniques combined with declining infant mortality rates have the potential to change a fundamental determinant of women's activities; women may have fewer births and/or raise the same number or fewer children. Women are taking up productive activities previously undertaken by men as men migrate to cities or as women assume responsibilities as heads of their households. Women are increasingly entering wage labour occupations in order to survive or maintain a standard of living. Women are gaining increasing access to permanent wage labour in some areas.

In many areas, the number of women-headed households is increasing, although there tends to be a cultural lag in acknowledging this fact. Bangladesh provides an important case in point. The number of women who were left destitute, widowed, or abandoned after the war has had a significant effect on the Bangladesh cultural norm that all women should be under the care and protection of a man. Decreasing land availability is also challenging the norm that children are an asset. Children now cannot be absorbed onto family land, but must be educated in order to earn a living. Costs of education raise the costs of childrearing significantly. Decreasing land/human ratios also mean that it is more difficult for a man to support all the dependent female family members. The trend is towards an abdication of this traditional responsibility. While these forces have direct and important effects on women's lives and the activities they perform, they are part of a much larger dynamic process. The status of women and their involvement in work external to the household is changing in Bangladesh without anyone's having designed this process. Project design and implementation for Bangladesh must take these forces into account in order to understand the context in which a project will be working and the forces which will affect it.

While Bangladesh provides an example of broader trends within a nation which will influence projects, there are also a number of international trends which affect local circumstances. World-wide inflation, international transfers of labour, the impact of technologies, international tensions including the post-Cold War era, all change over time and can affect project outcomes. Events within a project may be better understood when these larger forces are explicitly noted and considered in project planning, implementation and evaluation.

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PROJECT CYCLE ANALYSIS

The remainder of the analytical framework consists of examining a project in light of the foregoing basic data. The process is to ask which activities the project will affect and how the issues of access and control relate to these activities. The factors which determine who undertakes particular activities and with what access and control are critical because they act as mediators for the project's effects on women. The analysis will help pinpoint areas of a project which have to be adjusted in order to achieve the desired outcome.

At the project identification stage, questions which relate to women as project clientele need to be addressed. This includes defining project objectives in terms of women, assuming the opportunities and/or constraints for women's projects involvement, and finally, identifying possible negative effects on women. In the design stage of the project, questions related to the impact on women's activities, access and control of resources and benefits need to be raised. For project implementation, questions regarding the relationship of women in the project area to project personnel, organizational structures, operations, logistics, etc. need to be considered. Finally data requirements for evaluating the project's effects on women must be addressed. Specific questions related to project cycle analysis are detailed in Annex 1.

The activity analysis and the access and control analysis applied to the project cycle analysis provide the basis for good project development. They guide project identification by revealing where women are and what they are doing. They assist project design by highlighting the problem areas and their causes. The challenge is to find ways to deal with the problem areas either by removing them, by-passing them, or adjusting project expectations within them. Project implementation has to be considered in the design process and can benefit from the analytical data, too. It is important to recognize that no standard project design is possible. Each country's situation is unique and will require specific responses.

CROSS-CULTURAL USES OF THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical framework which we have provided here is a useful device for understanding the roles of men and women in a society, and the external forces which may affect project planning. The analysis is generalizable in that it is relevant in every context to determine the gender-based division of labour and to understand the forces which act as constraints on this division or which act to change it.

In applying any generalized analysis across project and cultures, it is important to bear in mind its precise uses and its clear limits. When activity analysis shows that women are involved in certain productive tasks in one area and that these tasks have certain implications for the division of resources and of power in that context, it is unlikely that even this same

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division of labour will have exactly the same implications for the division of power in any other culture or project location.

Traditions, customs, and political process interact with economic and social activities differently in different settings. Transference of conclusions and interpretations across projects and cultures is unlikely to be accurate. Nonetheless, there may be similarities in the mode of analysis which may be applied to understand these interactions. While the analytical framework suggested here raises questions that are applicable in all settings insofar as it is designed to gather critically relevant information for project design, one must apply it to specific project settings. Good project design requires actual data on what work women do and in what context, together with clear specification of the issues of prestige, power, access and control.

A decade has passed since the Percy amendment required that U.S. bilateral assistance programs:

> "be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort."

This legislative mandate requires that women be cast as contributors and agents of economic development as well as its beneficiaries. Planners, therefore, must guard against the negative effects of their projects on women and focus on the need to enhance women's productivity, raise their income, and promote their access to economically productive resources as a means to achieving overall national economic growth.

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CONCLUSION

The foregoing framework should be viewed as a flexible instrument rather than a rigid format for accomplishing this objective. It does not pretend to be a definitive work, but rather one upon which others can be built. Only in that spirit can we continue to learn together, and that collective process is essential to the progress we pursue.

Table 1

ACTIVITY PROFILE

Socio-economic Activity	Gender/Age[1] FA	MA	FC	MC	FE	ME	TIME[2]	LOCUS[3]
I. *Production of Goods and Services*								
(a) Product/Services								
1. Functional Activity								
2. Functional Activity								
3. Functional Activity								
(b) Product/Services								
1. Functional Activity								
2. Functional Activity								
3. Functional Activity								
II. *Reproduction and Maintenance of Human Resources*								
(a) Products/Services								
1. Functional Activity								
2.								
3.								
(b) Products/Services								
1. Functional Activity								
2.								
3.								

Code:

1. FA = Female Adult; MA = Male Adult; FC = Female Child
   FE = Female Elder; ME = Male Elder
2. Percentage of time allocated to each activity: Seasonal; Daily
3. Within home: Family; field or shop; local community; beyond community

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Table 2

ACCESS AND CONTROL PROFILE

RESOURCES	ACCESS (F/M)	CONTROL (F/M)
Land		
Equipment		
Labour		
Production		
Reproduction		
Capital		
Education/Training		
BENEFITS	**ACCESS (F/M)**	**CONTROL (F/M)**
Outside Income		
Asset Ownership		
In-kind Goods		
(Food, clothing, shelter, etc.)		
Education		
Political power/prestige		
Other		

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ANNEX 1

The following sets of questions are the key ones for each of the four main stages in the project cycle; identification, design, implementation, evaluation.

WOMEN'S DIMENSION IN PROJECT IDENTIFICATION

A. Assessing Women's Needs

1. What needs and opportunities exist for increasing women's productivity and/or production?
2. What needs and opportunities exist for increasing women's access to and control of resources?
3. What needs and opportunities exist for increasing women's access to and control of benefits?
4. How do these needs and opportunities relate to the country's other general and sectoral development needs and opportunities?
5. Have women been directly consulted in identifying such needs and opportunities?

B. Defining General Project Objectives

1. Are project objectives explicitly related to women's needs?
2. Do these objectives adequately reflect women's needs?
3. Have women participated in setting these objectives?

C. Identifying Possible Negative Effects

1. Might the project reduce women's access to and control of resources and benefits?
2. Might it adversely affect women's situation in some other way?
3. What will be the effect on women in the short or longer run?

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WOMEN'S DIMENSION IN PROJECT DESIGN

A. Project Impact on Women's Activities

1. Which of these activities (production, reproduction and maintenance, socio-political) does the project affect?

2. Is the planned component consistent with the current gender denomination for the activity?

3. If it plans to change the women's performance of that activity is this feasible and what positive or negative effect would it have on women?

4. If it does not change it, is this a missed opportunity for women's roles in the development process?

5. If it plans to change the activity locus of that activity, is this feasible, and what positive or negative effect would it have on women?

6. If this does not change it, is this a missed opportunity for women's role in the development process?

7. If it plans to change the remunerative mode of that activity, is this feasible, and what positive or negative effects would it have on women?

8. If it does not change it, is this a missed opportunity for women's role in the development process?

9. If it plans to change the technology mode of that activity, is this feasible, and what positive or negative effects would it have on women?

10. If it does not change it, is this a missed opportunity for women's role in the development process?

11. How can the project design be adjusted to increase the above-mentioned positive effects, and reduce or eliminate the negative ones.

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B. Project Impact on Women's Access and Control

1. How will each of the project components affect women's access to and control of the resources and benefits engaged in and stemming from the production of goods and services?

2. How will each of the project components affect women's access to and control of the resources and benefits engaged in and stemming from the reproduction and maintenance of the human resources?

3. How will each of the project components affect women's access to and control of the resources and benefits engaged in and stemming from the socio-political functions?

4. How can the project design be adjusted to increase women's access to and control of resources and benefits?

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WOMEN'S DIMENSION IN PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

A. Personnel

1. Are project personnel sufficiently aware of and sympathetic towards women's needs?
2. Are females used to deliver the goods or services to women beneficiaries?
3. Do personnel have the necessary skills to provide any special inputs required by women?
4. Are there appropriate opportunities for female participation in project management positions?

B. Organisational Structures

1. Does the organisation form enhance access to resources?
2. Does the organisation have adequate power to obtain resources needed by women from other organisations?
3. Does the organisation have the institutional capability to support and protect women during the change process?

C. Operation and Logistics

1. Are the organisation's delivery channels accessible to women in terms of personnel, location and timing?
2. Do control procedures exist to ensure dependable delivery of the goods and services?
3. Are there mechanisms to ensure that the project resources or benefits are not usurped by males?

D. Finances

1. Do funding mechanisms exist to ensure program continuity?
2. Are funding levels adequate for proposed tasks?
3. Is preferential access to resources by males avoided?

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E. Flexibility

1. Does the project have a management information system which will allow it to detect the effects of the operation on women?

2. Does it also collect data to update the Activity Analysis and the Women's Access and Control Analysis?

3. Are women involved in designating the data requirements?

F. Data Collection and Analysis

1. Are the data collected with sufficient frequency so that necessary project adjustments could be made during the project?

2. Are the data fed back to project personnel and beneficiaries in an understandable form and on a timely basis to allow project adjustments?

3. Are women involved in the collection and interpretation of data?

4. Are data analysed so as to provide guidance to the design of other projects?

5. Are key areas for WID research identified?

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FOOTNOTES

1. Ester Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970)

2. This focus on "projects" rather than processes, institutions, and policies can inhibit rather than promote development if not managed appropriately (*see* Korten). Our attention to projects does not carry a normative judgement on this approach but rather reflects a concern on improving the existing modalities.

3. The perceptions or biases of "planners" concerning women constitute another barrier. See Barbara Rogers, *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1990).

4. See Gloria Scott, *The Invisible Woman*, (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1980).

5. Sue Ellen Huntington, "Issues in Women's Role in Economic Development: Critique and Alternatives", *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, November 1975, p. 104.

6. C. Deere, and M. León de Leal, 1982, *Women in Andean Agriculture: Peasant Production and Rural Wage Employment in Columbia and Peru* (Geneva: ILO).

7. Kenneth Galbraith, "The Economics of the American Housewife," *Atlantic Monthly* Vol. 232, No. 2, August 1973, p. 79.

8. Allan Dawe, "The Two Sociologies", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, 1970, p. 207; also cited in Rogers, *op. cit.*

9. Huntington, *op. cit.*

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RELATIONSHIP OF DIFFERENT POLICY APPROACHES TO WOMEN			
Type of planning approach	Concepts		Example of Development Intervention
	Problem	Solutions	
WELFARE	▸Women's poverty ▸Women as a vulnerable group ▸Women's special needs	▸Provision of support services in health, nutrition, child care, etc.	▸Maternity and health clinics ▸Nutrition and health education
ANTI-POVERTY/ ECONOMIC SELF-RELIANCE	▸Women as under-employed, unproductive, dependent	▸Promote self-reliance, productive skills, enterprise development	▸Income-generating projects for women
EFFICIENCY	▸Women as previously overlooked resource ▸Women as under-developed capital	▸Identify women's actual production roles ▸Improve women's access to technology and other resources	▸Provision of credit and marketing facilities ▸Extension advice for women farmers Appropriate technology
EQUALITY	Structure of inequality; discrimination against women in education, credit, access to land, etc.	Equality of opportunity in schooling and access in all sectors	Affirmative action to promote equal opportunity for women in development process
EMPOWERMENT	Unequal gender power patriarchy.	Women gain greater control over productive resources Strategies of conscientisation and mobilisation employed.	Projects concerned with democratisation and collective action Training in gender awareness.

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	WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT	GENDER & DEVELOPMENT
The approach	An approach which seeks to integrate women into the development	An approach which seeks to empower women and transform unequal relations between women and men.
Focus	Women	Relations between men and women.
The problem	The exclusion of women from the development process	Unequal relations of power (rich and poor/women and men) that prevent equitable development and women's full participation.
The goal	More efficient, effective development	Equitable, sustainable development. Women and men sharing decision-making and power.
The strategies	▸Women's projects ▸Women's components ▸Integrated projects Productivity and income Increase women's ability to manage their households	▸Identify and address short term needs determined by women and men to improve their condition. At the same time, address women's and men's longer term interests.
From: Two Make a Whole: Balancing Gender Relations in Development by Moffat Geedah and Stuart.		

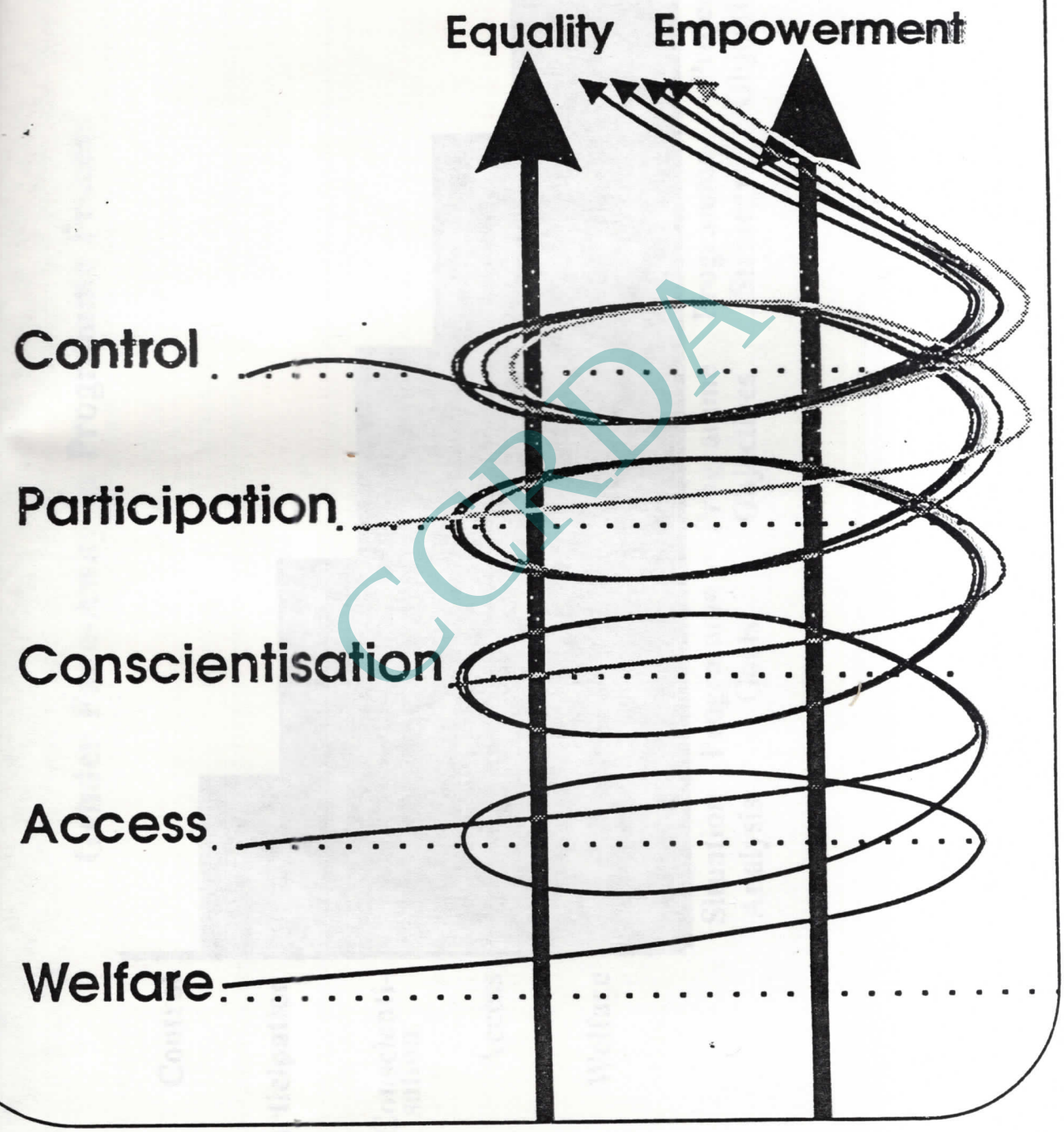
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OTHER USEFUL MATERIALS PRACTICAL NEEDS AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS

A. Practical needs	B. Strategic interests
o tend to be intermediate, short-term;	o tend to be long-term;
o are unique to particular women;	o are common to all women;
o relate to daily needs such as food, housing, income, healthy children, etc.	o relate to disadvantaged, etc. subordination, lack of resources and education, vulnerability to poverty and violence, etc.
o can be addressed by provision of specific inputs: food, handpumps, clinic, etc.	o can be addressed by: conscience-raising, increasing self-confidence, education, strengthening women's organizations, political mobilization.
ADDRESSING PRACTICAL NEEDS	ADDRESSING STRATEGIC/INTERESTS
This:	This:
o tends to involve women as beneficiaries and perhaps as participants;	o involves women as agents or enables women to become agents;
o can improve the condition of women's lives;	o can improve the position of women in the society;
Generally does not alter traditional roles and relationships.	o can empower women and transform relationships.

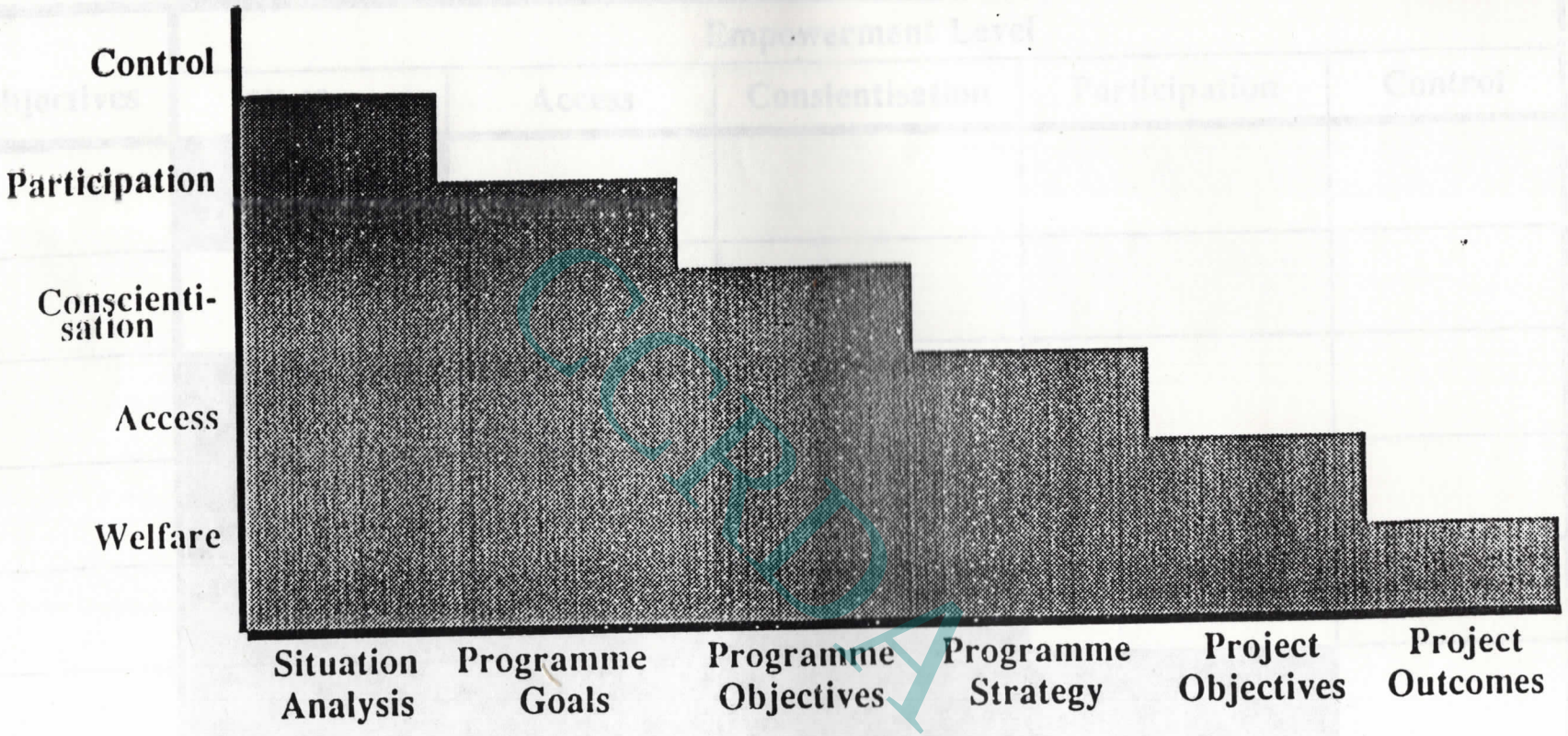
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Women's Equality & Empowerment Framework



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Gender Fade-Away in Programme Process



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Gender Profile Objectives					
Objectives	Empowerment Level				
	Welfare	Access	Consientisation	Participation	Control
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

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Gender Fade-Away in a Project Outline

Aspect of Projects	Empowerment Level				
	Welfare	Access	Consientisation	Participation	Control
Background Situation					
Problem Identification					
Project Goal					
Project Objectives					
Implementation Strategy					
Management System					

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A Gender Profile of a Project Outline					
Aspect of Projects	Empowerment Level				
	Welfare	Access	Consientisation	Participation	Control
Background Situation					
Problem Identification					
Project Goal					
Project Objectives					
Implementation Strategy					
Management System					

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WOMEN ON THE LAND AND IN AGRICULTURE

THE NEED FOR AN EFFECTIVE STRATEGY FOR CHANGE

A Story : Mr Moyo goes to the Doctor.

"What is your job?" asked the doctor.
"I am a farmer" replied Mr. Moyo.

"Have you any children?" the doctor asked.
"God has not been good to me. Of 15 born, only nine live", Mr. Moyo answered.

"Does your wife work?"
"No she stays at home".

"I see. How does she spend her day?"
"Well, she get up at four in the morning, fetches water and wood, makes the fire, cooks breakfast and cleans the homestead. Then she goes to the river and washes clothes. Once a week she walks to the grinding mill. After that she goes to the township with the two smallest children where she sell tomatoes by the road side while she knits. She buys what she wants from the shops. Then she cooks the midday meal".

"You come home at midday?".
"No, no she brings the meal to me about three kilometres away".

"And after that?".

"She stays in the field to do the weeding, and then goes to the vegetable garden to water".

"What do you do?".
"I must go and discuss business and drink with the men in the village".

"And after that?"
"I go home for supper which my wife has prepared".

"Does she go to bed after supper?
"No, I do. She has things to do around the house until 9 or 10."

"But I thought you said your wife doesn't work".
"Of course she doesn't work. I told you she stays at home".

Presented by the Women and Development Sub-Committee Ministry of Community Development and Community Affairs, Zimbabwe.

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eading #6:

he Structural Nature of Gender Inequality

troduction

This reading provides a brief framework for understanding "structural gender inequality", which i ie phrase used in the other readings to describe the underlying causes of gender gaps. nder gaps do not arise by accident, but are the result of systematic discrimination against emales: the principles and rules of this discrimination are embedded in the institutional infrastructure of society, starting with the family. This reading looks at the different elements of structural gender inequality, and concludes with a brief consideration of forms of bureaucratic resistance to gender equality.

The reading ends with an exercise which asks you to study at a typical example of resistance to change, to analyse the situation, and to suggest an alternative strategy for change.

Key learning objective: to be able to recognise gender issues in terms of the underlying causes of structural inequality, and to identify the forms of resistance to the closing gender gaps.

I. Gender Gaps & Elements of Structural Inequality

ere is a world-wide pattern, generally more severe in the developing countries, of girls and women having a lower socio-economic status relative to boys and men. For example, a recent summary of the global position in the health care of the girl child states that:[1]

> "Sex bias in health care has been documented in recent analyses in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. The findings show that:
>
> - More male children are immunised and treated by hospitals than females;
> - The girl child has a higher rate of death from measles, diarrhoea and respiratory infections;
> - Girls are weaned earlier;
> - The girl child is usually brought to the hospital in a worse condition than a boy".

Such gender bias manifested in the disparate statistics is not without cause. It arises from a bias in treatment, with preferential treatment being given to boys and pervasive systematic

[1] This is an excerpt from UNICEF. 1990. The Girl Child: An Investment for the Future, p.17. (and which provides the references for the 'recent analyses' referred to in excerpt).

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discrimination against females. The system of discrimination is structural to the extent that it follows publicly accepted rules, and is practised by society as a whole. Therefore, to understand the structural aspects of gender inequality we need to be aware of the socio-cultural context if we are to overcome the underlying causes of gender bias against girls and women.

Where there is a national pattern of gender bias in socio-economic status and in access to resources, we must also look for the evidence of structural gender inequality. In any UNICEF project, it is important to understand the elements of structural inequality —partly in order to locate the main obstacles to project progress, and partly to take advantage of inconsistencies and contradictions within the institutional system. It is useful to look at the extent to which gender discrimination is given legal, official or public sanction, as is discussed below.

International Conventions

The 1979 Women's Convention (CEDAW) and the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child established wide-ranging and explicit principles of gender equality (see also Readings #4 and #5). However, a particular nation may not have ratified either of these Conventions. More likely, however, is that a state has ratified both of these Conventions, but is making little effort towards meeting its commitments towards gender equality.

National Constitution

Notable gaps are likely to be found between the commitment to principles of gender equality in UN Conventions and the commitment found in a national Constitution or similar national instruments. The latter have probably not been revised or amended in accordance with the UN Conventions which the nation has ratified. Nonetheless, many national Constitutions may provide for fundamental freedoms in law, even though these cannot always be actually enjoyed in practice. Constitutions often establish some gender equality in rights and freedoms but do not explicitly stipulate affirmative actions. They may not be definitive in condemning discrimination as unconstitutional, and may be less than equivocal in requiring that women should receive equal treatment.

Statutory Law

Another area of discrepancy often exists between the Constitution and statutory law, where some laws may allow discriminatory treatment of females, sometimes under the guise of "protecting" women. Typical of laws in this category are those which prohibit women from owning property; from applying for public services such as passports, business license, bank account; from entitlement to marriage property; from access to credit and from access to particular categories of employment. It may be useful to distinguish between laws which are discriminatory and explicit in their sanctions against women's roles and rights, and those which are not discriminatory *de jure* but in practice are *de facto* biased against women. For example, a law on access to agricultural credit may be gender neutral in its

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2. **Inversion.** Denial is closely connected with the strategy of inversion, which may be summarised as putting the blame on the victim. In other words, following the claim that equality of opportunity already exists, it may be further claimed that it is women's own fault if they are not participating sufficiently, or not coming forward to "take advantage of the opportunities already open to them." Data from field situations would be useful in support of advocacy.

3. **Dilution.** Dilution is a strategy which admits the problem of women's development only at the levels of increased welfare and access to resources, but denies that there is any structural problem of resources being controlled by men or that there is discrimination against girls and women. Therefore in terms of the Women's Equality & Empowerment Framework, dilution means diluting women's development down to the level of welfare, thereby avoiding the questions of women's empowerment as being integral to the development process. Dilution involves selective denial, i.e. admitting gender gaps but denying discrimination.

4. **Selection.** One obvious means of perpetuating dilution is through selection of programme priorities. This may mean selectively editing out project objectives that explicitly involve women's increased participation and control, or which suggest women's increased conscientisation and empowerment. Selection could also be in terms of limiting the programme to selecting particular welfare-level projects. A neat combination of dilution and selection involves recognition and acceptance of gender issues in the outlines of the current situation of women and identification of problems and programme goals, but to overlook these same gender issues in the formulation of specific programme objectives or in the design of the management system. In other words, gender issues are excluded during selection of implementation stage of the programme process.

5. **Subversion.** This involves pursuing gender issues in a manner which is calculated to make little or no progress. Standardized bureaucratic procedures involve such tactics as appointing an implementing officer with a reputation for incompetence or interest in procedures requiring constant reference of decisions up or down the hierarchy, referring simple administrative decisions to a high level management committee, losing the file, and so on. Subversion is the standard response of officials who are asked to implement policies which they personally find ideologically unacceptable.

6. **Shelving.** This is a more honest, overt and detectable form of delay or slow destruction. Like other strategies, it does not challenge the policy principles or goals. On the contrary, the goals may actually be praised as absolutely desirable and laudable. But here follow-up hinges on the wise and experienced bureaucrat's judgement that "the time is not yet ripe" for this sort of initiative or programme. UNICEF should always be on the alert for this particular phrase, or similar versions of it. Advocacy should be on the lines that gender equality is a human right and as such immediate and essential for achievement of development goals.

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7. **Lip-service.** Shelving might itself be categorised as one form of lip-service, which may be summarised as verbal enthusiasm not matched by any action. The rhetoric is loud but the action is quiet. The concepts and vocabulary of women's development are used as surface rhetoric to describe gender issues in development projects. In terms of the Women's Equality & Empowerment Framework, the lip-service strategy is simple to summarise: it involves using the vocabulary of empowerment and control to describe projects, and enables officials to pay lip-service to empowerment in programme documents when implementation in the field remains at the welfare level. With experience at field sites, such strategies can be recognized and countered with reports of visits, etc.

8. **Compartmentalisation.** This involves giving the responsibility for women's development to a separate Women's Development Officer, ideally belonging to a separate department or bureau of Women's Development which does not belong to any of the implementing ministries. Strategically, this means sidelining women's development and relegating it as a "separate issue." Compartmentalisation may therefore be regarded as an institutionalised version of subversion. With elaborate lip-service it may sometimes even be presented as a strong strategy in support of women's development. UNICEF advocacy would be aimed at broadening the nodal agency's capacities through promotion of the involvement of other sectoral and planning bodies.

9. **Tokenism.** This is an institutional complement of compartmentalisation. It involves having a *token* woman in all discussions to address "gender issues" and to acknowledge "the woman's point of view". In most cases, such women are a token few — preferably one. Every committee can then give *token* respect to the token ideas from the *token* woman, for at least five token minutes. The *token* woman may very well provide valuable advice on how to adjust the wording of documents to take account of female sensitivities, and to adjust the terminology to conform with the jargon and latest fashionable rhetoric on women's development. Tokenism is therefore an institutionalised method for achieving improved lip-service and frequently encountered at all management levels. In fact, it could be that the UNICEF programme officer is the *token* woman!!

10. **Investigation.** This is really a last resort strategy, when a bureaucracy is compelled to show some action. The common situation is when attention is drawn to a glaring and very visible instance of gender gap and gender discrimination where everybody is aware that the problem exists, and also that according to policy guidelines some remedial action is warranted. The way out here is to say "we don't know enough about this problem" (a statement which is true about almost all problems). All actions are then suspended pending the results of a research project to investigate the dimensions of the problem situation, its underlying causes, and the possible intervention methods for overcoming the problem. In other words, the investigation strategy is a more sophisticated, and expensive example of shelving.

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This picture tells two stories: most obviously, about the often fatal consequences of bottle-feeding; more profoundly, about the age-old bias in favour of the male. The child with the bottle is a girl – she died the next day. Her twin brother was breastfed. This woman was told by her mother-in-law that she didn't have enough milk for both her children, and so should breastfeed the boy. But almost certainly she could have fed both children herself, because the process of suckling induces the production of milk. However, even if she found that she could not produce sufficient milk – unlikely as that would be – a much better alternative to bottle-feeding would have been to find a wet-nurse. Ironically, this role has sometimes been taken by the grandmother. In most cultures, before the advent of bottle-feeding, wet-nursing was a common practice.

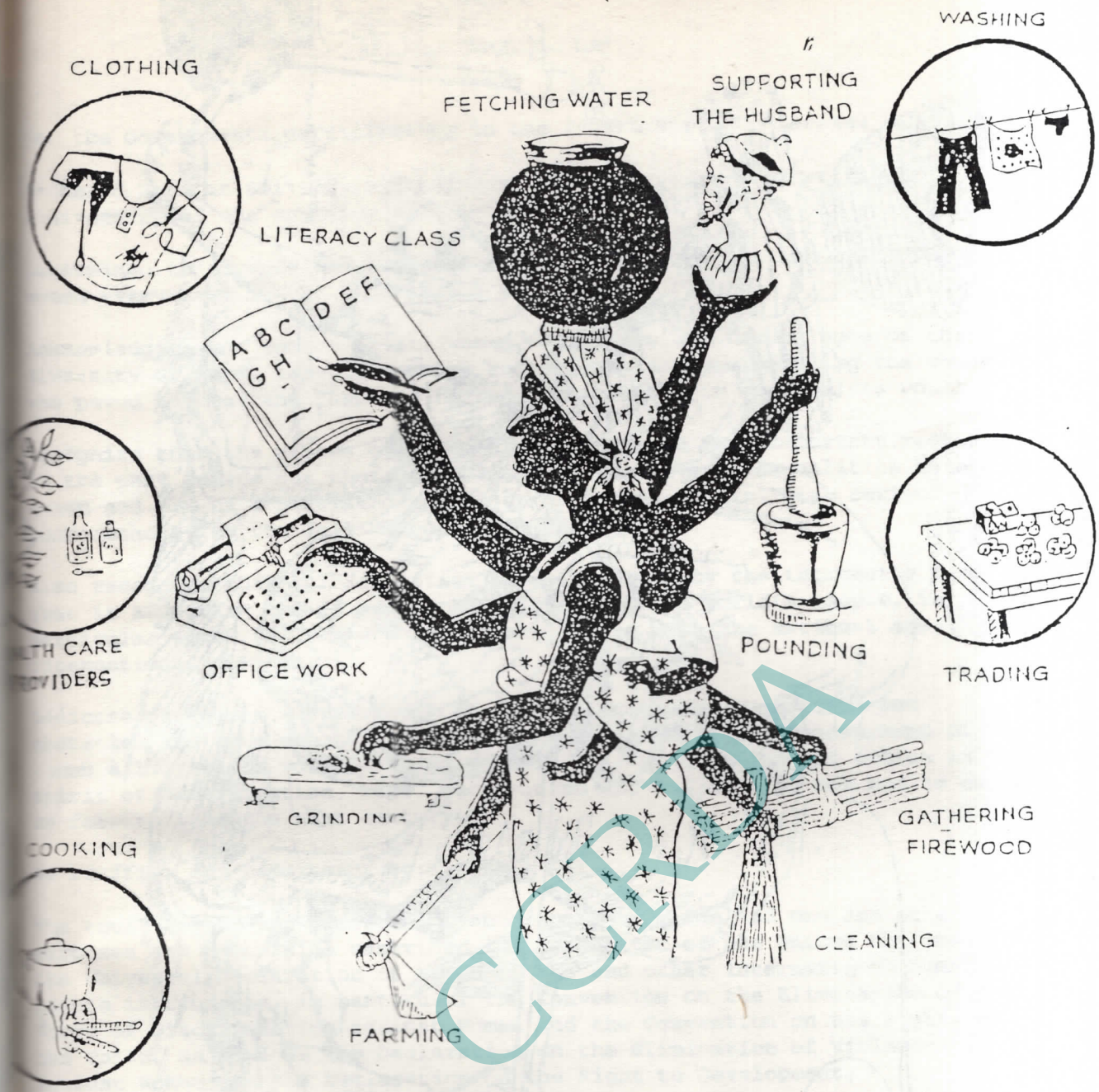
"Use my picture if it will help", said the mother. "I don't want other people to make the same mistake."

Source: UNICEF.

Photo: Courtesy of Children's Hospital, Islamabad, Pakistan.

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A WOMAN'S DAILY ACTIVITIES



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WORK LOAD ON WOMEN IN AFRICA

CREDENTIALS OF THE AFRICAN WOMAN

1 MOST EFFICIENT BEAST OF BURDEN
2 PLOUGHER OF MOST OF THE LAND (WHICH SHE DOES NOT OWN)
3 MANUFACTURER OF CHILDREN SHE DOESN'T OWN
4 MOST EFFECTIVE REPLACEMENT FOR WATER PIPES!

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Annex I

BEIJING DECLARATION

We, the Governments participating in the Fourth World Conference on Women,

Gathered here in Beijing in September 1995, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations,

Determined to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of all humanity,

Acknowledging the voices of all women everywhere and taking note of the diversity of women and their roles and circumstances, honouring the women who paved the way and inspired by the hope present in the world's youth,

Recognize that the status of women has advanced in some important respects in the past decade but that progress has been uneven, inequalities between women and men have persisted and major obstacles remain, with serious consequences for the well-being of all people,

Also recognize that this situation is exacerbated by the increasing poverty that is affecting the lives of the majority of the world's people, in particular women and children, with origins in both the national and international domains,

Dedicate ourselves unreservedly to addressing these constraints and obstacles and thus enhancing further the advancement and empowerment of women all over the world, and agree that this requires urgent action in the spirit of determination, hope, cooperation and solidarity, now and to carry us forward into the next century.

We reaffirm our commitment to:

The equal rights and inherent human dignity of women and men and other purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments, in particular the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Declaration on the Right to Development;

Ensure the full implementation of the human rights of women and of the girl child as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Build on consensus and progress made at previous United Nations conferences and summits - on women in Nairobi in 1985, on children in New York in 1990, on environment and development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, on human rights in Vienna in 1993, on population and development in Cairo in 1994 and on social development in Copenhagen in 1995 with the objective of achieving equality, development and peace;

Achieve the full and effective implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women;

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12. The empowerment and advancement of women, including the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief, thus contributing to the moral, ethical, spiritual and intellectual needs of women and men, individually or in community with others and thereby guaranteeing them the possibility of realizing their full potential in society and shaping their lives in accordance with their own aspirations.

We are convinced that:

13. Women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace;

14. Women's rights are human rights;

15. Equal rights, opportunities and access to resources, equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women, and a harmonious partnership between them are critical to their well-being and that of their families as well as to the consolidation of democracy;

16. Eradication of poverty based on sustained economic growth, social development, environmental protection and social justice requires the involvement of women in economic and social development, equal opportunities and the full and equal participation of women and men as agents and beneficiaries of people-centred sustainable development;

17. The explicit recognition and reaffirmation of the right of all women to control all aspects of their health, in particular their own fertility, is basic to their empowerment;

18. Local, national, regional and global peace is attainable and is inextricably linked with the advancement of women, who are a fundamental force for leadership, conflict resolution and the promotion of lasting peace at all levels;

19. It is essential to design, implement and monitor, with the full participation of women, effective, efficient and mutually reinforcing gender-sensitive policies and programmes, including development policies and programmes, at all levels that will foster the empowerment and advancement of women;

20. The participation and contribution of all actors of civil society, particularly women's groups and networks and other non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations, with full respect for their autonomy, in cooperation with Governments, are important to the effective implementation and follow-up of the Platform for Action;

21. The implementation of the Platform for Action requires commitment from Governments and the international community. By making national and international commitments for action, including those made at the Conference, Governments and the international community recognize the need to take priority action for the empowerment and advancement of women.

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We are determined to:

Intensify efforts and actions to achieve the goals of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women by the end of this century;

Ensure the full enjoyment by women and the girl child of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and take effective action against violations of these rights and freedoms;

Take all necessary measures to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and the girl child and remove all obstacles to gender equality and the advancement and empowerment of women;

Encourage men to participate fully in all actions towards equality;

Promote women's economic independence, including employment, and eradicate the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women by addressing the structural causes of poverty through changes in economic structures, ensuring equal access for all women, including those in rural areas, as vital development agents, to productive resources, opportunities and public services;

Promote people-centred sustainable development, including sustained economic growth, through the provision of basic education, life-long education, literacy and training, and primary health care for girls and women;

Take positive steps to ensure peace for the advancement of women and, recognizing the leading role that women have played in the peace movement, work actively towards general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and support negotiations on the conclusion, without delay, of a universal and multilaterally and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty which contributes to nuclear disarmament and the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in all its aspects;

Prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls;

Ensure equal access to and equal treatment of women and men in education and health care and enhance women's sexual and reproductive health as well as education;

Promote and protect all human rights of women and girls;

Intensify efforts to ensure equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all women and girls who face multiple barriers to their empowerment and advancement because of such factors as their race, age, language, ethnicity, culture, religion, or disability, or because they are indigenous people;

Ensure respect for international law, including humanitarian law, in order to protect women and girls in particular;

Develop the fullest potential of girls and women of all ages, ensure their full and equal participation in building a better world for all and enhance their role in the development process.

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We are determined to:

35. Ensure women's equal access to economic resources, including land, credit, science and technology, vocational training, information, communication and markets, as a means to further the advancement and empowerment of women and girls, including through the enhancement of their capacities to enjoy the benefits of equal access to these resources, inter alia, by means of international cooperation;

36. Ensure the success of the Platform for Action, which will require a strong commitment on the part of Governments, international organizations and institutions at all levels. We are deeply convinced that economic development, social development and environmental protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development, which is the framework for our efforts to achieve a higher quality of life for all people. Equitable social development that recognizes empowering the poor, particularly women living in poverty, to utilize environmental resources sustainably is a necessary foundation for sustainable development. We also recognize that broad-based and sustained economic growth in the context of sustainable development is necessary to sustain social development and social justice. The success of the Platform for Action will also require adequate mobilization of resources at the national and international levels as well as new and additional resources to the developing countries from all available funding mechanisms, including multilateral, bilateral and private sources for the advancement of women; financial resources to strengthen the capacity of national, subregional, regional and international institutions; a commitment to equal rights, equal responsibilities and equal opportunities and to the equal participation of women and men in all national, regional and international bodies and policy-making processes; and the establishment or strengthening of mechanisms at all levels for accountability to the world's women;

37. Ensure also the success of the Platform for Action in countries with economies in transition, which will require continued international cooperation and assistance;

38. We hereby adopt and commit ourselves as Governments to implement the following Platform for Action, ensuring that a gender perspective is reflected in all our policies and programmes. We urge the United Nations system, regional and international financial institutions, other relevant regional and international institutions and all women and men, as well as non-governmental organizations, with full respect for their autonomy, and all sectors of civil society, in cooperation with Governments, to fully commit themselves and contribute to the implementation of this Platform for Action.

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