

Ambo University Waliso Campus

School of Law and Governance

Department of Governance and Development Studies

Gender and Development (GaDS 3102) Teaching Material

For GaDS III Year Students

Course Credit Hour: 3chrs/4 ECTS

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UNIT ONE: GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT: AN INTRODUCTION



Unit Introduction

Dear learner, this introductory unit of your module will introduce you to an overview of the course on 'Gender and Development'. It aims at introducing you to the basic rationale of why and how far, 'gender' as a subject has become a core issue in the development discourse and public policy issues (its making, implementation, the challenges posed, and the opportunities available). The unit consists of definitions on gender and development; rationale behind integrating gender into development policies and programs; the evolution of gender in the development discourse; and the role of gender in economic growth.

Unit objectives:

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Define gender and development separately;
- ✓ Identify the ways in which gender and development overlap;
- ✓ Explain how gender evolved in the development discourse;
- ✓ Explain the rationales for why gender is an issue in development; and
- ✓ Analyze the role of gender in economic growth.



Unit pre-test questions

1. What is gender? What is development?
2. Can you guess where and how the definitions of gender and development would overlap?
3. How do you think women and men do contribute to development; and how do women and men benefit from the fruits of development?
4. How has gender evolved in the development discourse?
5. What are the rationales for integrating gender into the development discourse?
6. What is the role of gender in economic growth and development?

1.1 Defining Gender and Development

Section Overview

Gender and development are so fluid terms that they do not have a one-fits-all definition that works consistently under all socio-economic and political settings. As a result, various definitions have been provided for gender and development. In this section, we will introduce you to some selected definitions of each term and/or concept separately. You will also learn how the concepts embedded in the definitions of gender and development inherently relate to one another.

Section objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Define gender and development separately;
- ✓ Identify the ways in which the definitions of gender and development are interrelated.

1.1.1 What is Gender?

Gender has become an increasingly theorized concept that is repeatedly defined and redefined vigorously from a variety of different standpoints. As a result, we have multiple definitions of gender. We will focus only on some selected definitions for this course. Some of the definitions provided below are supplemented by further explanations so that you would be able to better understand it in relation to development.

- ❖ Gender is socially constructed roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviors, values, relative power and influence that society ascribes to the two sexes on a differential basis. Gender is relational and refers not simply to women or men but to the relationship between them.
- ❖ Gender is the range of characteristics pertaining to, and differentiating between, masculinity and femininity. Depending on the context, these characteristics may include biological sex (i.e., the state of being male, female, or an intersex variation), sex-based social structures (i.e., gender roles), or gender identity.
- ❖ Gender refers to the economic, social and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female at a particular point in time

So, in general, gender is about what people understand about what it means to be a woman and a man under a given socio-economic and socio-cultural setting. It is the socially expected behaviors from men and women as deemed appropriate, the roles culturally ascribed to them and the benefits allocated thereto as a result of those socio-economic and cultural impositions. Gender is about the perceived roles women and men differentially play and the respective responsibilities they should shoulder in society. It is socially determined ideas and practices of what it is to be female or male. It denotes the condition of how a person's biology is culturally valued and interpreted into socially accepted ideas of what it is to be a woman or man. This acceptance of socially constructed ideas and behaviors establishes gender attitudes. Gender attitudes and behaviors are learned and can be changed. Gender is the socially constructed roles and responsibilities of women and men, in a given culture or location. These roles are influenced by perceptions and expectations arising from cultural, political, environmental, economic, social, and religious factors, as well as custom, law, class, ethnicity, and individual or institutional bias.

?What do you learn from the above definitions of gender?

Dear learner, you have learnt from the above definitions that gender is about what people understand about what it means to be a woman and a man under a given socio-economic and socio-cultural setting. You are also right if you have understood that gender is the socially expected behaviors from men and women as deemed appropriate, the roles culturally ascribed to them and the benefits allocated thereto as a result of those socio-economic and cultural impositions. You must have also learnt that gender is about the perceived roles women and men differentially play and the respective responsibilities they should shoulder in society.

Dear learner, ‘gender’ generally refers to the socially determined ideas and practices of what it is to be female or male. It denotes the condition of how a person’s biology is culturally valued and interpreted into socially accepted ideas of what it is to be a woman or man. This acceptance of socially constructed ideas and behaviors establishes gender attitudes. Gender attitudes and behaviors are learned and can be changed. Gender is the socially constructed roles and responsibilities of women and men, in a given culture or location. These roles are influenced by perceptions and expectations arising from cultural, political, environmental, economic, social, and religious factors, as well as custom, law, class, ethnicity, and individual or institutional bias.

1.1.2 What is Development?

‘Development’, like ‘gender’, is over loaded with a variety of definitions and multitude of explanations. We hope that, from your previous courses from Governance and Development Studies, you would recall that the subject of development is one of the most complex subjects in academics in general and in social sciences in particular.

Dudley seers (1977) identifies, ‘...the questions to ask about a country’s development are three: *‘What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality?’* If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned.’ (Seers, 1977:3)

This implies that, development is about the conditions of those who are impoverished; about those who lack access to the means of incomes and related resources; and about those who are at a disadvantaged position in society. Gender issues in development arise where an instance of gender inequality is recognized as undesirable, or unjust. Three aspects of gender issues which are raised in development are gender gap, gender discrimination and women’s empowerment. This arose out of the general conviction that women have been more impoverished, have enjoyed limited access to means of income and have occupied a much more marginalized position as compared to men.

Findings of multitudes of researches indicate that women have historically benefited less and little from the fruits of development and they are generally poorer than men. In the next section, you will see how women have been differently, and marginally, benefit from development and how this has put them at a disadvantaged position in society. Development is also defined as a social ingredient measured as well-being in health, education, housing and employment. In this regard, it is evidenced

that women suffer more from poor health, low level of education, greater unemployment, and poorer access to housing services and its ownership than men.

Currently, sustainability issues are the principal concerns of development. It has been globally, hence conventionally, recognized that the exiting pattern of economic growth favors the rich and the current generation at the expense of the poor and the future generations. It is also agreed that the current pattern of growth favors men at the expense of women. Rephrasing the Brudtland (1987) definition of sustainable development, development implies a commitment to ecologically sound and socially desirable economic growth where the consumption of the present generation does not undermine the interests of the future generations. In view of this, sustainable development considers two equity dimensions: intra-generational and inter-generational. Intra-generational equity is concerned with existing inequalities and inequities. It involves the inequalities and inequities that persist between the rich and the poor, the north and the south, the developed and the developing world, and above all, the inequalities and inequities that subsist between men and women. Inter-generational equity is concerned with potential inequalities that affect the future generations. As Meadows (1992) argues, if the current pattern of development is sustained, it will eventually overshoot and exceed the shouldering capacity of the earth. This has a tendency to borrow resources from the future generations (from our children), which weakens their capacity to meet their deeds, and hence undermine inter-generational equity. And if the condition continues unaddressed, it is feared that the current inequity trends would restore and exacerbate future inequalities and inequities that would make the position of women worse off from now. Since the mid 1980s there has been a growing consensus that sustainable development requires an understanding of both women's and men's roles and responsibilities within the community and their relations to each other. This has come to be known as the **Gender and Development (GAD)** approach. Improving the status of women in society then came to be no longer seen as just a women's issue, but as a goal that requires the active participation of both men and women.

Activity 1

1. Define gender and development.
2. How is 'gender' viewed from the development perspective?
3. How do intra-generational and inter-generational inequities affect women?

1.2 Evolution of Gender and Development

★ Section overview

Dear learner, in this section we will explore the rationale behind gender as an issue of development. As you may guess, there are a complex set of explanations provided as to why gender has become a subject in the development discourse so that it influences development policies and program interventions. This part is organized into two sub-sections: the evolution of gender in development and the rationale for integrating gender into development

Section objectives:

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Delineate the key features of the heydays of gender in its evolution in the development discourse;
- ✓ Outline the rationale for integrating gender into the development policies and programs; and
- ✓ Restate the impact of gender inequality on population and economic growth.

In the past four to five decades, there has been growing acceptance of the gender-focused approach to development. Gender training and gender analysis are now considered essential tools in the development process. Gender equity was a foundation for the Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development in 1994 and in the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. The Fourth World Conference on Women reviewed its precursor's progress, Nairobi Conference (1985) that celebrated the International Women's Decade (1975-1985), and it came up with the 'Beijing Platform for Action'. The most important areas of concern identified under the 'Beijing Platform for Action' are outlined below. All actors (governments, the international community and civil society, including nongovernmental organizations and the private sector) are called upon to observe and take strategic actions in the following critical areas of concern:

- The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women;
- Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to education and training;
- Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services;
- Violence against women;
- The effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation;
- Inequality in economic structures and policies, in all forms of productive activities and in access to resources;
- Inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels;
- Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women;
- Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of the human rights of Women;

- Stereotyping of women and inequality in women's access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media;
- Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources and in the safeguarding of the environment; and
- Persistent discrimination against and violation of the rights of the girl child.

? Why is gender a development issue: the rationale?

There are both pushing and pulling factors to panel gender issues into the development agenda. The pushing factors refer to past trends and socio-economic conditions regarding the relationship between men and women and the resultant disadvantaged position of women in society. The pulling factors are current problems that need to be addressed so that future challenges of gender inequality would be anticipated. These pushing and pulling factors are multiple, complex and interdependent development problems. They constitute the rationale for integrating gender into development policies and programs.

? Dear learner, what do you think are the bases for integrating gender into development policies and programs?

Some of the major factors that bring on gender into development are outlined as follows:

Population composition: population census results of any country report that women constitute slightly more than 50% of a nation's population. A healthy development thus cannot bypass half of its population. But women constitute 2/3rd of the world poor. Women also make up 2/3rd of the world illiterate.

Women's poverty: more than one billion people in the world live in unacceptable condition of poverty. The great majority of these impoverished people are women. Women constitute more than 70% of the world poor, and the trend in the poverty of women is increasing as compared to the number of men. This has led to what has been coined as the problem of 'feminization of poverty', particularly in developing countries. Reducing women's poverty is part of the Millennium Development Goals.

Women's workload: reports indicate that women perform about 67% (2/3rd) of the world's work. Those women from developing countries pass 17 hours a day at work. But women earn less than 10% of the world income and women own only about 1% of the world property.

Women produce food for both women and men: women produce about 50% of the food consumed by the world population every day. Women are however the most vulnerable group of societies to hunger and starvation. Women thus face nutritional and related health problems.

Women and health: women have different and unequal access to and use of basic health resources. Discrimination against girls, often resulting from "son preference", in access to nutrition and healthcare services endangers their current and future health and well-being. Conditions (traditions,

poverty and illiteracy) that force girls into early marriage, pregnancy and child-bearing subject them to harmful practices, such as female genital mutilations, pose grave health risks.

Women's human rights: all forms of gender violence or violence against women involve violations of women's human rights. Violence against women impairs and nullifies the enjoyment of women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Women and the environment: women play as crucial, or even more important, roles as men in the achievement of sustainable development objectives. In other words, women, like men, are important to foster the realization of environmentally friendly and socially desirable development. However, women remain largely absent at all levels of decision-making and policy formulations in natural resources and environmental management. The experiences of women in the conservation and rehabilitation of natural resources as well as their skills in advocacy for environmental protection have often remained marginalized. But equitable socio-economic development that recognizes empowering women to utilize environmental resources is a necessary foundation for sustainable development.

Existing knowledge gap: there has been lack of scientific studies and adequate information about and interest in the situation of women. Hence, women's and gender studies came into the scene to provide academic support and reliable data on the situation of women.

Urgent need to criticize gender blindness of disciplines: historically, there existed gender blindness in almost all disciplines. This has negatively affected the interests of women in education and the knowledge that could have been generated otherwise for use and change.

Urgent need to challenge traditional monolithic assumptions about women and sexual division of labor: socially constructed roles and responsibilities of women have resulted in a disadvantaged position of women in society. There is an urgent to criticize and transform the existing gender roles and sexual division of labor.

Policy implications: gender concerns are important for policy analysts and development planners. From poverty issues to women's human rights, gender issues need to be mainstreamed into gender-sensitive and gender-transformative development policies and programs.

Educational inequalities for women, Globally, 10 million more girls are out of school than boys (Calculated from data contained in the UN's The Millennium Development Goals report 2007, New York: 2007, p11) •41 million girls worldwide are still denied a primary education. (UNESCO, Education for all: Global monitoring report 2008, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 2007, p184.) •Women account for nearly two thirds of the world's 780 million people who cannot read. (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, "Adult Literacy Rates and Illiterate Population by Region and Gender," 2006) Gender Inequality in Health •WHO studies in Rwanda, Tanzania and South Africa show that women who have experienced violence are three times more likely to be at risk from HIV infection. (Source: World Health Organization briefing) •99% of maternal deaths occur in developing countries, with women continuing to die of pregnancy-related causes at the rate of one a minute. (UNPF: Maternal mortality figures show limited progress in making motherhood safer,

October 2007) •About 14 million adolescent girls become mothers every year. More than 90% of them are in developing countries.

Economic inequality, women of the north America get the highest opportunity to participate in economic activities 80 % where middle east & north African women are the worst less than 40%. Political disparity of women □ Globally, women make up just 17% of parliamentarians. Only 22 countries do women represent 25 percent or more of elected legislators (UNICEF, The State of the World's Children 2007, UNICEF, New York: 2006, p.56). the situation of Asia is also poor only 18.2 % parliament seats for women. Women and poverty Women produce up to 80% of food in developing countries, but are more likely to be hungry than men, and are often denied the right to own land (Food and Agriculture Organization, The feminization of hunger what do the surveys tell us? 2001, and The state of food insecurity in the world 2005, Rome: 2005, p17)

Violence against women worldwide perspective •On average, 30% of women experienced some form of physical or sexual violence by their partner. Sexual and gender-based violence, including physical and psychological abuses, trafficking of women and girls, rape and other sexual exploitations, and other forms of abuses and harassments put girls and women under harsh risk of physical and mental trauma, diseases and unwanted pregnancy. Some groups of women, such as women belonging to minority groups, indigenous women, refugees, migrants and expatriates (=migrant workers and forced dislocations), remote rural, women under detention, disabilities, elderly women, repatriates, women participating in armed conflicts, wars aggression, civil wars, terrorism and hostage-takings are all vulnerable to violence. Violence against women is obstacle to equality, development and peace.

1.3 Gender and Economic Growth

★ Section overview

Dear learner, in this section we will explore the way in which gender and economic growth are related and how they affect each other.

Section objectives:

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Discuss how economic growth and gender are related to each other
- ✓ Restate the impact of gender in equality on economic growth
- ✓ The role of women and men in economic growth

? Dear learner, can you make a logical guess about gender inequality and economic growth impact one another?

There are various ways by which gender and economic growth are interrelated. This can be direct or indirect. On the one hand, participation of women directly affects economic growth and development. Women, like men, contribute to development through their labor, knowledge and skills. A society also directly benefits where there are equitable benefits-sharing and participative decision-making processes in development. On the other hand, one of the defining characteristics of development and economic growth is the effect of population growth. Fertility and mortality are key issues closely linked to women and population growth. This can be said indirect.

Education and population growth are interrelated issues as fertility and mortality are linked closely with awareness and knowledge. There are a large number of studies that link gender inequality in education to fertility and child mortality. A research finding shows that females with more than 7 years of education have, on average, two fewer children in Africa than women with no education. Such writers as King and Hill (1995) find a similar effect of female schooling on fertility. Over and above this direct effect, lower gender inequality in enrollment has an additional negative effect on fertility rate. Countries with a female-male enrollment ratio of less than 0.42 have, on average, 0.5 more children than countries where the enrollment ratio is larger than 0.42 (in addition to the direct impact of female enrollment on fertility). Similar linkages have been found between gender inequality in education and child mortality. Thus reduced gender bias in education furthers two very important development goals, namely reduced fertility and child mortality.

The place of gender in economic growth can also be seen from the perspective of education and knowledge. In this regard, there are some models that consider gender inequality in education and its impact on economic growth. It is argued that initial gender inequality in education can lead to a self-perpetuating equilibrium of continued gender inequality in education, with the consequences of high fertility, higher population growth rate and low economic growth. Various research findings conclude that gender inequality in education may generate a poverty trap with self-perpetuating gender gaps in education. Barro and Lee (1994) and Barro and Sala-i-Martin (1995) suggest that a large gap in male and female schooling may signify backwardness and may, therefore, be associated with lower economic growth. Conversely, too, Hill and King (1995) relate levels of GDP to gender inequality in education. They find that a low female-male enrollment ratio is associated with a lower level of GDP per capita, over and above, the impact of levels of female education on GDP per capita. They find that female secondary education achievement (measured as the share of the adult population that have achieved some secondary education) is positively associated with growth, but it turns out that in countries with low female education, furthering female education does not promote economic growth, while in countries with higher female education levels, promoting female education has a sizeable and significant positive impact on economic growth.

Activity 2

1. Discuss the evolution of gender in the development discourse.
2. Discuss the rationale for integrating gender into development programs and projects.
3. Discuss the relationship between economic growth, population and female education.

UNIT TWO: KEY CONCEPTS AND ISSUES IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT



Unit Introduction

Dear learner, in this unit, it is aimed at introducing you to the basic concepts and issues raised in development debates and public policies regarding gender. The content of the unit is organized in such a way that you will easily acquaint yourself with the terms, concepts and the issues dealt with in gender and development. Some of the key concepts and issues raised in this unit are sex and gender, patriarchy, gender roles and gender division of labor, gender discrimination and gender gap, and gender equality and equity.

Unit objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this unit you should be able to:

- ✓ Define basic terms and concepts entertained in gender and development;
- ✓ Describe key issues raised in gender and development;
- ✓ Describe the ways in which patriarchy establishes the condition for gender roles and gender division of labor; and
- ✓ Analyze the implication of gender roles and gender division of labor in relation to gender inequality and underdevelopment.

✱ Unit pre-test questions

1. What are the key concepts and issues entertained in gender and development?
2. How are sex and gender related and conceived differently?
3. How does patriarchy determine gender roles and gender division of labor in society?
4. How do gender roles and gender division of labor perpetuate gender inequality?
5. How do gender equality and development reinforce each other?

2.1 Sex and Gender

Section overview

In this section, you will be acquainted with the concepts of sex and gender, origins of the concepts, and the inherent imitations to the male-female distinctions in integrating women to the development agenda.

Section objectives:

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Give a comparative definition of sex and gender;
- ✓ Identify the distinctions between sex and gender;
- ✓ Describe how institutions and systems in our culture create and maintain gender stereotypes; and
- ✓ Appreciate the critiques forwarded against the male-female distinction of characterizing women and men in the development agenda.

? Dear learner, that do you think is the origin of the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’?

The English-language distinction between the terms, ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ was first developed in the 1950s and 1960s by British and American psychiatrists and other medical personnel working with intersexes and transsexual patients. Since then, the term gender has been increasingly used to distinguish between sex as biological and gender as socially and culturally constructed phenomenon. Feminists have used this terminology to argue against the ‘biology is destiny’ line, and gender and development approaches have widely adopted this system of analysis.

Sex=gender?

“Sex marks the distinction between women and men as a result of their biological, physical and genetic differences...Gender roles are set by convention and other social, economic, political and cultural forces”

(One World Action Glossary: <http://owa.netextra.net/indepth/project.jsp?project=206>)

Whilst often used interchangeably, ‘**sex**’ and ‘**gender**’ are in fact distinct terms. ‘**Sex**’: a person’s sex is biologically determined as female or male according to certain identifiable physical features which are fixed. Whereas biological sex is determined by genetic and an atomical characteristic, gender is an acquired identity that is learned, changes over time, and varies widely within and across cultures. From this perspective, **sex** is fixed and based in nature; **gender** is fluid and based in culture. This distinction constitutes progress compared with ‘biology is destiny’, that is, nature determines one’s class, status and life outcomes.

Whereas **sex** refers to the biological differences between women and men that generally tends to be permanent and universal, **gender** refers to the socially constructed roles and responsibilities of women and men in a given culture or location. These roles are influenced by perceptions and expectations arising from cultural, political, environmental, economic, social, and religious factors,

as well as custom, law, class, ethnicity, and individual or institutional bias. Gender attitudes and behaviors are learned and can be changed.

| Sex | Gender |
|---|---|
| “Sex” generally refers to biological differences. | Gender roles vary greatly between societies. |
| The differences between male and female sexes are anatomical and physiological. “Sex” tends to relate to biological differences. | Gender roles are not set in stone. |
| For instance, male and female genitalia, both internal and external are different. Similarly, the levels and types of hormones present in male and female bodies are different. | Gender roles and gender stereotypes are highly fluid and can shift substantially over time. |
| Genetic factors define the sex of an individual. Women have 46 chromosomes including two Xs and men have 46 including an X and a Y. The Y chromosome is dominant and carries the signal for the embryo to begin growing testes. | Gender is an individual’s view of themselves, or their gender identity. |
| Both men and women have testosterone, estrogen, and progesterone. However, women have higher levels of estrogen and progesterone, and men have higher levels of testosterone. | |

| Sex→Biological characteristics | Sex→Biological category | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (Cannot be changed) | Men | Women |
| Menstruation | | ✓ |
| Giving birth | | ✓ |
| Breasts | | ✓ |
| Testicles | ✓ | |
| Massive bones | ✓ | |
| Gender→ Social characteristics | Gender→ Cultural category | |
| (Can be changed) | Masculine | Women |
| Earning money | Significantly | Significantly less |
| Smoking | More | Traditionally immoral |
| Driving car (in Saudi Arabia) | Allowed | Restricted |
| Housework (in most of the world) | Do less | Do more |

The female-male distinction has its own defects criticized for,

The male-female distinction is criticized for ignoring the existence of persons who do not fit neatly into the biological or social categories of women and men, such as inter sexes, trans sexual, and transgender people.

Inter-sex people are born with some combination of male and female characteristics. Trans-sexual people are born with the body of one sex, but feel they belong to the 'opposite' sex. There are also people with characteristics of transgender. Transgender people are those who feel they are neither male nor female, but somewhere in between. Hijras are a South Asian transgender population.

“(Sex) in human beings is not a purely dichotomous variable. It is not an evenly continuous one either.... a fair number of human beings are markedly intersexual, a number of them to the point where both sorts of external genitalia appear, or where developed breasts occur in an individual with male genitalia, and so on”. (Geertz, Clifford., 1983, Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology, New York: Basic Books, p81)

On the other hand, women's marginalization has often been seen as 'natural' and a fact of their biology. However these biological differences cannot explain why women have less access to power and lower status than men. To understand and challenge the cultural value placed on someone's biological sex, and unequal power hierarchies, scholars argue that we need the relational concept of 'gender'. 'Gender' and the hierarchical power relations between women and men based on this are socially constructed, and not derived directly from biology. Gender identities and associated expectations of roles and responsibilities are therefore changeable between and within cultures.

Use of the term gender, rather than sex, therefore, signals an awareness of the cultural and geographic specificity of gender identities, roles and relations. The use of the term gender also recognizes gender inequality as the outcome of social processes, which can be challenged, rather than as a biological and immutable phenomenon. For this reason, its use can generate considerable opposition, particularly from conservative religious and cultural groups but also in mainstream development institutions. Yet, it is a pragmatic term in which possibility for social change and hopes for improvements in the conditions of women is embedded.

The other limitation of male-female distinction is that for many people the sex categories of female and male are neither fixed nor universal, but vary over time and across cultures. Accordingly, according to some people and in some societies, sex, like gender, is seen as a social and cultural construct. Hence, the value of the distinction between the terms 'sex' and 'gender' has just been challenged.

? Dear learner, what do you think are the limitations of male-female distinction?

2.2 Gender socialization

★ Section overview

Dear learner, in this section we will learn how society teaches their children being female and being male in their behaviors. You can guess that society from the very childhood teach their members how to act like male and female. This part is organized into two sub-sections: Social formation of masculinity & femininity and Patriarchy.

Section objectives:

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Delineate gender socialization
- ✓ Discuss the effect of gender socialization on gender inequality
- ✓ Problematic aspects of patriarchy in a society
- ✓ Describe how patriarchy inculcate gender discrimination

Social construction of gender refers to how society values and allocates duties, roles and responsibilities to women, men, girl and boy. This differential valuing creates the gender division of labor and determines differences in access to benefits and decision making which in turn influences power relations and reinforces gender roles. This is done at various levels of gender socialization including family, religion, education, culture, peers and the media. Social construction of gender difference believes that gender is socially constructed. Social constructions of gender moves away from socialization as the origin of gender differences; people do not merely internalize gender roles as they grow up but they respond to changing norms in society. Children learn to categorize themselves by gender very early on in life. A part of this is learning how to display and perform gendered identities as masculine or feminine. Boys learn to manipulate their physical and social environment through physical strength or other skills, while girls learn to present themselves as objects to be viewed.

Gender role is affected by different factors like: political system, economic condition, cultural norms, educational system, environmental (geographical) condition, existing legal laws & regulations, international regulations

2.2.1 Social formation of masculinity & femininity

The terms ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ refer to traits or characteristics typically associated with being male or female, respectively. In other words, people can be classified as either masculine or feminine. The conceptions of masculinity and femininity emerge from broader ways of thinking about gender. The categories of femininity and masculinity are the primary societal formations, around which relationship between men and women develop and practices of domination and subordination gain value. Manhood, the social construction of masculinity, is indirectly masculine via the sexually attractive quality of social status based on respect from other men. Masculinity is primarily a biological construct, albeit not reducible to biology because it is influenced by socio-cultural factors. Masculinity (also called manhood or manliness) is a set of attributes, behaviors, and roles associated with boys and men. Although masculinity is socially constructed, some research indicates that some behaviors considered masculine are biologically influenced. Femininity as a social construct relies on a binary gender system that treats men and masculinity as different from, and opposite to, women and femininity. Gender stereotypes influence traditional feminine occupations, resulting in micro aggression toward women who break traditional gender roles.

In other words, masculinities are the range of alternative ways (national, social, racial, sexual) in which male gender relations are expressed. Hegemonic masculinity is the form of masculinity which is culturally and politically dominant at a particular time and place. What do we mean by hegemony? Hegemony is a subtle and complex process whereby particular beliefs, values and ideologies are reinforced by those with political and cultural power such that they become perceived as both natural and inevitable. Hegemony in this sense entails that there is no alternative and no other better ways to think and act. Hegemonic assertions superimpose the dominance of an institution or ideology over any other rival under its domain. This results in social inequality. Social inequality refers to unfair or unjust differences in the determinants or outcomes of social utilities (including health and education) within or between defined populations. This might lead to structural violence. Structural violence is sufferings caused by public policies and institutions. Such structural relations include civil, social and economic relations of public policy.

Hegemonic masculinity refers to a specific form of gender relations that has for many years remained globally dominant. It is one of the variant of masculinity which is characterized by generally agreed upon negative and positive attributes associated with what is constituted in maleness. Dear learner, the table below presents lists of these masculine attributes.

| Perceived positive attributes of masculinity | Perceived negative attributes masculinity | Contested attributes |
|---|--|-----------------------------|
| Strength | Toughness | Individualism |
| Protectiveness | Aggressiveness | Competitiveness |
| Decisiveness | excessive risk-taking | Rationality |
| Courage | suppression of emotions | Practicality |

What is specially worrying about the hegemonic dominance of this form of masculinity is the fact that worldwide acceptance of childhood socialization into the above negative features of the hegemonic masculinity subsequently results in power inequalities between individuals, between social/racial/ gender groups and between institutions —and in turn— in the individual and the structural violence through which power inequalities are expressed in public policies.

2.2.2 Patriarchy

Section overview

Dear learner, from the previous section, you have understood that gender is a socially constructed phenomenon. This section, will introduce you to the instrument of this socialization. This is patriarchy. Patriarchy is not only the means of socialization but also its result which pervades almost all male-dominated societies as an institution of socialization and worldview creation.

Section objectives:

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Define patriarchy and related concepts;
- ✓ Comprehend how the institution of patriarchy works in creating two-worldviews of femininity and masculinity; socializes boys and girls to a differing conceptions of the world; and institutes gender stereotypes; and
- ✓ Analyze the ways in which patriarchal systems create gender inequality and work to maintain this inequality.

Patriarchy literally means the “rule of the father”. A theoretically countervailing term to patriarchy is matriarchy. Matriarchy is the “rule of the mother”. ‘A patriarchy’ is a society in which formal power over public decisions and policy-making is held by adult men; ‘a matriarchy’ is a society in which policy is made by adult women (Ruth, 1995). Closely related terms to patriarchy and matriarchy are patria-lineal and matrilineal as well as patria-local and ‘matrilocal’. Patria-lineal societies are societies in which decent is traced through males (father’s bloodline) and patria-local is a condition where domicile after marriage is with husband’s family. Matrilineal societies are societies in which decent is traced through females (mother’s bloodline) and matrilocal is a condition where domicile after marriage is with the wife’s family.

Feminists use the term patriarchy to denote a culture that embodies masculine ideals and practices. What do you think is masculinity? Feminists refer to masculinity as those behaviors and attributes socially perceived to characterize maleness. These attributes include: aggressiveness, courage, physical strength and health, self-control and emotional reserve, perseverance and endurance, competence and rationality, self-reliance and autonomy, individuality, sexual potency. There are also parallel attributes associated with femininity, that is, what constitutes femaleness. These attributes include: passivity, timidity, fragility and delicacy, expressiveness, frailty, emotionality, needfulness, dependence, humility, chastity/innocence or receptivity and hospitality).

Another related concept to patriarchy is patriarchal ideology. Patriarchal ideology is a system of ideas based on a belief in male superiority and sometimes the claim that gender division of labor is based on biology and scriptures.

The most problematic aspect of patriarchy is its invisibility in society. Some people regard patriarchy as “...an elephant in the room”. Patriarchy is an issue that almost all people are aware of but which is never addressed directly by those involved with social inequality and public policy. Despite the inconceivable injustices done to women, people of either sex hardly consider it as a serious problem. Because it operates under a mind-control serving instruments, patriarchy becomes an invisible reality in which people unconsciously engage. Patriarchy operates as the most potent form of control that reigns not just over the body but essentially over the mind. It works as a brainwashing instrument that perpetuates the most stable and effective form of slavery where the

salves were unaware of their condition, unaware that they were controlled, and instead believing that they have freely chosen their life condition, here femininity and its trappings. As a result some women even acted side by side with men in the control of women by patriarchy. Women have very often supported the patriarchal status quo; they have backed men, and instructed their daughters and granddaughters in the duties of being and becoming ‘good girls’ and women of character. With the same token, patriarchy is a vividly observable reality but people have consciously undermined it, making it a consciously entrenched system unconsciously exercised and vice-versa. However, because its impact is so huge on society, it cannot also be overlooked in a conscious world of enlightened and responsible citizens.

Patriarchy has made women and men to move into and live in two different conceptual universes of the same world wherein they absorb (learn, grow and act) two separate images of the same reality. Women and men had long come to see the world systems and themselves differently. Patriarchy’s powerful agencies of idea formation and worldview creation are religion and belief systems, environment and philosophies, education and curriculum, and social science and the media.

Patriarchy generally meant that there is male domination of ownership and control, at all levels in society, which maintains and operates the system of gender discrimination as justified by the patriarchal ideology. Patriarchy has maintained control over women and over the institutions that guide the political, economic and cultural arrangements governing the lives of women. Patriarchal institutions are, therefore, regarded as central causes of social and material inequalities in male-dominated societies. While it is commonplace to discuss the impact of gender inequality on women and girls, and while it is also becoming very common to discuss its impact on men and boys, its general impact on all public policy is least discussed and considered. However, patriarchal masculinity is almost globally dominant, and that this dominance is reflected in unhealthy and anti-social patterns of socialization which affect most if not all children and adults in almost all societies worldwide.

? Dear learner, what do you think is the impact of patriarchy?

2.3 Gender Roles and Gender Division of Labor



Section overview

Dear learner, from your study of the previous section, you have acquainted yourself with how patriarchy guides women and men to move into and live in two separate conceptions of the same world. It is now easier to deduce that these conceptions determine what particular roles women and men play in society, the places they occupy and the values attached to their occupations. This unit,

will introduce you the socially determined roles of women and men that have given rise to gender division of labor.

Section objectives:

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Define gender roles and gender division of labor;
- ✓ Describe the socially ascribed roles of women and men that appear to be universal to all societies;
- ✓ Analyze the root causes and explanations of gender division of labor; and
- ✓ Analyze the implication of gender division of labor for gender inequality and women's condition in society.

2.3.1 Gender roles

? What do you think are gender roles?

Gender roles are the activities ascribed to men and women on the basis of perceived differences. “Gender division of labor” is a term used in gender literature to mean the roles and tasks assigned to women and men on the basis of perceived gender characteristics and attributes, irrespective of ability and skills. While one's sex does not change, gender roles are learned and change over time. They vary from culture to culture, and often from one social group to another or within the same culture. Gender roles vary according to class, ethnicity, and race. For example, in India, unskilled labor is considered “women's work” while in Africa it is “men's work.” In Europe and the United States, the contribution men make to domestic activities is becoming increasingly important and visible. Factors such as education, technology, economy, and sudden crises like war and famine also cause gender roles to change from time to time across cultures and within the same culture and sex-class.

? What are the major Problems associated with gender roles?

Gender is a basic organizing principle of societies, particularly in the division of labor in families, communities, and the marketplace. Although gender roles limit both women and men, they generally have had a more repressive impact on women. Women frequently have responsibilities related to their reproductive roles (child bearing and childrearing) and the associated tasks such as managing the family and the household. Both women and men are involved in productive labor, which includes wage employment and production of goods. However, their functions and responsibilities differ. Women's productive work is typically less visible and lower paid than men's. In some cases, work done primarily by men would immediately turn to low-pay-jobs and less prestigious when women begin to do it, and conversely, “women's work” earns higher pay when done by men. Similarly, women frequently earn less than men in the same job. At the community level, men may tend to have formal leadership roles and perform high-status tasks while women often do the organizing and support work. Most women's development projects also fail to recognize the triple roles of women, and focus only on women's reproductive work as caregivers to children and families.

The major spheres of life where gender differences are reflected

? What do you think are the major spheres of life where gender differences are reflected?

Dear learner, the following are major sphere of life where gender differences are reflected.

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Social | Different perceptions of women's and men's social roles: the man seen as head of the household and chief bread-winner; the woman seen as nurturer and care-giver. |
| Political | Differences in the ways in which women and men assume and share power and authority: men more involved in national- and higher-level politics; women more involved at the local level in activities linked to their domestic roles. |
| Educational | Differences in educational opportunities and expectations of girls and boys: family resources directed to boy's rather than girl's education; girls streamed into less-challenging academic tracks. |
| Economic | Differences in women's and men's access to lucrative careers and control of financial and other productive resources: credit and loans; land ownership. |

From those occupations and preoccupations of men and women, it is possible to conclude that:

... many of the activities that consume women's time—cooking, childcare, cleaning—are not considered “work” because they do not involve earning an income. Women's time is therefore considered less valuable than men's because they may not earn cash. When women are involved in earning income for the family, they generally continue to have all the additional responsibilities within the home. The perception of women's activities as not being valuable and women's limited ability to earn an income result in women having less power in the family and the community. ...women's triple roles: reproductive, productive, and community [are always the case in point]. (The CEDPA Training Manual Series Volume III, 1996)

The triple roles of women

?What do you think are the triple roles of women?

Because women are active in all three types of labor (reproductive, productive, and community), they are said to have “triple roles.”

- i) **Reproductive roles:** refer to child-bearing and child rearing and related responsibilities fulfilled by women. They include pregnancy, giving birth to a child, breast-feeding and associated roles of women such as raising children, caring for other family members, and household management tasks, as well as home based production.
- ii) **Productive roles:** refer to production of goods for consumption or income through work in or outside the home.
- iii) **Community management:** refers to tasks and responsibilities carried out for the benefit of the community.

Women are expected to balance the demands of these three different roles and hence they should be recognized for their contributions. The tasks women usually perform in carrying out their different roles do not generally earn them an income. Women are often defined exclusively in terms of their reproductive roles, which largely concern activities associated with their reproductive functions. These reproductive roles, together with their community management roles, are perceived as natural. But because these roles do not earn income, they are not recognized and valued as economically productive. Women's contributions to national economic development are, therefore, often not quantified and hence invisible. In many societies, women also carry out productive activities such as maintaining smallholder agricultural plots in farming systems. These tasks are often not considered as work and are often unpaid. Women may also perform many roles which attract wages in both the formal and informal economic sectors. But women's economically productive roles, in contrast to men's, are often undervalued or given relatively little recognition.

2.3.2 Gender division of labor

? What do you think is gender division of labor; how do you relate to gender roles?

Gender division of labor is defined as the socially determined ideas and practices which define what roles and activities are deemed appropriate for women and men. Whilst the gender division of labor tends to be seen as natural and immutable, in fact, these ideas and practices are socially constructed. This results in context-specific patterns of who does what by gender (=gender roles) and how this is valued.

? Dear learner:

- Do you think that there is exclusive division of roles between men and women?
- Do you think that there exists some kind of cooperation between 'women's work' and 'men's work'?

Gender division of labor is defined as the socially determined ideas and practices which define what roles and activities are deemed appropriate for women and men. Whilst the gender division of labor tends to be seen as natural and immutable, in fact, these ideas and practices are socially constructed. This results in context-specific patterns of who does what by gender (=gender roles) and how this is valued.

Gender divisions of labor are not necessarily rigidly defined in terms of men's and women's roles. They are also characterized by co-operation in joint activities, as well as by separation. Often, the accepted norm regarding gender divisions varies from the actual practice. However, roles typically designated as female are almost invariably less valued than those designated as male. Women are generally expected to fulfill the reproductive roles. Men tend to be more associated with productive roles, particularly paid work, and market production. In the labor market, although women's overall participation rates are rising, they tend to be confined to a relatively narrow range of occupations or concentrated in lower grades than men, usually earning less.

? Dear learner, what do you understand from the following assertion?

“Women’s labor is not infinitely elastic. It cannot stretch to cover all the deficiencies left by reduced public expenditure. It cannot absorb all the shocks of adjustment.” (Elson, 1995:15)

Both women and men engage in productive roles. But what do you think is the problem with women’s productive roles? Historically, women’s productive roles have been ignored and undervalued, particularly in the informal sector and subsistence agriculture. This has led to misconceived development projects. For example, the services of extension agents and agricultural inputs being targeted at men. Because women’s labor is undervalued, it is often assumed by mainstream development policies to be infinitely elastic. For example, policy makers expect that women can take on roles previously fulfilled by public services, such as care for the sick and elderly, when cutbacks are made.

? Dear learner, what do you think should be done to promote women’s productive roles?

Women’s productive roles could be better recognized and gender-sensitive development interventions be promoted if the following conditions are fulfilled. These are:

- Formal documentation and recognition of women’s roles and the related time burden’
- Measure all forms of economic activity by gender. International organizations have already begun to implement it.
- Redefinition of ‘economic activities’ that include subsistence farming, food processing and home-working ‘in anticipation of profit’.
- Employing time-budget-surveys to measure women’s input into reproductive work.
- Gender and development policies and programs can challenge and a change woman’s socially prescribed roles in pursuit of gender equity.
- Training women and employing them in jobs previously under males’ domain. They may include water technicians, builders, etc.
- Establishing proper remuneration for programs aiming to increase women’s participation in spheres beyond the household.
- Reduction of women’s responsibilities in the home increased cooperation of men.

 **Activity – 3**

1. Discuss the challenges inherent to the triple roles of women.
2. What are the major productive roles played by women in your community but not recognized as economic activities? Outline and discuss.

2.4 Gender stereotype and discrimination

★ Section overview

Dear learner, you have learnt that traditional gender roles and gender division of labor have resulted in unfavorable outcomes for women that put them at a disadvantaged position in society. In this section, you will learn about gender discrimination and gender stereotype that furthers gender gaps in society.

Section objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Define gender stereotype
- ✓ Discuss common female and male stereotype
- ✓ Define gender discrimination and gender gap;
- ✓ Indicate major spheres of lives where gender discrimination occur; and
- ✓ Restate the effects of gender stenotype, discrimination and gender gaps on women and society at large.

2.4.1 Gender stereotype

? What is gender stereotype?

It is a generalized view or preconception about attributes or characteristics or the roles that are or ought to be possessed by or performed by women and men. It is harmful when it limits women's and men's capacity to build their personal abilities, pursue their professional careers and make choice about their life.

Generally, the fact that the patriarchal institution socializes boys and girls to the world of differing gender perceptions and expectations has resulted in gender stereotypes.

Below are lists of common female and male stereotypes.

Women are:

Dependent
Weak
Incompetent
Less important
Emotional
Implementers
Housekeepers

Men are:

Independent
Powerful
Competent
More important
Logical
Decision-makers
Breadwinners

Supporters
Fragile
Fickle
Fearful
Peace-makers
Cautious
Flexible
Warm
Passive
Followers
Spectators
Modest
Subjective
Soft-spoken
Secretaries
Nurturing
Gentle
Excitable

Women are: (cont'd...)

Patient
Cheerful
Caretakers
Cooperative

Leaders
Protectors
Consistent
Brave
Aggressive
Adventurous
Focused
Self-reliant
Active
Leaders
Doers
Ambitious
Objective
Out-spoken
Bosses
Assertive
Strong
Stoic

Men are: (cont'd...)

Impetuous
Forceful
Achievers
Competitive

Source: *Men and Women: Partners at Work*. (1990), Crisp Publications, Inc.

2.4.2 Gender discrimination

“Not all women are poor, and not all poor people are women, but all women suffer from discrimination” (Kabeer, 1996:20)

? What do you think is gender discrimination?

Gender discrimination refers to the systematic, unfavorable treatment of individuals on the basis of their gender, which denies those rights, opportunities or resources. Across the world, women are treated unequally and less value is placed on their lives because of their gender. Women's differential access to power and control of resources is central to this discrimination in all institutional spheres, i.e. the household, community, market, and state.

? How does gender discrimination occur in the household, community, market and in the state?

Within the household, women and girls can face discrimination in the sharing out of household resources including food, sometimes leading to higher malnutrition and mortality indicators for

women. This is termed as intra-household resource allocation. At its most extreme case, gender discrimination can lead to ‘son-preference’, expressed in ‘sex-selective-abortion’ or female feticide. In the labor market, unequal pay, occupational exclusion or segregation into low skill and low paid work limit women’s earnings in comparison to those of men of similar education levels. Women’s lack of representation and voice in decision-making bodies in the community and the state perpetuates discrimination, in terms of access to public services, such as schooling and health care or discriminatory laws. The law is assumed to be **gender-neutral** when in fact it may perpetuate gender discrimination, being a product of a culture with oppressive gender ideologies. Even where constitutional or national legal provisions uphold gender equality principles, religious or other customary laws that privilege men may take precedence in practice. However, the law, when reformed with women’s input, can be a potent or powerful tool for challenging discrimination, if combined with other strategies, including capacity-building to overcome barriers to claiming rights. Dear learner, the box below provides some figures and facts about women revealing the distribution of resources by gender at the global level.

Gender discrimination:

- women work more than 67% of the world’s working hours;
- women (particularly those in developing countries) work for about 17 hours a day;
- women produce about 50% of the world food;
- women’s earnings range from 50-85% of men’s earnings ; or women earn less than 10% of the world income;
- 2 out of 3 of the world’s illiterate people are women;
- 2 out of 3 of the world’s poor are women;
- Women own only about 1% of the world property;
- globally women make up just over 10% of representatives in national government;

? How do you think that international human rights instruments serve in promoting women’s human rights?

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 brought into international focus the rights of women as human rights, including the right to be free from discrimination. Women activists regard this convention as a key tool to support their struggle against discrimination in all spheres, pushing governments towards attaining these internationally recognized minimum standards.

Activity – 4

1. What do you think is gender discrimination? Where does it occur? Discuss.
2. Discuss how gender discrimination occurs within the household, in the community, market in the state.

2.5 Gender equality and equity

★ Section overview

Dear learner, the whole idea behind gender issues is gender inequality and the consequential inequities in the distribution of almost all resources in societies. Gender equality and gender equity are the primary objectives in gender and development. The term ‘gender equity’ is often used interchangeably with ‘gender equality’. Here, a distinction is drawn between these two concepts, reflecting divergent understandings of gender differences and of the appropriate strategies to address these differences. You will learn about gender equality and equity in this section.

Section objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Define gender equality and gender equity separately;
- ✓ Restate the difference between gender equality and gender equity;
- ✓ State the measures that should be taken to address gender equality and gender equity; and
- ✓ State the significance of meeting gender needs in addressing gender concerns.

2.5.2 Gender equality

? Dear learner, how do you define gender equality?

Gender equality denotes women having the same opportunities in life as men, including the ability to participate in the public sphere. This expresses a liberal feminist idea that removing discrimination in opportunities for women allows them to achieve equal status to men. In effect, progress in women’s status is measured against a male norm.

? Dear learner, how do you think gender equality addressed?

Equal opportunity policies and legislations tackle gender equality through measures that increase women’s participation in public life. For example, some countries have developed institutions for National Service for Women (NSW) to set up Equal Opportunities Plans for Women. This focused on equitable participation in education, the labor market, health services, and politics. Judicial reform is another key tool in the fight for equality, but lack of implementation and enforcement might limit its impact.

? Dear learner, what do you think is the limitation inherent to gender equality?

The focus on what is sometimes called formal equality, does not necessarily demand or ensure equality of outcomes. It assumes that once the barriers to participation are removed, there is a level-playing field. It also does not recognize that women’s reality and experience may be different from men’s.

2.5.3 Gender equity

? Dear learner, how do you define gender equality?

Gender equity denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men, recognizing their different needs and interests, and requiring a redistribution of power and resources. The goal of gender equity, sometimes called substantive equality, moves beyond equality of opportunity. It requires a more transformative change. It recognizes that women and men have different needs, preferences, and interests and that equality of outcomes may necessitate different treatment of men and women.

? Dear learner, how do you think gender equality addressed?

An equity approach implies that all development policies and interventions need to be scrutinized for their impact on gender relations. It necessitates a rethinking of policies and programs to take account of men's and women's different realities and interests. So, for example, it implies rethinking existing legislation on employment, as well as development programs, to take account of women's reproductive work and their concentration in unprotected, casual work in informal and home-based enterprises. It is worth examining the content of policies, not just the language, before deciding whether equity or an equality approach is being followed. Gender equity goals are seen as being more political than gender equality goals.

Most development specialists agree that sustainable development is not possible without the full participation of both halves, female and male, of the world's population. Development policies that incorporate gender as a factor reflect a growing understanding of the necessity for women's and men's full and equal participation in civil, cultural, economic, political, and social life. Gender-focused development means that female and male infants are given equal opportunities to survive; boys and girls are equally nourished and educated; and women and men have equal opportunities to contribute to and benefit from social, economic, and political processes. With equity, women and men will enjoy full and equal legal rights and access to and control over resources. Together, women and men can participate in building more equitable, secure, and sustainable societies. Two international conferences, the first on population and development in Cairo (1994), and the second, on women in Beijing (1995) laid the foundation for incorporating gender equality and gender equity in development. They state:

Advancing gender equality and equity and the empowerment of women...are cornerstones of population and development related programmes. The full and equal participation of women in civil, cultural, economic, political and social life, at the national regional and international levels, and the eradication of all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex, are priority objectives of the international community (International Conference on Population and Development, 1994).

Equality between women and men is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development and peace. A transformed partnership based on equality between women and men is a condition for people-centered sustainable development (The Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995).

Activity – 5

1. Discuss the difference between gender equality and gender equity.
2. Outline and discuss the limitations inherent to gender equality in relation to equity.

2.9 Gender Needs

Section overview

Different gender roles generate gender needs. These needs are conceived as practical needs and strategic interests. They are reinforcing strategies to integrate the concerns of women into development programs and projects. You will learn about these needs and interests in this section.

Section objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Describe practical gender needs and strategic interests of women; and
- ✓ Restate how practical gender needs and strategic interests reinforce each other.

2.9.1 Practical Gender Needs(PGN)

?What do you think are women's practical needs?

Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. PGNs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often concern inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment. Hence, Practical needs are immediate and material and arise from current conditions. Women's practical needs tend to focus on the domestic arena, income-earning activities, and housing and basic services, all identified as women's responsibilities. Child care services, maternal and child health care, subsistence crops marketing, and traditional employment opportunities are means to address these needs.

?What limitations do you think are inherent to practical gender needs strategy?

While practical interventions can increase women's participation in the development process, they are unlikely to change gender relations and, in fact, may preserve and reinforce inequitable divisions of labor. PGNs do not challenge, although they arise out of gender divisions of labor, women's subordinate position in society.

2.9.2 Strategic Gender Needs

? What do you think are strategic gender needs or interests?

Strategic Gender Needs (SGN) is also termed as strategic interests of women. Strategic interests are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position in society. They vary according to particular contexts, related to gender divisions of labor, power and control, and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages, and women's control over their bodies. Meeting SGNs assists women to achieve greater equality and change existing roles, thereby challenging women's subordinate position. Strategic interests are long-term, related to equalizing gender-based disparities in wages, education, employment, and participation in decision-making bodies. Addressing strategic interests may challenge the prevailing balance of power between men and women. Actions to address women's strategic interests might include abolition of the gender division of labor, shared domestic labor and child care, elimination of institutionalized forms of discrimination (for example, the right to own property and access to credit), promotion of political equality, freedom of choice over childbearing, and adequate measures against male violence.

? Dear learner, do you think that practical needs and strategic interests reinforce each other?

Practical needs and strategic interests are linked. Responding to practical needs identified by women at the community level can provide an entry point to identifying and addressing their long-term strategic interests. Starting a women's group to meet a practical need for child care or income-generation may improve women's economic position and political participation. A community-based reproductive health project, introduced to meet the practical need for family planning, may enable women to have greater control over their reproductive lives and have a larger role in decision-making in the family. A scholarship fund may enable poor girls to attend school, filling a practical need; while adopting and enforcing laws and policies for equal education addresses a strategic interest.

Activity 6

1. Discuss the significance and limitations of meeting practical gender needs to development projects.
2. Discuss the significance of meeting strategic interests to development projects.
3. Discuss the significance of addressing both practical needs and strategic interests together to development projects.

UNIT THREE: FEMINISM, FEMINIST THEORIES AND DEVELOPMENT

🌟Unit Introduction

Dear learner, in the preceding units, we have seen that in almost all societies, women and men have quite different experiences of the same world in terms of work, access to education, health and social power. In many of these societies, women have a low status in comparison with men. Relationships between men and women seem to give men more power than women. These differences have led to the development of a range of feminist theories which try to explain how and why women have become subordinated and how this subordination is carried on from generation to generation. This part of your module, therefore, will introduce you to the varieties of feminisms and/or feminist theories, their contribution to gender equality and their salient connections to development. You will acquaint yourself with explanations provided for why women and men were, and are, so unequal; and with the feminist gender politics: the activities and strategies for remedying gender inequality. You will learn about the development of feminist theories in relation to the sources of gender inequality and its pervasiveness, and the different feminist political solutions and remedies based on these theories. You will also see the major continuities and discontinuities in the feminist ideas and perspectives. Feminist perspectives of the last five decades are grouped into three broad categories that reflect their theories and political strategies with regard to the gendered social order. These are *gender reform feminisms*, *gender resistant feminisms*, and *gender revolution feminisms*. Feminist theories are also classified into *white feminism*, *black feminism*, and *feminism in developing countries* based on geographic and ethnic criteria. In this unit, you will learn about these theories with particular focus on *gender reform*, *gender resistant* and *gender revolution* feminisms. Each category is broad and consists of sub-divisions.

Unit objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this unit you should be able to:

- ✓ List the major feminist theories and perspectives;
- ✓ Define key concepts and terms entertained in feminist theories;
- ✓ Analyze the explanations provided by the various feminist theories about gender inequality and women's subordination to men, and the suggested solutions and remedies; and
- ✓ Identify the major continuities and discontinuities in the feminist theorization and perspectives on gender and development.

🌟Unit Pre-test Questions

1. What are the major feminist theories and perspectives on gender and development?
2. What are the underlying causes of inequalities and women's subordination to men according to the dominant feminist perspectives?
3. What are the different political solutions devised and adopted by the various feminist theories?

4. What are the dominant ideas that have survived the continuous changes and modifications in the feminist movements and theories on gender and development?

3.1 Gender Reform Feminisms

★ Section overview

The feminisms of the 1960s and 1970s were the beginning of the second wave of feminism. They are liberal feminism, Marxist and socialist feminisms, and development feminism. The roots of liberal feminism were 18th and 19th century liberal political philosophy that developed the idea of individual rights while Marxist and Socialist feminisms were fundamentally established on the Marx's 19th century critiques of capitalism and his concept of class consciousness in class analysis. Development feminism was essentially linked to the 20th century anti-colonial politics and ideas of national development.

Section objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ List feminist theories that are categorized under gender reform feminisms;
- ✓ Describe the major viewpoints entertained in liberal feminism, Marxist/socialist feminism and development feminism; and
- ✓ Analyze the convergences and divergences between liberal, Marxist/socialist and development feminisms;
- ✓ Describe the shared political solutions suggested by gender reform feminisms; and
- ✓ Restate the major flaws or criticisms forward against gender reform feminisms.

3.1.1 Liberal Feminism

? What do you think is liberal feminism all about?

Theoretically, liberal feminism claims that gender differences are not based in biology, and therefore, women and men are not all that different. Liberalists hold that "... their common humanity supersedes their pro-creative differentiation". They claim that women and men should not be treated differently under the law because they are not fundamentally different. For example, women should have the same rights as men and the same educational and work opportunities. This liberal feminism notion of equality before the law was reflected in the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It states, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex." Politically, liberal feminists formed somewhat bureaucratic organizations, which invited men members. Their activist focus has been concerned with visible sources of gender discrimination, such as gendered job markets and inequitable wage scales, and with getting women into positions of authority in the professions, government, and cultural institutions.

?What do you think are the weapons of liberal feminists to fight gender inequality?

Liberal feminist politics took important weapons of the civil rights movement= anti-discrimination legislation and affirmative action, and used them to fight gender inequality, especially in the job market. Affirmative action calls for aggressively seeking out qualified people to redress the gender and ethnic imbalance in work places. That means encouraging men to train for such jobs as nursing, teaching, and secretary, and women for fields like engineering, construction, and police work. With a diverse pool of qualified applicants, employers can be legally mandated to hire enough different workers to achieve a reasonable balance in their workforce, and to pay them the same and also give an equal chance to advance in their careers.

? What do you think are the important contributions of liberal feminism?

The main contribution of liberal feminism is showing how much modern society discriminates against women. In the United States, it was successful in breaking down many barriers to women's entry into formerly male-dominated jobs and professions, helped to equalize wage scales, and got abortion and other reproductive rights legalized. But liberal feminism could not overcome the prevailing belief that women and men are intrinsically different. It was somewhat more successful in proving that even if women are different from men, they are not inferior.

3.1.2 Marxist and Socialist Feminisms

? What do you think is Marxist feminism all about? How does it relate to socialist ideas?

Marx's analysis of the social structure of capitalism was supposed to apply to people of any social characteristics. If you owned the means of production, you were a member of the capitalist class; if you sold your labor for a wage, you were a member of the working class for the capitalists. That would be true of women as well, except that until the end of the 19th century, married women in capitalist countries were not allowed to own property in their own name; their profits from any businesses they ran and their wages belonged to their husband. Although Marx recognized that workers and capitalists had wives who worked in the home and took care of the children, he had no place for housewives in his analysis of capitalism.

? What new perspective of women has Marxist feminism added to socialist conceptions of society?

It was Marxist feminism that put housewives into the structure of capitalism, and not Karl Marx. Housewives are vital to capitalism, indeed to any industrial economy, because their unpaid work in the home maintains bosses and workers and reproduces the next generation of bosses and workers (and their future wives as well). Furthermore, if a bourgeois husband (one who owns means of production, or just a member of industry owning class) falls on hard times, his wife can do genteel (refined or proper) work in the home, such as dressmaking, to earn extra money, or take a temporary or part-time job, usually white collar. And when a worker's wages fall below the level needed to feed his family, as it often does, his wife can go out to work for wages in factories or shops or other

people's homes, or turn the home into a small factory and put everyone, sometimes including the children, to work.

? What is the central argument and critiques of Marxist feminism about housewives?

The housewife's labor, paid and unpaid, is for her family. Marxist and socialist feminisms severely criticize the family as a source of women's oppression and exploitation. If a woman works for her family in the home, she has to be supported, and so she is economically dependent on the "man of the house," like her children. If she works outside the home, she is still expected to fulfill her domestic duties, and so she ends up working twice as hard as a man, and usually for a lot less pay.

? What are the suggested solutions of Marxist feminism?

This source of gender inequality has been somewhat redressed in countries that give all mothers **paid leave before and after the birth** of a child and that provide **affordable child care**. But those solutions put the burden of children totally on the mother, and encourage men to either consciously or unconsciously exit out of family responsibilities altogether. To counteract that trend, feminists in the government of Norway allocated a certain portion of **paid-child-care-leave to fathers** specifically. Women in the former communist countries had what liberal feminism in capitalist economies always wanted for women, that is, full-time jobs with state-supported maternity leave and child-care services. But Marxist and socialist feminists claim that the welfare state can be paternalistic, substituting public patriarchy for private patriarchy. They argue that male-dominated government policies put the state's interests before those of women. When the economy needs workers, the state may pay for child-care leave, and with a down-turn in the economy, the state reduces the benefits. Similarly, when the state needs women to have more children, it cuts back on abortions and contraceptive services. Women's status as a reserve army of labor and as a child producer is thus no different under socialism than under capitalism. The solution of women's economic dependence on men thus cannot simply be waged work, especially if jobs continue to be gender-segregated and women's work is paid less than men's.

Socialist feminism had a different solution to the gendered workforce than liberal feminism's program of affirmative action. In examining the reasons why women and men workers' salaries are so discrepant, proponents of comparable worth found that wage scales are not set by the market for labor, by what a worker is worth to an employer, or by the worker's education or other credentials. Salaries are set by conventional "worth," which is rooted in gender and ethnic and other forms of discrimination. Comparable worth programs compare jobs in traditional women's occupations, such as secretary, with traditional men's jobs, such as automobile mechanic. They give a point values for qualifications needed, skills used, extent of responsibility and authority over other workers, and dangerousness. Salaries are then equalized for jobs with a similar number of points (which represent the "worth" of the job). Although comparable worth programs do not do away with gendered job segregation, feminist proponents argue that raising the salaries of women who do the traditional

women's jobs could give the majority of women economic resources that would make them less dependent on marriage or state benefits as a means of survival.

3.1.3 Development Feminism

? What do you think is the argument of development feminism?

Development feminism has done extensive gender analysis of the global economy. They argue that the gendered division of labor in developing countries is the outcome of a long history of colonialism. Under colonialism, women's traditional contributions to food production were undermined in favor of exportable crops, such as coffee, and the extraction of raw materials, such as minerals. Men workers were favored in this work, but they were paid barely enough for their own subsistence. Women family members had to provide food for themselves and their children, but with good land confiscated for plantations, they also lived at a bare survival level. As a result, they argue, women workers in developing countries (Central and Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa) were paid less than men workers, whether they work in factories or at home. To survive in rural communities, women grow food, keep house, and earn money any way they can to supplement what their migrating husbands send them.

? What do you think are the contributions of development feminism?

Development feminism made an important theoretical contribution in equating women's status with control of economic resources. In some societies, women control significant economic resources and so have a high status. In contrast, in societies with patriarchal family structures where anything women produce, including children, belongs to the husband, women and girls have a low value. Development feminism's theory is that in any society, if the food women produce is the main way the group is fed, and women also control the distribution of any surplus they produce, women have power and prestige. If men provide most of the food and distribute the surplus, women's status is low. Whether women or men produce most of the food depends on the kind of technology used. Thus, the mode of production and the kinship rules that control the distribution of any surplus is the significant determinants of the relative status of women and men in any society. In addition to gendered economic analyses, *development feminism* addresses the political issue of women's rights versus national and cultural traditions. At the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women Forum held in Beijing in 1995, the popular slogan was "human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights." The Platform for Action document that came out of the UN Conference condemned particular cultural practices that are oppressive to women. Such practices include: infanticide, dowry, child-marriage (early marriage), and female genital mutilation. The 187 governments that signed onto the Beijing Platform for Action agreed to abolish these practices.

However, since they are integral parts of cultural and tribal traditions, to give them up at a time could be seen as kowtowing to Western ideas. The development feminist perspective, so critical of

colonialism and yet so supportive of women's rights, has found this issue difficult to resolve. Western ideas of individualism and economic independence are double-faced. On the one hand, these ideas support the rights of girls and women to an education that will allow them to be economically independent. They are also the source of a concept of universal human rights that can be used to fight subordinating and sometimes physically hurtful tribal practices, such as genital mutilation. On the other hand, Western ideas may weaken communal enterprises and traditional reciprocal food production and shared child care. Indigenous women's own solution to this dilemma is community organizing around their productive and reproductive roles as mothers so that what benefits them economically and physically is in the service of their families, not themselves alone. However, this same community organizing and family service can support the continuance of cultural practices like female genital mutilation, which Western development feminists want to see eradicated. The decision to not interfere with traditional cultural practices that are physically harmful to girls, and at the same time, that works for their education and better health care are a particularly problematic dilemma for development feminism.

Activity 1

1. Discuss the major points raised by the liberal, Marxist/socialist and development feminisms.
2. Discuss the political solutions suggested by reform feminisms.
3. Discuss the convergences and divergences between Marxist/socialist and development feminisms.

3.2 Gender Resistant Feminisms

Section overview

As gender reform feminisms made their way into the public consciousness in the 1970s and women entered formerly all-men workplaces and schools, they became more and more aware of constant and everyday put-downs, from bosses and colleagues at work, professors and students in the classroom, fellow organizers in political movements, and worst of all, from boyfriends and husbands at home. These "micro-inequities" of everyday life, being ignored and interrupted, not getting credit for competence or good performance, being passed over for jobs that involve taking charge, crystallize into a pattern that insidiously wears women down. Out of this awareness that 'sisters had no place in any brotherhood' came the *gender resistant feminisms* of the 1970's. They are *radical feminism*, *lesbian feminism*, *psychoanalytical feminism*, and *standpoint feminism*.

Section objectives:

Dear learner, by the end of this unit you should be able to:

- ✓ List feminist theories that are categorized under gender resistant feminisms;
- ✓ Describe the major viewpoints entertained in radical feminism, lesbian feminism psychoanalytical feminism and standpoint feminism;
- ✓ Analyze the inherent contradictions in each sub-category of gender resistant feminisms;
- ✓ Describe the shared political solutions suggested by gender resistant feminisms; and
- ✓ Restate the major flaws or criticisms forward against gender resistant feminism

4. 2.1 Radical Feminism

?What do you think are radical feminism all about?

Radical feminism had its start in small, leaderless, women-only consciousness-raising groups, where the topics of intense discussion came out of women's daily lives- from housework, serving men's emotional and sexual needs, menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and menopause. From these discussions came a theory of gender inequality that went beyond discrimination, to oppression, and a gender politics of resistance to the dominant gender order. Radical feminism's theoretical watchword is *patriarchy*, or men's pervasive oppression and exploitation of women, which can be found wherever women and men are in contact with each other, in private as well as in public. Radical feminism argues that patriarchy is very hard to eradicate because its root- the belief that women are different and inferior- is deeply embedded in most men's consciousness. It can best be resisted, radical feminists argued, by forming non-hierarchical, supportive, woman-only spaces where women can think and act and create free of constant sexist put-downs, sexual harassment, and the threat of rape and violence. Stimulating possibilities of creating woman-oriented health care facilities, safe residences for battered women, counseling and legal services for survivors of rape, a woman's culture, and even a woman's religion and ethics forged the bonds of "sisterhood" and the rationale for separation from men. Radical feminism turns male-dominated culture on its head. It puts down all the characteristics that are valued in male-dominated societies - objectivity, distance, control, coolness, aggressiveness, and competitiveness -and blames them for wars, poverty, rape, battering, child abuse, and incest. It praises what women do feed and nurture, cooperate and reciprocate, and attend to bodies, minds, and psyches. The important values, radical feminism argues, are intimacy, persuasion, warmth, caring, and sharing -- the characteristics that women develop in their hands on, everyday experiences with their own and their children's bodies and with the work of daily living. Men could develop these characteristics, too, if they "mothered," but since few do, they are much more prevalent in women. Radical feminism claims that most men have the potential to use physical violence against women, including rape and murder. They point to the commonness of date rape and wife beating, of murders of ex-wives and former girlfriends. The commercial side of this systemic misogyny, or women-hating, is the way women are depicted as sex objects in the mass media and as pieces of meat in pornography, and the global exploitation of girls and young women in prostitution. Even more insidious, they argue, sexual exploitation is the common downside of romantic

heterosexual love, which itself is oppressive to women. The threat of violence and rape, radical feminism theorizes, is the way patriarchy controls all women.

?What are the radical feminist solutions to address the patriarchal ideology and gender inequality?

Radical feminism's political battlefield has been protection of rape victims and battered women, and condemnation of pornography, prostitution, sexual harassment, and sexual coercion. Since all men derive power from their dominant social status, any sexual relationship between women and men is intrinsically unequal. Consent by women to heterosexual intercourse is, by this definition, always coerced unless it is explicitly agreed to by a fully aware, autonomous woman. This viewpoint led to an expansion of the parameters of rape, and to making date rape visible and legally actionable. The radical feminist political remedies-women-only consciousness-raising groups and alternative organizations- were vital in allowing women the "breathing space" to formulate important theories of gender inequality, to develop women's studies programs in colleges and universities, to form communities, and to produce knowledge, culture, religion, ethics, and health care from a woman's point of view.

? What do you think are the limitations to radical feminist theorization?

But they alienated many working-class women, especially those of disadvantaged ethnic groups, who felt that their men were just as oppressed as they were by the dominant society or classes. Radical feminism's critique of heterosexuality and its valorization of mothering produced a schism (division) among feminists, offending many of those who were in heterosexual relationships or who didn't want children. Its praise of women's emotionality and nurturing capabilities and condemnation of men's violent sexuality and aggressiveness has been seen as *essentialist* -rooted in deep-seated and seemingly intractable differences between two global categories of people. This concentration on universal gender oppression has led to accusations that radical feminism neglects ethnic and social class differences among men and among women, and that it downplays other sources of oppression. By pitting women against men, radical feminism alienates women of color and working-class women, who feel torn between their feminist and their ethnic and class loyalties.

3.2.2 Lesbian Feminism

? What do you think is lesbian feminism all about?

Lesbian feminism takes the radical feminist pessimistic view of men to its logical conclusion. If heterosexual relationships are intrinsically exploitative because of men's social, physical, and sexual power over women, why bother with men at all? Women are more loving, nurturing, sharing, and understanding. Men like having women friends to talk about their problems with, but women can only unburden to other women. "Why not goes all the way?" asked lesbian feminism. Stop sleeping with the "enemy," and turn to other women for sexual love as well as for intellectual companionship and emotional support. One theoretical lesbian feminism concept is that of the *lesbian continuum*, where a lesbian can be any independent, woman identified woman. This lesbian metaphor transforms love between women into an identity, a community, and a culture. Lesbian imagery is not a mirror opposite of men's sexuality and relationships, but a new language, a new voice. Lesbian

feminism praises women's sexuality and bodies, mother-daughter love, and the cultural community of women, not just sexual and emotional relationships between women. “Bi-sexual” women who have sexual relations with both women and men, sometimes simultaneously and sometimes serially, disturb the gender and sexual dichotomies that are the basis for lesbian feminism. Their presence has been severely resisted in many lesbian communities, but they have become a contradiction not yet resolved in lesbian feminism.

3.2.3 Psychoanalytic Feminism

? What do you think is psychoanalytic feminism all about?

Another important gender resistant feminism of the 1970s and 1980s came out of feminist re-readings of Freud and the French feminist engagement with Lacan, Derrida, and Foucault. Freud's theory of personality development centers on the **Oedipus complex**- the detachment from the mother. Psychoanalytic feminism claims that the source of men's domination of women is men's unconscious two-sided need for women's emotionality and rejection of them as potential castrators. Women submit to men because of their unconscious desires for emotional connectedness. These gendered personalities are the outcome of the Oedipus complex- the separation from the mother. Because women are the primary parents, infants bond with them. Boys, however, have to separate from their mothers and identify with their fathers in order to establish their masculinity. They develop strong ego boundaries and a capacity for the independent action, objectivity, and rational thinking so valued in most cultures. Women are a threat to their independence and masculine sexuality. Girls continue to identify with their mothers, and so they grow up with fluid ego boundaries that make them sensitive, empathic, emotional. It is these qualities that make them potentially good mothers, and keep them open to men's emotional needs. But because the men in their lives have developed personalities that make them emotionally guarded, women want to have children to bond with. Thus, psychological gendering of children is continually reproduced.

? What are the solutions suggested by psychoanalytic feminisms to break gendered personalities?

To develop nurturing capabilities in men, and to break the cycle of the reproduction of gendered personality structures, psychoanalytic feminisms recommend **shared-parenting**, after men are taught how to parent. French psychoanalytic feminism focuses on the ways that cultural productions (novels, drama, art, opera, music, movies) reflect and represent the masculine unconscious, especially fear of castration. In French feminist psychoanalytic theory, patriarchal culture is the sublimation of men's suppressed infantile desire for the mother and fear of the loss of the *phallus*, the symbol of masculine difference. Since women don't have a phallus to lose and are not different from their mothers, they can't participate in the creation of the culture. Women's wish for a phallus and repressed sexual desire for their fathers is sublimated into wanting to give birth to a son; men's repressed sexual desire for their mother and fear of the father's castration are sublimated into cultural creations. What women represent in phallic culture is the sexual desire and emotionality men must

repress in order to become like their fathers, men who are controlled and controlling. No matter what role women play in cultural productions, the *male gaze* sees them as desired or despised sexualized objects. Phallic cultural productions, according to psychoanalytic feminism, are full of aggression, competition, and domination, with an underlying misogynist subtext of fear of castration – of becoming a woman. To resist and to counter with woman centeredness, French feminism called for women to write from their biographical experiences and their bodies, about menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and sexuality. That way, women can resist their suppression by the dominant phallic culture. However, urging women to produce woman-centered art and literature locks them into a categorically female sensibility and emphasizes their difference from men and the dominant culture even more. Women's emotional and erotic power is unleashed and made visible in women's cultural productions, but they are separated from men's culture, which is still dominant.

3.2.4 Standpoint Feminist

? What do you think is standpoint feminism all about?

Radical, lesbian, and psychoanalytic feminist theories of women's oppression converge in standpoint feminism, which turns from resistance to confrontation with the dominant sources of knowledge and values. The main idea among all the gender resistant feminisms is that women and women's perspectives should be central to knowledge, culture, and politics, not invisible or marginal. Whoever sets the agendas for scientific research, whoever shapes the content of education, whoever chooses the symbols that permeate cultural productions has **hegemonic power**. **Hegemony** is the ideology that legitimates a society's unquestioned assumptions. In Western societies where the justifications for many of the ideas about women and men largely come from science, as they believe in scientific "facts" and rarely question their objectivity, *Standpoint feminism* emerges as a critique of mainstream science and social science, a methodology for feminist research, and an analysis of the power that lies in producing knowledge. Simply put, *standpoint feminism* says that women's "voices" are different from men's, and they must be heard if women are to challenge hegemonic values. Men do not recognize that the knowledge they produce and the concepts they use come out of their own experience. Rather, they claim that their scientific work is universal, general, neutral, and objective. But women know that it is partial, particular, masculine, and subjective because they see the world from a different angle, and they have been excluded from much of science. The grounding for standpoint theory comes from Marxist and socialist feminist theory, which applies Marx's concept of "class consciousness" to women, and psychoanalytic feminist theory, which describes **the gendering of the unconscious**. Standpoint feminism argues that as physical and social reproducers of children -out of bodies, emotions, thought, and sheer physical labor, women are grounded in material reality in ways that men are not. Because they are closely connected to their bodies and their emotions, women's unconscious as well as conscious view of the world is unitary and concrete. If women produced knowledge, it would be much more in touch with the everyday, material world, and with the connectedness among people. Although men could

certainly do research on and about women, and women on men, standpoint feminism argues that women researchers are more sensitive to how women see problems and set priorities, and therefore would be better able to design and conduct research from a woman's point of view.

? What do you think is the limitations embedded in standpoint feminism?

Unquestionably, women do privilege to *women's experience*. But is all women's experience is not the same. The "facts" produced from a woman's perspective are also just as biased as those produced from a man's point of view. Donna Haraway (1998) says that all knowledge is situated, just as *standpoint feminism* claims, but situations differ, and so do all perspectives.

Activity 2

1. Discuss the major points raised by the radical, lesbian, psychoanalytic and standpoint feminisms.
2. Discuss the shared political solutions suggested by gender resistant feminisms in order to address gender inequality.
3. Discuss the convergences and divergences between radical and lesbian feminisms.
4. What is the main idea among all the gender resistant feminisms? Discuss.
5. How do explanations given in radical, lesbian and psychoanalytic feminisms converge under standpoint feminism?

3.3 Gender Revolution Feminisms

★ Section overview

The 1980s and 1990s have seen the emergence of feminist theories that attack the dominant social order through questioning the clearness of the categories that comprise its hierarchies. These feminisms deconstruct the interlocking structures of power and privilege that make one group of men dominant, and range everyone else in a complex ladder of increasing disadvantage.

They also analyze how cultural productions, especially in the mass media, justify and normalize inequality and subordinating practices. These feminisms thus have the revolutionary potential of destabilizing the structure and values of the dominant social order. They are *multi-ethnic feminism*, *men's feminism*, *social construction feminism*, *post-modern feminism* and *queer theory*.

Section objective

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ List feminist theories that are categorized under gender revolution feminisms;

- ✓ Describe the major viewpoints entertained in multi-ethnic, men's feminism, social construction feminism, post-modern feminism and queer theory;
- ✓ Analyze the convergences and divergences between multi-ethnic feminism, men's feminism, social construction feminism, post-modern feminism and queer theory;
- ✓ Describe the shared political solutions suggested by gender revolution feminisms; and
- ✓ Restate the major flaws or criticisms forward against gender revolution feminisms.

3.3.1 Multi-ethnic Feminism

? What do you think is multi-ethnic feminism all about?

Throughout the 20th century, social critics have argued that no one aspect of inequality is more important than any other. Ethnicity, religion, social class, and gender comprise a complex hierarchical stratification system in which upper-class, heterosexual, white men and women oppress lower-class women and men of disadvantaged ethnicities and religions. In teasing out the multiple strands of oppression and exploitation, multi-ethnic feminism has shown that gender, ethnicity, religion, and social class are structurally intertwined relationships. Ethnicity, religion, social class, and gender are the walls and windows of our lives, they structure what we experience, do, feel, see, and ultimately believe about ourselves and others. As a writer points out in a comment on *standpoint theory* ("Comment on Hekman's 'Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited': Where's the Power?", 1997), these experiences are not individual, but belong to groups; thus they are a vital source of both a world view and a sense of identity. The important point made by multi-ethnic feminism is that the subordinate group is not marked just by gender or by ethnicity or religion, but is in a social location in **multiple systems of domination**. Men are as oppressed as women, but men and women of disadvantaged groups are often oppressed in different ways. For example, in the United States, Black men are punished for their masculinity and Black women are seen as sexual objects or mothers. Thus, group consciousness reflects all social statuses at once.

Multi-ethnic cultural feminism finds art in what women of every culture produce in everyday life: quilts, folk songs, celebratory dances, festive food, decorated dishes, weaving and embroidery (needlework) are all part of a vibrant women's culture. These women's modes of art and literature are interactive and emotionally expressive. They are the equivalent of men's subversive cultural productions, such as jazz and rap, and equally distinctive from the dominant group's way of talking and thinking. A woman of a disadvantaged ethnic group may not feel loyalty or identity with "all women." But she may also feel alienated from the men of her own group, if they are oppressive to women because of a traditional patriarchal culture or because they are themselves subordinated by men at the top of the pyramid.

3.3.2 Men's Feminism

? What do you think is men's feminism all about?

Men's feminism is a burgeoning field of study that applies feminist theories to the study of men and masculinity. Men's feminism took on the task called for by feminists studying women in relationship to men, that is, to treat men as well as women as a gender and to scrutinize masculinity as carefully as femininity. A prime goal has been to develop a theory, **not of masculinity, but of masculinities**, because of the diversity among men. They argue that there is no universal masculine characteristic that is the same in every society. Nor, for that matter, in any one society, or in any one organizational setting, as earlier studies of working-class men and racial stratification made very clear. The main theory developed in men's feminism, which has been used to dissect the differences between and within groups of middle-class and working class men of different ethnic groups and sexual orientations, is a concept of *hegemonic masculinity*. Hegemonic or dominant men are those who are economically successful, ethnically superior, and visibly heterosexual. Yet the characteristics of masculinity, hegemonic or otherwise, are not the source of men's gender status. Genders- men's and women's- are relational and embedded in the structure of the social order. The object of analysis is thus not masculinity or femininity but their **oppositional relationship**. **Neither men nor women can be studied separately; the whole question of gender inequality involves a relationship of "haves" and "have-nots", of dominance and subordination, of advantage and disadvantage**. Men's feminism argues that gender inequality includes men's denigration of other men as well as their exploitation of women. Low-level men workers around the world are oppressed by the inequalities of the global economy, and young working class urban men's impoverished environment and "taste for risk" has made them an endangered species. Men's feminism blames sports, the military, fraternities, and other arenas of male-bonding for encouraging physical and sexual violence and misogyny. It deplores the pressure on men to identify with but not be emotionally close to their fathers and to be "cool" and unfeeling towards the women in their lives and distant from their own children. But many men feminists have been critical of the men's movements that foster a search for the primitive or "wild man" and of religiously oriented men's organizations that link responsibility to family with patriarchal concepts of "manhood". They argue that these movements seek to change individual attitudes and do not address the structural conditions of gender inequality or the power differences among men. The sources of gender inequality that men's feminism concentrates on are embedded in the stratification systems of Western societies as well as in the homophobia of heterosexual men, who construct their masculinity as clearly opposite to that of homosexual men. Thus, it is necessary for prominent men of all ethnic groups in politics, sports, and the mass media to appear heterosexual.

Gender inequality is also embedded in men's jockeying for the leading positions in whatever arena they find themselves, and excluding women as much as possible from competition. It is not an accident that so much of the language of competition is the language of sports, because organized sports are not only an immediate site of masculinity displays, but also a source for vicarious

competitiveness and for the creation of symbolic icons of masculine strength and beauty. Unfortunately, these are also icons of physical and sexual violence. Men's feminism overlaps with gay studies in analyzing the social dimensions of male homosexuality. Examining homosexuality from a gender perspective shows that homosexual men are men, not a third gender, and partake of the privileges and disadvantages and life styles of men of the same ethnic group and social class. Nonetheless, because homosexual men do not have sexual relationships with women, an important marker of "manhood" in Western society, they are considered not-quite men. Thus, like other men who do not have the marks of hegemonic status (white, economically successful, heterosexual), homosexual men are lower on the scale of privilege and power in Western society. Homosexual men, however, do not subvert the gender order because they retain some of the "patriarchal dividend" of male advantage. Men's feminism provides a needed corrective in bringing men into gender research as a specific subject of study, but it does not offer any new theoretical perspective. Rather, men's feminism is an amalgam of social construction, multi-ethnic, psychoanalytic, and development feminism and gay studies. It is likely that men's feminism will eventually be absorbed into more general feminist perspectives.

3.3.3 Social Construction Feminism

? What do you think is social construction feminism all about?

While multi-ethnic feminism focuses on the effects of location in a system of advantage and disadvantage, and men's feminism on the hierarchical relationships of men to other men and to women, social construction feminism looks at the structure of the gendered social order as a whole. It sees gender as a "society-wide-institution" that is built into all the major social organizations of society. As a social institution, gender determines the distribution of power, privileges, and economic resources. Gendered norms and expectations get built into women's and men's sense of self as a certain kind of human being, and alternative ways of acting and arranging work and family life are literally unthinkable. In social construction feminist theory, inequality is the core of gender itself: Women and men are socially differentiated in order to justify treating them unequally. Thus, although gender is intertwined with other unequal statuses, remedying the gendered part of these structures of inequality may be the most difficult, because gendering is so pervasive. Indeed, it is this pervasiveness that leads so many people to believe that gendering is biological, and therefore "natural." Social construction feminism focuses on the processes that create gender differences and also on what renders the construction of gender invisible. The common social processes that encourage us to see gender differences and to ignore continuums are the gendered division of labor in the home that allocates child care and housework to women; gender segregation and gender typing of occupations so that women and men don't do the same kind of work; re-gendering (as when an occupation goes from men's work to women's work and is justified both ways by "natural" masculine and feminine characteristics); selective comparisons that ignore similarities, as in men's and women's separate sports competitions; and containment, suppression, and erasure of gender-

inappropriate behaviors and appearances, such as aggressiveness in women and nurturance in men. Social construction feminism argues that the dichotomies of male and female biological sex and physiology are also produced and maintained by social processes. Genital and hormonal ambiguities are ignored or overridden in the sex categorization of infants; and the gendering of sports and physical labor ignores the overlaps in female and male stature and musculature. In the social construction feminist perspective, the processes of gender differentiation, approval of accepted gendered behavior and appearance, and disapproval of deviations from established norms are all manifestations of power and social control. Religion, the law, and medicine reinforce the boundary lines between women and men and suppress gender variation through moral censure and stigmatization, such as labeling gender-inappropriate behavior sinful, illegal, and insane.

Social construction feminism also analyzes the historical and cultural context in which sexuality is learned and enacted, or "scripted." What sexual behaviors are approved, tolerated, and tabooed differs for women and men and varies for social groups over time and place. Sexuality, in this perspective, is a product of learning, social pressures, and cultural values. Legal penalties, job loss, and violence uphold the heterosexual social order, defeating individual attempts at resistance and rebellion. Most people, however, voluntarily go along with their society's prescriptions for those of their gender status, because the norms and expectations get built into their individual sense of worth and identity. Even *transvestites* (males who dress in women's clothes and females who dress in men's clothes) and *transsexuals* (people who have sex-change surgery) try to pass as "normal" men and women. So male "cross-dressers" tend to wear very feminine-looking clothing, and male transsexuals use hormones to grow breasts.

? What are the solutions suggested by social construction feminism to change existing social order and achieve gender equality?

In the social construction feminist view, long-lasting change of this deeply gendered social order would have to mean a conscious re-ordering of the gendered division of labor in the family and at work, and at the same time, undermining the taken-for-granted assumptions about the capabilities of women and men that justify the status quo. Such change is unlikely to come about unless the pervasiveness of the social institution of gender and its social construction are openly challenged. Since the processes of gendering include making them invisible, where are we to start? Is that with individual awareness and attitude change? Or is that with restructuring social institutions and behavioral change? Certainly, both individuals and institutions need to be altered to achieve gender equality, but it may be impossible to do both at once.

?What challenges do social construction feminists face?

Social construction feminism is faced with a political dilemma. If political activities focus on getting individuals to understand the constrictions of gender norms and expectations and encourage resistance to them in every aspect of their lives, it would not necessarily change social structure. If the focus is on getting work organizations and governments to structure for gender equality, it would

not necessarily change gendered norms for individuals. The dilemma is built into the theory of social construction, individuals construct and maintain the norms and expectations and patterns of behavior that become institutionalized, but existing institutions constrain the extent of allowable variation and individual and group difference. Socially patterned individual actions and institutional structures construct and reinforce each other. For this reason, social construction feminism recognizes that there is always change, but it is usually slow.

3.3.4 Postmodern Feminism and Queer Theory

? What do you think is postmodern feminism and queer theory all about?

Post-modern feminism and queer theory go the furthest in challenging gender categories as dual, oppositional, and fixed, arguing instead that sexuality and gender are shifting, fluid and multiple categories. They critique a politics based on a universal category, woman, presenting instead a more subversive view that undermines the solidity of a social order built on concepts of two sexes, two sexualities, and two genders. Equality will come, they say, when there are so many recognized sexes, sexualities, and genders that one can't be played against the other. Postmodern feminism and queer theory examine the ways societies justify the beliefs about gender at any time (now and in the past) with ideological "discourses" embedded in cultural representations or "texts." Not just art, literature, and the mass media, but anything produced by a social group, including newspapers, political pronouncements, and religious liturgy, is a "text." A text's "discourse" is what it says, what it doesn't say, and what it hints at (sometimes called a "sub-text"). The historical and social context and the material conditions under which a text is produced become part of the text's discourse. If a movie or newspaper is produced in a time of conservative values or under a repressive political regime, its "discourse" is going to be different from what is produced during times of openness or social change. Who provides the money, who does the creative work, and who oversees the managerial side all influence what a text conveys to its audience. The projected audience also shapes any text, although the actual audience may read quite different meanings from those intended by the producers. "Deconstruction" is the process of teasing out all of these aspects of a "text."

Queer theory goes beyond cultural productions to examine the discourses of gender and sexuality in everyday life as texts ripe for deconstruction. In queer theory, gender and sexuality are "performances", identities or selves we create as we act and interact with others. What we wear and how we talk are signs and displays of gender and sexual orientation. What we do socially creates us as women and men of a particular ethnic group, social class, occupation, religion, place of residence, even if we try to create ourselves as individuals. Queer theorists often find is that gender roles are recreated in the same old way, a transvestite passing as a woman wears a demure dress, stockings, and high-heeled shoes; a butch lesbian swaggers (boastfulness) in men's jeans and cowboy boots. The bearded lady in a skirt still belongs in a circus, and is stared at openly on the street. Genders and sexualities may be mixed up, but they are not erased. If social construction feminism puts too much emphasis on institutions and structures, and not enough on individual actions, postmodern feminism

and queer theory have just the opposite problem. In queer theory, all the emphasis is on agency, impression management, and presentation of the self in the guise and costume most likely to produce or parody conformity. Social construction feminism argues that the gendered social order is constantly re-stabilized by the individual action, but queer theory has shown how individuals can consciously and purposefully create disorder and gender instability, opening the way to social change. Social construction feminism can show where the structural contradictions and fault lines are, which would offer places for individuals, organizations, and social movements to pressure for long-lasting restructuring and a more equal social order for all kinds of people.

Activity 3

1. Discuss the major points raised by the multi-ethnic, men's, social construction, post-modern feminisms and queer theory.
2. Discuss the shared political solutions suggested by gender revolution feminisms in order to address gender inequality.
3. Discuss the convergences and divergences between social construction and post-modern feminisms.
4. What is the main idea among all the gender revolution feminisms? Discuss.

UNIT FOUR

THEORIES OF WOMEN'S ISSUE IN DEVELOPMENT AND PRACTICAL APPROACHES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN

★ Unit introduction

Dear learner, in the preceding unit, you have learnt about the various feminist perspectives on gender and development. The political and economic solutions suggested by these theories converge to certain strategies and approaches that help to address the questions of women as well as men in development. As a result, different theories of women's issue in development and practical approaches were developed to relate issue of women with development. In this unit, you will learn about these theories and practical approaches under two sections.

Unit objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this unit you should be able to:

- ✓ Describe the WID, WAD and GAD and their respective goals;
- ✓ Restate the limitations inherent to the WID and WAD and the way outs provided by the GAD approach; and
- ✓ Describe practical approaches to development of women (welfare approach, equality approach, antipoverty approach, efficiency approach, empowerment approach)

✱ Unit pre-test questions

1. What are WID, WAD and GAD?
2. What are the goals of WID, WAD and GAD?
3. What are the limitations of WID and WAD?
4. What are welfare approach, equality approach, antipoverty approach, efficiency approach, empowerment approach
5. What are goals of welfare approach, equality approach, antipoverty approach, efficiency approach, empowerment approach
6. What limitations do welfare approach, equality approach, antipoverty approach, efficiency approach, empowerment approach have in satisfying women's need in development?

4.1 Theories of Women's Issues in Development

★ Section overview

Dear learner, the debates about women and to what extent they benefit or do not benefit from development have led to the emergence of three distinctive models. These models seek to explain how development affects women and why women and men are affected by development differently. under this section you will learn about these different models (WID, WAD and GAD).

Section objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Describe the WID, WAD and GAD approaches;

- ✓ State the goals of the WID, WAD and GAD approaches; and
- ✓ Restate the limitations inherent to the WID and WAD approaches and the way outs provided by the GAD approach.

? Do you think that women have benefited from development processes, programmes and projects to the same extent as men?

The question has been asked whether the issue of women's development is an issue separate from that of broader development. Research and practical experience has, in general, taught us the following:

- Women have not benefited from development processes, programmes and projects to the same extent as men
- Women are very often not included in the planning or implementation of development
- Development can undermine the role, status and position of women in society
- Development affects women and men differently, often with a negative impact on women

4.1.1 Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD)

? What do you think is WID?

By the 1970s it had become very clear that women were being left out of development. They were not benefiting significantly from it and in some instances their existing status and position in society was actually being made worse by development. The WID approach saw the problem as the exclusion of women from development programmes and approaches. As a result, the solution was seen as integrating women into such programmes. WID saw women as a group being treated as lacking opportunity to participate in development. The main task, therefore, was to improve women's access to resources and their participation in development. The WID approach argued for the integration of women into development programmes and planning. This, it was argued, was the best way to improve women's position in society. There was, for instance, a major emphasis on income-generating projects for women as a means of integration. Welfare oriented projects dealing with small income-generating projects and activities mostly aimed at women's reproductive role, where nutrition education and family planning were a main feature. The WID approach, although it had limitations, increased the visibility of women in development issues. WID was successful in helping secure a prominent place for women's issues at the United Nations (UN) and other international development agencies. The UN declared 1975 to 1985 the Decade for Women. One of the major achievements of the decade was the establishment of women in development structures or machineries. Although the WID approach made demands for women's inclusion in development, it did not call for changes in the overall social structure or economic system in which women were to be included. As such, WID concentrated narrowly on the inequalities between men and women and ignored the social, cultural, legal and economic factors that give rise to those inequalities in society. WID tended to focus on women almost exclusively and assumed that women were outside the mainstream of development. The strategies that were developed included adding women's projects

or project components, increasing women's income and productivity, and improving women's ability to look after the household.

? Dear learner, what do you think is the limitation of the WID approach?

The WID approach did not address the root causes of discrimination that prevented women's full participation in their societies. In the late 1970s, the WAD perspective was developed in reaction to omissions in WID.

4.1.2 Women and Development (WAD)

What is WAD and its difference from WID?

As a result of criticisms of the WID approach, the Women and Development (WAD) approach arose in the latter part of the 1970s. Adopting a Marxist feminist approach, the main argument of WAD was that women had always been part of the development processes. WAD asserts that women have always been important economic actors. The work they do both inside and outside the household is critical to the maintenance of society. However, this integration has only served to sustain global inequalities. Therefore, the WID approach that placed emphasis on integrating women into development was not correct.

The main focus of WAD is on the interaction between women and development processes rather than purely on strategies to integrate women into development. WAD saw both women and men as not benefiting from the global economic structures because of disadvantages due to class and the way wealth is distributed. WAD therefore argued that the integration of women into development was to their disadvantage and only made their inequality worse. WAD saw global inequalities as the main problem facing poor countries and, therefore, the citizens of those countries.

WAD was very persuasive in raising the debate that women have a role not only in reproduction but in production as well. For development to be meaningful for women both these roles have to be acknowledged.

WAD has been criticized for assuming that the position of women will improve if and when international structures become more equitable. In so doing, it sees women's positions as primarily within the structure of international and class inequalities. It therefore underplays the role of patriarchy in undermining women's development and does not adequately address the question of social relations between men and women and their impact on development. It has been argued that, although at a theoretical level WAD recognizes and focuses strongly on class, in practical project design and implementation, it tends like WID to group women together irrespective of other considerations such as class divisions.

WAD proponents argued that women were already integrated into development processes but on unequal terms. They pointed out that development projects increase the demands on women without

increasing access to resources or decision-making power and, in effect, work against women's interests. WAD argued that class structures were more oppressive than gender and that poor, marginalized women have more in common with men of their class than with women of another class. The emergence of GAD in the 1980s marked a revolution in thinking about equitable, sustainable development.

4.1.3. Gender and Development (GAD)

? What progresses do you think GAD makes from WID and WAD?

In the 1980s further reflections on the development experiences of women gave rise to Gender and Development (GAD). GAD represented a coming together of many feminist ideas. It sought to bring together both the lessons learned from, and the limitations of, the WID and WAD approaches. GAD looks at the impact of development on both women and men. It seeks to ensure that both women and men participate in and benefit equally from development and so emphasizes equality of benefit and control. It recognizes that women may be involved in development, but not necessarily benefit from it. GAD is not concerned with women exclusively, but with the way in which gender relations allot specific roles, responsibilities and expectations between men and women, often to the detriment of women. Development, therefore, is about deep and important changes to relations dealing with gender inequality within society. This approach also pays particular attention to the oppression of women in the family or the 'private sphere' of women's lives. As a result, we have seen projects develop addressing issues such as violence against women.

GAD reflects the recognition that women are an integral part of every development strategy. GAD includes three main concepts:

- Both men and women create and maintain society and shape the division of labor. However, they benefit and suffer unequally. Therefore, greater focus must be placed on women because they have been more disadvantaged.
- Women and men are socialized differently and often function in different spheres of the community, although there is interdependence. As a result, they have different priorities and perspectives. Because of gender roles, men can constrain or expand women's options.
- Development affects men and women differently, and women and men will have a different impact on projects. Both must be involved in identifying problems and solutions if the interests of the community as a whole are to be furthered.

GAD focuses on the social or gender relations (i.e. the division of labour) between men and women in society and seeks to address issues of access and control over resources and power. The GAD approach has also helped us understand that the gender division of labour gives "triple roles" to women in society. The gender division of labour operates differently from one society and culture to another and it is also dynamic. The way these roles are analysed and valued affects the way

development projects will make certain things a priority or not. Provision for child-care for instance is not likely to be a priority among men planning for development but it is a crucial factor in ensuring women may take advantage of development opportunities for their benefit. GAD goes further than the other approaches in emphasising both the reproductive and productive role of women and argues that it is the state's responsibility to support the social reproduction role mostly played by women of caring and nurturing of children. As such, it treats development as a complex process that is influenced by political, social and economic factors rather than as a state or stage of development. It therefore goes beyond seeing development as mainly economic well-being but also that the social and mental wellbeing of a person is important.

Arising from the GAD analysis is the need for women to organise themselves into a more effective political voice in order to strengthen their legal rights and increase the number of women in decision making.

GAD uses this model to explore and analyze the differences between the kinds of work performed by women and men in particular social, cultural and economic circumstances. In order to identify differences between female and male roles, responsibilities, opportunities and rewards, the approach requires that three important questions are asked, explicitly or implicitly, at all stages of designing, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating an intervention:

- Who does what by gender with what resources?
- Who has access to the resources, benefits, and opportunities?
- Who does control the resources, benefits, and opportunities?

Dear learner, it is important to see the issues that should be included under each question.

Who Does What: This question identifies the different activities performed by the men and women in the target population. For example, a rural development project aimed at cash-cropping might result in the female population assuming the major burden of the agricultural work, because in such a society women do most of the agricultural labor. Asking the question “Who does what?” can alert project designers to the possibility that such a project could increase the women’s work.

Who Has Access (Ability to Use): This question asks how much each population group can use existing resources, benefits, and opportunities or those which will be generated by the intervention. These include land, money, credit, and education.

Who Controls (Determines the Outcome of the Resources): This question asks to what extent different groups of women and men in the population can decide how to use the available resources. Some groups may have access to resources but may not be able to use them. If these three questions are not asked, the kinds of interventions which are developed may be based on incomplete and incorrect assumptions and perceptions of the way things work in a particular society. For example,

planners may incorrectly assume that in a given setting the men are heads of households and chief decision-makers, even though women play this role. This assumption may lead them to design ineffective and inappropriate interventions. Analysis of the information provided by these questions enables planners to find out how an intervention would impact different groups. If needed, corrective measures can then be put in place to ensure that the project will meet the needs of all identified groups equally.

The GAD approach to development is aimed at ensuring an equal distribution of opportunities, resources, and benefits to different population groups served by a particular intervention. Applying this approach can help project planners to identify important differences in female and male roles and responsibilities and use this information to plan more effective policies, programs, and projects. This approach is based on the Harvard Analytical Framework, one of the first gender analysis models.

Below is a summary of the WID and GAD approaches to development.

| | Women in Development | Gender and Development |
|----------------|--|---|
| The Approach | An approach which seeks to integrate women in the development process | An approach which seeks to empower women and transform unequal relations between women and men |
| The 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 Increase women's 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 |

Activity 2

1. Outline and discuss the goals of WID, WAD and GAD.
2. Discuss the limitations inherent to the WID approach.
3. Outline and discuss the key questions needed to be asked under GAD's development intervention, from the designing to monitoring and evaluation of the intervention.
4. Do you have any experience in gender-focused development intervention? If any, what are the priority gender needs? And why? What are the approaches employed?

4.2 Practical Approaches to Women's Development

Section overview

Dear learner, over the years, the practical approaches to the developmental challenges relating to women have developed and changed in response to criticisms and the growth of better understanding of the dynamics relating to women's development. These approaches are briefly discussed under this section.

Section objectives

Dear learner, by the end of this section you should be able to:

- ✓ Describe the welfare approach, equality approach, antipoverty approach, efficiency approach, empowerment approach
- ✓ State the goals of the welfare approach, equality approach, antipoverty approach, efficiency approach, empowerment approach; and
- ✓ Restate the limitations inherent to welfare approach, equality approach, antipoverty approach, efficiency approach, empowerment approach

4.2.1 The welfare approach

? What do you think welfare approach is?

Until the early 1970s, development programmes addressed the needs of women almost entirely within the context of their reproductive roles. The focus was on mother and child health, child-care and nutrition. Population control - or family planning as it later came to be known - was a major focus as well due to the link made between population growth and poverty. The focus was clearly on meeting practical needs. It was also assumed that broad economic strategies oriented towards modernisation and growth would trickle down to the poor and that poor women would

benefit as the general economic situation improved. But the assumptions that women's position would improve together with general improvements in the economy, or with the economic positions of their husbands, began to be challenged as it became clear that women were in fact losing out. Women, as a result, were being increasingly associated with backwardness and the traditional while men were increasingly identified with the modern and progressive. Men were assisted in this with economic development projects, such as the introduction of cash crops, and new agricultural technologies that exclude women.

4.2.2 The equality approach

? What do you think is the equality approach and how it differs from the welfare approach?

Feminist calls for gender equality were important in bringing about this approach, the main aim of which was to eliminate discrimination. It emphasised the revaluing of women's contribution and share of benefits from development. The equity approach also dealt with both the productive and reproductive roles as a responsibility of government. The emphasis on revaluing women's contribution and share of benefits meant that the approach dealt with issues of policy and legal measures as a means of bringing about equity. The equity approach, in contrast to the welfare approach, saw women as active participants organising to bring about necessary changes.

4.2.3 Antipoverty approach

? What do you think antipoverty approach is and how it differs from welfare and equality approach?

This approach focuses on both the productive and reproductive role of women with an emphasis on satisfaction of basic needs and the productivity of women. A key operational strategy required access to income generation and waged employment. The tendency with this approach was to reinforce the basic needs and ignore the strategic needs of women.

4.2.4 The efficiency approach

? What do you think efficiency approach and how it differs from others?

The efficiency approach targets women as workers and is a product of the 1980s' economic reforms known as the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the International Monetary fund and the World Bank. Its aim has been increased production and economic growth with an emphasis on full use of human resources. Education and training are therefore key strategies. Advocates of this approach argue that gender analysis makes good economic sense. This is because understanding men's and women's roles and responsibilities as part of the planning of

development activities helps improve effectiveness and ensures that women, as well as men, can play their part in national development.

The efficiency approach succeeded in bringing the concerns about women and gender into the mainstream of development. However, this was done with a focus on what women could do for development, rather than on what development could do for women.

But the economic reforms in effect undervalue paid work as they seek to restrict trade union activity and freeze wages of workers. They also burden women due to restrictions on social spending in areas such as health and education. Women are therefore spending much more time in caring for the ill. In so burdening women the reforms hinder progress towards meeting women's strategic needs.

4.2.5 The empowerment approach

? What do you think is empowerment approach and how it differs from others?

This is an approach closely associated with third world feminist and grassroots organisations. The aim of the empowerment approach is to increase the self-reliance of women and to influence change at the policy, legislative, societal, economic and other levels to their advantage. Its main point of reference is the “triple roles” of women and it emphasises women's access to decision-making. Its main strategy is awareness-raising and situates women firmly as active participants in ensuring change takes place. Building organizational skills and self-esteem is an important aspect of the empowerment approach.

The empowerment approach has been instrumental in ensuring that opportunities are opened for women to determine their own needs. However, empowerment has often been misunderstood to be an end rather than a means. This has resulted in poor women becoming very knowledgeable about issues while realising little change to their material situation, which is often dire.

Activity: 1

1. Discuss on WID, WAD and GAd
2. Describe the main difference among WID, WAD and GAD
3. Discuss on welfare, equality, antipoverty, efficiency and empowerment approaches
4. Which approach do you suggest to really bring women's development? Explain why?

UNIT FIVE

TECHNIQUES OF OPERATIONALIZING GENDER

Unit Introduction

Dear learner, the chapter is about techniques/tools of making gender issues operational under development programs and projects. The unit is divided into four sections. The first section gives due concern to gender analysis where issues like definitions, concepts, importance, framework and elements of gender analysis will be discussed. The second section is about gender planning where we will highlight on the importance of appropriate strategies in gender mainstreaming. The third section pays due regard to gender mainstreaming where we will discuss on issues like the definition, concept and steps in gender mainstreaming. The final section of the chapter is about gender budgeting and it is a call for government and other stakeholders to budget and finance their gender commitments and plans.

Unit Objectives

At the end of this chapter, learners will be able to:

- ✓ Define gender analysis and recognize its importance;
- ✓ Rationalize the need for gender planning;
- ✓ Define and identify the concept of gender mainstreaming; and
- ✓ Realize the importance of gender budgeting to operate gender commitments.

Unit Pre-Test Questions

1. What is gender analysis?
2. What is gender planning?
3. What are the steps involved in gender mainstreaming?
4. Why we need gender budgeting?

5.1 Gender Analysis

Section overview

Dear learner, do you know the meaning of gender analysis? What is the focus of gender analysis? Why gender analysis is important for mainstreaming? Well, in this section you will learn about the conceptual definitions of gender analysis, the framework of analysis and some key elements of gender analysis at different levels.

Section Objectives

Dear learner, upon the successful completion of this section, you will be able to:

- ✓ Define gender analysis;
- ✓ Explain the importance of gender analysis;

- ✓ Explain gender analysis framework; and
- ✓ Identify the key elements of gender analysis at different levels.

5.1.1 Concept and definition of gender analysis

The concept of gender analysis arose from the need to mainstream women's interests while at the same time acknowledging that women could not be treated as a homogeneous group. It was realized that women's needs were better understood when viewed in relation to men's needs and roles and to their social, cultural, political and economic context. Gender analysis thus takes into account women's roles in production, reproduction and management of community and other activities. Changes in one may produce beneficial or detrimental effects in others.

? How do you define gender analysis?

Gender analysis is a systematic way of looking at the different impacts of development, policies, programs and legislation on women and men that entails, first and foremost, collecting sex-disaggregated data and gender-sensitive information about the population concerned. Gender analysis can also include the examination of the multiple ways in which women and men, as social actors, engage in strategies to transform existing roles, relationships, and processes in their own interest and in the interests of others.

Gender analysis means a close examination of a problem or situation in order to identify the gender issues. Gender analysis of a development programme involves identifying the gender issues within the problem which is being addressed and in the obstacles to progress, so that these issues can be addressed in all aspects of the programme- in project objectives, in the choice of intervention strategy and the methods of program implementation.

Gender analysis is the systematic attempt to identify key issues contributing to gender inequalities so that they can be properly addressed. Gender analysis provides the basis for gender mainstreaming and is described as **“the study of differences in the conditions, needs, participation rates, access to resources and development, control of assets, decision-making powers, etc., between women and men in their assigned gender roles”**. Gender analysis is also needed to determine whether specific actions are needed for women or men in addition to mainstreaming activities.

Gender analysis refers to the socio-economic methodologies that identify and interpret the consequence of gender differences and relations for achieving development objectives.

? What is the purpose of gender analysis?

Applied to development interventions, gender analysis helps;

- a) Identify gender based differences in access to resources to predict how different members of households , groups, and societies will participate in and be affected by planned development interventions;

- b) Permit planners to achieve the goals of effectiveness, efficiency, equity and empowerment in designing policy reforms, and supportive programs and strategies;
- c) Develop training package to sensitize development staff on gender issues and training strategies for beneficiaries;
- d) A gender analysis is important because gender inequalities need to be identified before they can be addressed either through mainstreaming actions or specific actions directed to women or to men.
- e) A gender analysis provides information on the different roles of women and men at different levels, their respective access to and control over the material and non-material benefits of society, their priorities, needs and responsibilities.
- f) On the basis of a thorough gender analysis it will be possible to understand current gender inequalities in a given situation or sector and to propose a range of measures to be included in the project/program to address and redress the situation.
- g) A gender analysis is important when it is focused on institutions in order to determine how the nature of their services affects women and men, or how institutions themselves are also “gendered” in terms of recruitment practices, division of labor and decision-making. Policies and legislation can be analyzed in terms of gender outcomes or potential differential impacts on men and women.

? What can gender analysis tell us?

An analysis of gender relations can tell us who has access, who has control, who is likely to benefit from a new initiative, and who is likely to lose. Gender analysis asks questions that can lead us in a search for information to understand why the situation has developed the way it has. It can also lead us to explore assumptions about issues such as the distribution of resources and the impact of culture and traditions. It can provide the potential on the direct or indirect benefit of a development initiative on women and men, on some appropriate entry points for measures that promote equality within a particular context, and on how a particular development initiative may challenge or maintain the existing gender division of labor. With this information measures of equality can be created to address the disparities and promote equality.

For example, in the case of primary education, gender analysis can tell us that a gender gap exists in most countries; i.e. a gap between girls’ and boys’ enrolment retention in school. In the majority of countries where there is a gender gap, the gap works against girls, but in others, it works against boys. In India, an average six years-old girl is expected to spend in school three years less than a boy of the same age. Girls in rural areas are at even greater disadvantage; their risk of dropping out of school is three times that of a boy. In Jamaica, however, it is boys who are at higher risk of missing out on education. Boys are often pulled out of school and sent to work to boost family income, and thus, their drop-out rate is higher than that of girls’. In their efforts to balance the needs of both boys and girls, governments are increasingly using gender analysis to investigate the source of the gap and what measures can be adopted to reduce the distortions in the educational system

5. 1.3 Framework or tools for gender analysis

? What do you understand by a framework for gender analysis?

A framework may outline broad sets of beliefs and goals, or it may be more prescriptive and gives a set of tools and procedures. Because a frame selects a limited number of factors as key for analysis out of the huge numbers that actually have an influence on any situation, each framework produces only an approximate model. The selection of factors will reflect a set of values and assumptions that lie behind the framework and these will also tend to influence which approaches and interventions are considered and selected.

There are varieties of frameworks that have been developed to assist people in asking these questions. Each tool is different, with some advantages and disadvantages, some account for other social characteristics and factors better, while others are more participatory. Following are some examples:

1. The women's equality and empowerment framework (Longwe): builds on an analytical framework based on the interconnected principles of welfare, access, conscientization, participation, control and empowerment.
2. The Harvard Analytical framework (Harvard): is a tool to collect data at the community and household level. It has three main components: an activity profile (who does what?), an access and control profile (who has access and who controls what?), and an analysis of influencing factors (how does gender influence the profile?).
3. Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM) is designed as a tool for participative planning.
4. Capacities and vulnerabilities framework (CVA): is a way of collecting key information together in a visual and immediate format.
5. Social Relations Approach (SRA): is useful analytical tool in trying to understand complex realities.
6. People Oriented Planning (POP)

5.1.4 Key elements of a gender analysis at different levels

Gender analysis should be conducted at all levels, from the grass roots (the micro level) through intermediate levels (meso level) such as service delivery systems, to the highest political levels (macro level), and across all sectors and programs of development cooperation.

Micro Level (agency, household and community level):

- What is the division of labor amongst women, men, young and old? Who normally does what? Have there been changes due to war, migration for labor, HIV/AIDS pandemic or other reasons?
- Are there gendered inequalities in access to resources, including new resources? Who has control over different resources, including new ones, resources from institutions, development projects or other outside interventions (governmental, firms, etc)?
- What are the implications regarding having or not having control over resources?

- Resources do include non-material resources such as time, knowledge and information, or relationships (social capital)
- What factors influence access to and control over resources (for example: age, sex, position in an organization, wealth, rural/urban location, educational level, networks and patronage)?
- At the community level, how are decisions made about different resources and activities? Are women enabled to participate in informed decision making, if yes how? At household level: who makes the decisions about the use of different resources and the activities of the household members? Who decides about the mobility of the household members?
- Are there indications for agents of change of gender roles? Are initiatives for change welcome or oppressed?
- Which rites de passage do women and men have to go through in their life cycle? (cultural steps to take through different initiation rites)
- How is marriage organized, do women have the right to choose their husbands freely? Is there a bride price system, or a dowry system? Is there a practice of early child marriage and if yes, due to which arguments?
- What happens to women and girls, if they do not (want) fit into the culturally apt (e.g. arranged) marriage patterns? Does this hamper their access to resources, inheritance, etc?

Meso level (structural + relational level)

- Do service delivery structures (e.g. all civil service structures at this level – health, education, labor, transport, etc. – the police, the judiciary, etc) reflect gender balance in their membership and management?
- Do women and men have equal access to employment and services? Is equal treatment in terms of pay and benefit guaranteed for men and women?
- Do private sector businesses and institutions (including companies, banks, media, etc) reflect gender balance in their membership and management?
- Do women and men have equal access to employment and services?
- Is there occupational segregation of the labor market by gender, either horizontal or vertical?
- How is the participation of women and men in local governance organized?
- Are there any other culturally important decision-making bodies or structures (kinship, clans, tribal structures, etc.) which do influence people's life? How are women's and men's voices represented and how are decisions taken and implemented?

Macro level

- Have gender equality commitments have been made by the government in the context of international processes such as the Beijing process, the MDG process, or the ratification of CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women)?
- What are the concluding observations of the special procedures of the UN human rights system regarding the CEDAW reporting (also the Child Rights Convention is relevant) for special procedures and concluding observation of state reporting to the covenants

- Do national and sector policies reflect these commitments by their awareness of inequalities between men and women at different levels and the inclusion of means to address them?
- How do current policies, laws and regulations (e.g. voting rights, rights to inheritance and credit opportunities, rights to divorce and child custody, reproductive rights, etc.) impact differently on women and men?
- In national-level institutions (parliament, government ministries, universities, businesses) how are decisions made? How are women represented in the system? How are decisions taken?
- Is gender budgeting in place in parliament and/or local governments?
- Review the UNDP MDG reports on MDG 3 in a respective country; analyze the data of the Human Development and Gender Development /Gender Gap data available.

Activity: 1

1. Define and discuss on gender analysis.
2. Describe the Harvard Framework of gender analysis.
3. Explain some key elements in gender analysis at different level.

5.2 Gender planning

Section overview

Dear learner, in this section you are going to be acquainted with what gender planning means and why we require having it. Once gender analysis stage is complete, the following step is to make gender issues as part of the overall socio-economic development planning and so that possible to mainstream at all levels and in all sectors.

Section Objectives

Dear learner, upon the successful completion of this section, you will be able to:

- ✓ Describe what gender planning means;
- ✓ Identify gender needs and recognize how to consider it in planning.

?How do you understand gender planning?

There is considerable evidence that women and men use, contribute to and gain from their country in different ways and planning initiatives need to be gender-sensitive. It is critical to both increase women's participations in development alongside men as well as to improve the gender awareness of planners, managers and politicians. This can be justified on the grounds of gender equity, ensuring that the priorities of both women and men are addressed and that their needs are met, but it is also

important to bring in the knowledge, energy and expertise of both women and men into planning and management processes (Beall, 1997a).

The early literature on women and development critiqued the stereotypical assumptions of policy makers and planners for assuming that a) households were male-headed and nuclear, b) there was a gender division of labor involving men in paid work and women primarily in domestic work and child-rearing, (Moser 1987, 1993) and c) that there is a strong separation between the public and private sphere, with women confined to the latter (Whitzman 1995; Beall 1996; Pain 2001; Grundström 2005; Chant 2007b). But many of the more recent guidelines place considerable emphasis on analyzing the conditions and needs of various groups of men and women in particular contexts, rather than reading these off a priori. Nevertheless, the earlier formulations which attempted to highlight in generic ways how gender can be understood in relation to development and planning remain useful as tools for thinking about these issues.

For Moser (1987), gender planning is an approach that recognizes the fact that because women and men play different roles in society they often have different needs. Women have particular needs that differ from those of men, not only because of their triple role, but also because of their subordinate position in relation to men. It is, therefore, useful to consider gender needs in gender planning. From the onset of planning, it becomes of paramount importance to distinguish between practical gender needs and strategic interests of women so that the basic goals attempted at to address in planning are clearly identified.

The renewed emphasis on strategic planning enabled gender activists to advocate for gender mainstreaming - to ensure that a gender-blind approach was not reproduced in subsequent development efforts, and instead, that gender equality was achieved.

Reeves (2002) notes the following points to assess whether a strategic plan is likely to promote gender equality:

- relevant gendered information needs to be collected;
- women and men need to be represented on decision-making bodies;
- policies need to reflect different needs; and
- Measurable goals and outcomes need to be established.

More specifically geared towards practical implementation, much gender mainstreaming toolkit shows how to incorporate a consideration of gender into planning. It is based on a series of questions and can be used at any stage of the plan-making process. In summary, these are:

- Who are the planners?
- Who forms the policy team?
- Which sorts of people are perceived to be planned?
- How are statistics gathered and who do they include?
- What are the key values, priorities and objectives of the plan?
- Who is consulted and who is involved in participation?

- How are the planning proposals evaluated? By whom?
- How is the policy implemented, monitored and managed?
- Is gender mainstreaming fully integrated into all policy areas?

Thus, in the planning process, the implementation of gender mainstreaming usually entails the following elements: gender analysis; sex-disaggregated data; gender-sensitive indicators; institutional mechanisms; gender-responsive resource allocation; and gender partnerships and networks. Gender planning is usually based on the main problems identified at the stage of gender analysis. Once gender analysis is made the planning process involves the following steps:

- The first step is that key priority “gender objectives” have to be identified to start the process of making the intervention more gender aware;
- Second step is the identification of the major constraints and opportunities these gender objectives are expected to encounter (what to do?); and
- The last step is the development of an “entry strategy (planning)” to achieve the gender objectives and the steps necessary to overcome the constraints and assets (how to do it).

Activity-2

1. Why do you think is considering gender needs important in gender planning? Discuss.
2. Outline and discuss the gender planning process.

5.2 Gender Mainstreaming

Section overview

Under this section, the emphasis is on gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming is a contested concept and practice. It is the re-invention, re-structuring, and re-branding of a key part of feminism in the contemporary era. It is both a new form of gendered political and policy practice and it is a new gendered strategy for theory development. As a practice, gender mainstreaming is intended as a way of improving the affectivity of mainline policies by making visible the gendered nature of assumptions, processes and outcomes.

Section Objective

Dear learner, upon the successful completion of this section, you will be able to:

- ✓ Define what gender mainstreaming means;
- ✓ Elaborate on the elements of gender mainstreaming;
- ✓ Explain the steps to be followed in gender mainstreaming.

5. 3.1 Definitions and conceptual overview of gender mainstreaming

? How do you define gender mainstreaming?

The commonly accepted and most widely used definition of gender mainstreaming is the one adopted by the United Nations' Economic and Social Council: *"Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality."* (UN ECOSOC, 1997)

Similarly, the Commonwealth Secretariat (Leo-Rhynie et al 1999: 9) defines gender mainstreaming as the consistent use of a gender perspective at all stages of the development and implementation of policies, plans, programmes and projects. It involves:

- bringing about institutional change to ensure the empowerment of both women and men through equal participation in decision-making on issues which affect their lives
- analyzing all government policies and practices to examine the differential impact they have on men and women
- Providing training and capacity-building to enhance gender management and raise the general level of gender awareness.

? How do you think the concept of mainstreaming has evolved?

Gender mainstreaming is a flexible strategy that accommodates mainstreaming women into all projects, women-specific components, and separate projects and programmes directed exclusively at women.

According to UNDP, gender mainstreaming is a process of identifying and taking full account of the relationships between men and women in all of an agency's policies, strategies, programs, administrative and financial activities at every level. Gender mainstreaming offers a dynamic way of determining and enhancing development potential of both women and men and identifying constraints that each faces, and it entails:

- Being informed of the gender characteristics of a given population;
- Taking full account of this information in the development of policy and program activities;
- Appraising all program documentation in the light of known gender information;
- Consistent monitoring of all activities to ensure equitable gender outcomes.

Gender mainstreaming includes both the issue of equality and mainstream. Mainstreaming includes gender specific activities and affirmative action, whenever women or men are at a particular disadvantageous position. Gender-specific intervention can target women exclusively, men and women together, or only men, to enable them to participate in and benefit equally from development

efforts. These are necessary temporary measures designed to combat the direct and indirect consequences of past discrimination.

Mainstreaming is not adding ‘women’s component’ or even a ‘gender equality component’ in to an existing activity. It goes beyond increasing women’s participation; it means bringing the experience, knowledge, and interests of women and men to bear on the development agenda. It may require changes in goals, strategies and actions so that both men and women can influence, participate in, and benefit from development processes. The goal of mainstreaming gender equality is thus the transformation of unequal social and institutional structures in to equal and just structure for both men and women.

Gender mainstreaming was adopted as a major strategy for promoting gender equality at the Fourth World Conference of Women in 1995. It called for mainstreaming in all ‘Critical Areas of Concern’ at the conference which included poverty, human rights, economy, violence against women and armed conflict. In addition, the Beijing Platform for Action established that gender analysis should be undertaken on the respective situation and contributions of both women and men before undertaking development policies and programs.

The inclusion of a goal on gender equality and the empowerment of women in the MDGs re-established the commitment voiced in Beijing. In addition, in outlining the way forward toward achieving that goal, the report of the Task Force on Education and Gender Equality of the UN Millennium Project reinforced the importance of investing in gender mainstreaming as a tool and reiterated (repeated) the need to expedite (accelerate) mainstreaming responses and actions and put in place the systems to hold institutions accountable.

This is especially important now because the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDG), especially MDG₃ on gender equality and the empowerment of women, offer an invaluable opportunity to reinvigorate efforts to achieve positive development outcomes. Besides, the vast body of experience and knowledge gained over the past three decades on what works and what doesn’t in development interventions across different sectors is available to be applied to make greater and more rapid progress on mainstreaming gender into operations. As results emerge and development effectiveness improves from mainstreaming gender, it is believed that the success and growing experience will generate additional interest, learning and enthusiasm, and the process will gather momentum. Changes at the operations level will also improve the lives of women and men, the purpose for which gender mainstreaming was adopted. Concrete results in terms of increased development effectiveness constitute a way forward in the current impasse with gender mainstreaming and will make important and growing contributions towards achieving the wider institutional goals of empowerment and equality for low-income and disenfranchised people that are not currently being met.

Gender mainstreaming is a powerful new development in feminist theory and practice. While most frequently understood as a specialized tool of a policy world, it is also a feminist strategy that draws

on and can inform feminist theory. It is an international phenomenon, originating in development policies, and adopted by the UN at the 1995 conference of Women in Beijing (Walby, 2003)

Gender mainstreaming was adopted mainly to address the perceived failure of previous strategies such as women-specific projects to bring about significant changes in women's status. There was widespread consensus that the failures of women-specific projects in the 1970s and 1980s were due to their marginalization. Gender mainstreaming was designed to overcome this marginalization and to bring gender equality issues into the core of development activities. In the decade since gender mainstreaming was endorsed and adopted by countries and institutions, however, it has yet to be fully implemented anywhere.

The primary objective behind gender mainstreaming is to design and implement development projects, programs and policies that;

1. Do not reinforce existing gender inequalities (gender neutral)
2. Attempt to redress existing gender inequalities (gender sensitive)
3. Attempt to redefine women and men's gender roles and relations (gender positive/transformative)

5. 3.2 Steps in Gender Mainstreaming

The 10 Steps for Gender Mainstreaming include:

1. A mainstreaming approach to stakeholders: who are the decision makers?

This step concerns the project and policy making context. The actors involved in the process, along with their values and understanding of gender issues, will significantly determine the outcome of your policy or project. During step one you should seek answers to the following three key questions:

- *Who are the stakeholders? Do they include individuals or groups with a "gender perspective"?*
- *Is there gender balance in all institutions and bodies involved?*
- *Where is gender expertise available?*

2. Mainstreaming a gender agenda: What is the issue?

During this step, you should first identify the main development problem or issue at hand. This can be accomplished by answering the following basic questions:

- *What is the subject of your project or policy-making initiative?*
- *Does this issue affect men and women in different ways?*

3. Moving towards gender equality: What is the goal?

Once you have identified the "subject" of your project or policy-making initiative, you should discern what your goal is. You can do this by asking:

- *What do we want to achieve?*
- *Is the goal disaggregated by gender?*

- *Does the goal include a broader commitment to improving gender equality?*

These broad goals will be translated into specific targets and objectives (see step 6), and once you have refined the question (see step 5) you are ready to develop concrete policy interventions.

4. Mapping the situation: What information do we have?

Mapping the Situation is a critical stage for introducing *efficiency* into the mainstreaming process. Three tools and exercises are suggested that will help you answer the above questions:

- Mapping exercise
- Policy review from a gender perspective
- Legislative review from a gender perspective

5. Refining the issue: research and analysis

This phase involves:

i) Specifying the Research Question:

ii) Determining necessary inputs:

iii) Commissioning the Research: Regardless of whether the research is conducted in-house or outsourced, you should refer to the following questions when evaluating any research proposals:

- **Actors:** Who will be involved in the gathering and analysis of data? Is gender balance and a gender perspective (expertise) ensured?
- **Subjects:** Will the situation of both genders be researched? Will data be disaggregated by gender?
- **Methodology:** What methodology will be used? Is it sensitive to both men's and women's particular needs? (e.g. confidentiality, sensitivity to some issues)
- **Analytical Axes:** Does the research include gender as an important variable in determining social processes? Are other important axes for analysis considered (ethnicity, socio-economic status, geographical location, etc.)?
- **Theoretical Framework:** Is knowledge of gender analysis frameworks demonstrated? Will these frameworks be used in the analysis of data?
- **Credibility:** Have steps been taken to ensure that results will be credible in the eyes of all stakeholders (will they have the chance to provide inputs and comments)?

6. Formulating policy or project interventions from a gender perspective

Choosing the “correct” course for policy or project intervention is rarely straightforward. It involves balancing a number of crucial considerations, including *efficiency*—cost-benefit analysis; *effectiveness*—the degree to which your goal will be met; and *social justice*, including *gender equality*—the extent to which social and historical disadvantages between different groups in society are addressed and compensated.

Gender mainstreaming checklist for project or policy documents includes:

Background and Justification: Is the gender dimension highlighted in background information to the intervention? Does the justification include convincing arguments for gender mainstreaming and gender equality?

Goals: Does the goal of the proposed intervention reflect the needs of both men and women? Does the goal seek to correct gender imbalances through addressing practical needs of men and women? Does the goal seek to transform the institutions (social and other) that perpetuate gender inequality?

Target Beneficiaries: Except where interventions specifically target men or women as a corrective measure to enhance gender equality, is there gender balance within the target beneficiary group?

Objectives: Do the intervention objectives address needs of both women and men?

Activities: Do planned activities involve both men and women? Are any additional activities needed to ensure that a gender perspective made explicit (e.g. training in gender issues, additional research, etc.)?

Indicators: Have indicators been developed to measure progress towards the fulfillment of each objective? Do these indicators measure the gender aspects of each objective? Are indicators gender disaggregated? Are targets set to guarantee a sufficient level of gender balance in activities (e.g. quotas for male and female participation)?

Implementation: Who will implement the planned intervention? Have these partners received gender mainstreaming training, so that a gender perspective can be sustained throughout implementation? Will both women and men participate in implementation?

Monitoring and Evaluation: Does the monitoring and evaluation strategy include a gender perspective? Will it examine both substantive (content) and administrative (process) aspects of the intervention?

Risks: Has the greater context of gender roles and relations within society been considered as a potential risk (i.e. stereotypes or structural barriers that may prevent full participation of one or the other gender)? Has the potential negative impact of the intervention been considered (e.g. potential increased burden on women or social isolation of men)?

Budget: Have financial inputs been “gender-proofed” to ensure that both men and women will benefit from the planned intervention? Has the need to provide gender sensitivity training or to engage short-term gender experts been factored in to the budget?

Annexes: Are any relevant research papers (or excerpts) included as annexes (particularly those that provide sound justification of your attention to gender)?

Communication Strategy: Has a communication strategy been developed for informing various publics about the existence, progress and results of the project from a gender perspective?

7. Arguing your case: gender matters!

One crucial aspect of gender mainstreaming involves developing arguments for gender equality. Because experience has shown that decision makers are sometimes reluctant to devote scarce resources to gender equality activities, decision-makers (especially those who control budgets) need to be convinced that their investment in gender equality will have pay-offs.

Decision-makers need to be presented with arguments that highlight, *concretely and precisely*, why gender matters. In other words, you must illustrate what development problems gender equality contributes to solving, and what specific benefits a gender-aware perspective will bring to the government, individuals –both men and women - and the nation as whole. Well-defined arguments will increase your chances of receiving financial and moral support for any planned interventions. Arguments for adapting a gendered approach and for promoting gender equality in all projects and policies generally fall into one of the following six categories:

i) ***Justice and equality arguments:*** These stress the value of democratic principles and basic human rights, which demand gender equality. Justice arguments can be used to argue for equal representation and participation of both genders in various contexts, premised on the basic notion of their shared human rights. Most states are party to a variety of normative documents (for example, The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and global conference documents from Beijing, Copenhagen and Cairo), all of which establish gender equality as a fundamental principle. States are obliged to fulfill these commitments, especially as many basic democratic principles articulated here reflect most states' own constitutions.

ii) ***Credibility and Accountability Arguments:*** Credibility arguments ask decision makers to “do the math”: because women and men each make up half of the population, any data, policy or recommendation that does not recognize and address both genders equally will be ultimately flawed, and will thus have no credibility. These arguments are useful for justifying gender impact assessments (studies that examine how men and women are, will be or have been differently affected by actions or situational factors), or calling for more gender balance in decision-making processes. Accountability arguments in particular are useful for reminding governments of their responsibility to ensure social justice and sustainable human development.

iii) ***Efficiency and Sustainability Arguments:*** These arguments make clear an irrefutable fact: equal inclusion of men and women in all aspects of development and society pays off for the country as a whole. Nations cannot afford to ignore the contributions and economic and social capacities of both men and women in all spheres, and the development of any country that does will ultimately suffer in the medium and long term. This is an argument that addresses “macro” aspects of development – i.e. the welfare and prosperity of a nation as a whole; that investment in gender equality will pay off for the country as a whole in the future.

These arguments are particularly effective because they address the bottom line: money. They prove that investment in gender equality will pay off for the country as a whole in the future. Global studies have been done that prove the overall efficiency arguments– these can assist you to make your argument, as will any national research you have to substantiate your case. Because gender mainstreaming adopts a “human development” perspective, it is inextricably about ensuring sustainability. And because gender mainstreaming demands a holistic approach to policy making where coordination and cooperation (both vertical and horizontal) are key, interventions are more likely to be sustainable.

iv) **Quality of Life Arguments:** while it is commonly recognized that women stand to benefit from increased attention to gender equality, quality of life arguments also point out the benefits to be gained by men and families as well. They stress the importance of social relationships and interdependence of social actors, claiming, for example, that if women are empowered, those closest to them stand to gain as well. On the flip-side, inequality or hardship for one gender will negatively affect other social actors as well. For example, the negative effects of depression in men or poor employment opportunities for women affect families, children and spouses as well.

Moreover, quality of life arguments are useful for promoting a gender dimension in programs aimed at curbing social “pathologies”. For example, issues such as suicide, alcoholism, addictions and chronic stress are strongly linked to changing gender roles and relations in society and the inability of individuals to cope and adapt. The argument here therefore underlines how a gender perspective can limit these pathologies and improve the quality of life of members of society.

v) **Alliance Arguments:** Alliance arguments highlight gender equality as a prerequisite for forging formal alliances or partnerships with other nations. In the context of Eastern and Central Europe, the most salient example is European Union integration: candidate countries for EU accession are mandated to implement various instruments for the promotion of gender equality as a prerequisite for EU membership.

vi) **Chain Reaction Arguments:** Lastly, all of the above arguments are strengthened when the links between them are highlighted. Gender equality can in fact produce a “chain reaction” of benefits, just as the effects of gender inequality can be passed on from individuals to families and communities. The “chain reaction” argument highlights how sound the investment in gender equality actually is: it will bring not only short-term, localized benefits, but medium and long-term benefits that will ripple (flow) through society strengthening the nation as a whole. At the same time, mainstreaming should also remain aware of “chain reactions” that might produce negative gender equality effects if not anticipated and dealt with in an integrated manner. For example, a “top down” mandate for family-friendly workplaces might bring backlash and even greater exposure to harassment against women in their place of work. Similarly, advancement of women may lead to greater depression and pathological behavior among men. These risks highlight the crucial need to create complex strategies for gender mainstreaming, whereby a number of initiatives are mutually reinforcing. Thus a negative chain reaction argument can be used to convince decision-makers that mainstreaming must proceed in a *strategic and holistic* manner.

8. Monitoring: keeping a (gender-sensitive) eye on things

Monitoring is an indivisible aspect of gender mainstreaming. Three aspects of monitoring include:

I. Levels of monitoring: Monitoring should take place at two different levels: Monitoring *progress* towards fulfilling substantive goals and objectives and monitoring the implementation *process*. Both require setting targets (goals) and developing indicators to measure progress towards meeting those targets. When *monitoring progress towards substantive goals and objectives*, indicators must be

developed that track the delivery of specified outputs (activities) and outcomes (impact). When *monitoring the implementation process*, targets and indicators must be developed that track the extent to which the process itself is gender-sensitive. Monitoring the process will:

- allow you to identify hindrances and gaps in the process that can be immediately redressed
- allow you to improve the design of future initiatives
- document obstacles to mainstreaming that can be later addressed in a wider institutional context

II. Gender-sensitive monitoring plans: Plans for monitoring both substantive progress and the implementation process should be developed and included in the official document outlining your intervention. These plans should specify:

- who is responsible for monitoring tasks
- how other stakeholders will participate in the monitoring process
- when monitoring will take place
- what tools will be used to record observations what mechanisms exist to review progress (periodic appraisal or review sessions)

Questions to consider in monitoring the process might include:

- Are men and women equally participating in project decision-making?
- Are men and women treated with equal respect, as decision-makers, implementers and participants?
- Are those involved in project implementation continually motivated to maintain a gender perspective (opportunities to update their gender knowledge and skills, and discuss gender issues in a non-judgmental environment)?

9. Evaluation: how did we do?

The culmination of the monitoring process occurs during Step 9: Evaluation. This stage is vital for establishing good practices and lessons learned from your initiative, for the ultimate purpose of improving initiatives in the future. Evaluation is also a question of **accountability** for resources used. Three levels of evaluation include:

1. Evaluation of *outputs* (Have objectives been met?)
2. Evaluation of *outcomes* (To what extent has the development goal been achieved?)
3. Evaluation of *process* (How were outputs and outcomes delivered?)

In order to mainstream a gender perspective, key questions to consider at all levels of evaluation include:

Evaluation criteria

- Who determines the evaluation criteria?
- What level of importance or priority is afforded to gender equality considerations?

Evaluation Actors

- Do evaluators' Terms of Reference specify the need for gender expertise?
- Are all stakeholders involved in the evaluation process?
- Who will provide inputs for evaluation data?

- Will the opinions of both men and women be considered?
- Who will be responsible for consolidating inputs and determining the validity and priority of differing opinions or observations?

Evaluation Process

- Will participatory methods be used?
- How and to whom will results of the evaluation be disseminated?
- Will both men and women stakeholders be given the opportunity to formally comment on or state their reservations about the evaluation results?

To ensure the sustainability of mainstreaming efforts, consider the following:

- How does your initiative fit into the “*big picture*”, i.e. more comprehensive government programmes and policy frameworks? What entry points for follow-up and complementary activities does this framework offer?
- Does your evaluation include concrete *recommendations* for follow-up initiatives? What other entry points can be accessed to ensure this follow-up?
- Does your evaluation point to *implications* for other ministries or stakeholders more broadly? How will you communicate these implications? Can you propose any concrete entry points?
- Are you documenting the process and results of your initiatives in a way that will guarantee *institutional memory*?
- In general, how and to whom are you *communicating* the results of your initiatives?

10. En-gendering communication

While “communication” figures as the last step in this gender mainstreaming guide, communication considerations themselves need to be “mainstreamed” or integrated at all phases of the project or policy cycle. Communication with other stakeholders - from civil society to your superiors – is necessary at all stages and all levels. In every case, the way in which you communicate (both pro-actively and reactively) will influence the success of your project or policy.

One of the *barriers* to effective gender mainstreaming is a *lack of information* on various levels, including:

- about the situation, from a gender perspective
- about government or organizational mandates for gender equality
- about policies and programs targeting gender equality
- about stakeholders and efforts of other actors in promoting gender equality

Part of your role must be to design and implement effective communication strategies to help *bridge this information gap* for a diverse set of publics. These publics include:

- Top-level policy makers and decision-makers
- Other policy-makers
- Different groups within civil society (men, women, activists, academics, etc)
- Donors and Development Partners

Using a gender perspective when designing communication, strategies should highlight the different ways in which men and women respond to different messages. Key questions you might ask during a gender analysis of communication strategies include:

- Do men and women read different publications?
- Do men and women watch or listen to different electronic media?
- Are media consumption patterns (frequency, time) different for men and women?
- Do men and women have different credibility criteria (regarding “authorities”, arguments used, etc)?
- Do men and women have different values that cause them to respond to certain messages in different ways?

Possible interventions for communicating progress in gender mainstreaming:

- Preparation of an Annual Report on Gender;
- Use of Electronic Media;
- Establishment of a Gender Policy Resource Centre.

 **Activity –3**

1. Define the concept of gender mainstreaming?
2. Explain the elements of gender mainstreaming?
3. What are the key steps involved in gender mainstreaming?

5.4 Gender Budgeting

★ Section Overview

Dear learner, here is the section on gender budgeting. Gender budgets are tools for testing a government's gender mainstreaming commitments - linking policy commitments across government departments with their budgets. Without a suitable economic underpinning, a government's equality commitments are unlikely to be realized. Gender budgeting can be used in any phase of the budget cycle, from planning and identifying objectives and identifying the financial allocations to meet these objectives, to an evaluation of the extent to which these objectives have been met.

Section Objective

Dear learner, upon the successful completion of this section, you will be able to:

- ✓ Define what gender budgeting means;
- ✓ Explain gender budgeting initiative;
- ✓ Explain policy areas covered by gender budgeting;
- ✓ Discuss on the main actors of gender budget.

5.4.1. Definitions and concepts of gender budgeting

? Dear learner, how do you think gender budgeting is defined?

A gender budget is not a separate budget for women; instead it is an approach which can be used to highlight the gap between policy statements and the resources committed to their implementation, ensuring that public money is spent in more gender-equitable ways. The issue is not whether we are spending the same on women and men, but whether the spending is adequate to women and men's needs (Rake, 2002). As Sharp & Broomhill (2002) explain: *"gender budgeting is a mechanism for establishing whether a government's gender equality commitments translate into budgetary commitments."*

? What is a gender budget initiative?

Gender budgeting aims at analyzing any form of public expenditure and income from a gender perspective, i.e. it identifies the different implications that public income and spending have on girls and women, as well as different groups of women, as compared to boys and men. The final objective of gender budgeting is to shape budgets so that they actively promote gender equality.

„Gender budgeting ... means a gender-based assessment of budgets, incorporating a gender perspective at all levels of the budgetary process and restructuring revenues and expenditures in order to promote gender equality.“

Gender budgeting exercises now take place in more than forty countries around the world, originally inspired by the early experience of countries such as Australia and given further momentum by the United Nation's commitment to gender budgeting in the Beijing Platform for Action. They take place both inside and outside government and there is a wide diversity in the ways in which they are conducted and their scope. Gender budget initiatives go beyond the assessment of programs targeted specifically at women and girls and seek to expose assumptions of 'gender neutrality' within all economic policy - raising awareness and understanding that budgets will impact differently on women and men because of their different social and economic positioning.

Originally the initiatives were termed 'women's budgets' because the focus was on the impact on women and girls. More recently the emphasis has shifted to 'gender' as a category for analysis and to avoid any misunderstanding that activists are working to produce a separate budget for women (Sharp & Broomhill, 2002). Sharp and Broomhill explain that most gender budgeting initiatives have three core goals. They seek to: (1) mainstream gender issues within government policies; (2) promote greater accountability for governments' commitment to gender equality; and (3) change budgets and policies.

Aims/objectives of gender budgeting:

- Increasing women's participation in economic decision-making and budgetary processes.
- Enhancing public consultation and participation in the preparation and monitoring of budgets. Gender budgeting not only aims at an increased participation of women, but at an overall increase of citizen's understanding of budgetary issues.

- Improving the transparency and efficiency in terms of results of the government's budgetary decisions.
- Increasing the possibility to hold governments accountable for their commitments towards gender equality. By making the budgetary process more consultative and transparent; governments can be pressed to assume their responsibility for drawing up gender sensitive budgets.
- Providing a critical tool for monitoring spending. Even though commitments to gender equality might be present in the budget, the actual expenditure might still not promote equality between women and men. It is therefore important to not only look at the planned budgetary measures, but to also evaluate the actual spending and their effects on women and men.
- Developing an alternative set of values by applying beneficiary assessments which evaluate whether women and men believe that budgets meet their needs or not.

?What are the benefits of gender budgeting?

As Himmelweit (2002) explains, gender budgeting can benefit society both by reducing socio-economic gender inequalities and by ensuring that public money is better targeted and spent more efficiently, improving policy outcomes. Gender budgeting also brings internal benefits to government. By strengthening the collection and analysis of gender-disaggregated data and enhancing the ability to determine the real value of resources targeted towards women and men – gender budget initiatives can provide a better understanding of how resources are being spent and increase the efficiency of policy.

?What are the methodologies available for gender budgeting?

It should be noted that gender budgeting is a relatively new concept and as a result the tools and techniques used to apply the theory are still evolving. Additionally, methodology should and will differ internationally, as it is adapted to the national or even regional context. Basically gender budgeting can involve analyzing any form of public expenditure, or method of raising public money, from a gender perspective and identifying the implications and impacts for women and girls as compared to men and boys. Several toolkits for gender budgeting have been developed at different times and one key tool is gender impact assessment (GIA). GIA focuses on analysis beyond the family or household level, looking at the individual and extends beyond the public, paid economy to the more private, unpaid sphere in which women and their caring work predominate at present. It gives consideration to the longer-term consequences of policy and takes account of the differentials in women's and men's responses to economic incentives.

? What policy areas do you think are covered by gender budgeting?

Well, gender budgeting theory and practice has grown out of a widening understanding that economic policy can contribute to narrowing or widening gender gaps across a broad spectrum of policy areas including health, education, welfare, transport and development - hence gender budget initiatives can be applied to any policy area. Additionally, gender budgeting is applicable to both macro and micro level economic policy and to both public spending and revenue. Most initiatives

around the world have focused on public expenditure except some, like in UK, where there is private expenditure that focus women. In practice, the extent of gender budget initiatives vary from the broadest analysis of the entire national budget to the more narrow expenditure of selected government departments or programmes or narrower still, the expenditure on new projects, selected forms of revenue, changes in the tax system or the implementation of new legislation. The extent to which the practice is applied will depend upon government commitment to gender budgeting, resources and expertise available, national and international pressure etc.

? How is gender incorporated to the national budget?

One of the most important areas of government macro-economic policy is the national budget, which deals with both public revenue and public expenditure across all policy areas and expresses the social and economic priorities of the government. The national budget is therefore a key opportunity for carrying out a gender budgeting initiative. Gender budgeting does not focus solely on gender specific programs; rather it aims to expose assumptions of gender neutrality across the policy spectrum.

5.4.2 Actors in gender budgeting

? Who are the actors involved in gender budgeting?

The nature of gender budget initiatives varies internationally. We have international, regional, national and local actors. They have been undertaken at national, provincial or local levels and coordinated and led by both governments and civil society groups. There are advantages and disadvantages of each type of exercise. Inside government groups have the benefits of access to government information and the capacity to make direct contributions to the budgetary and economic policy decision-making process. Outside civil society initiatives (for example in the UK, South Africa and Tanzania) may suffer resource and data constraints, but their distance from government allows them to take a critical stance and encourage public debate (Sharp & Broomhill, 2002).

1. International Agencies: A number of multi- and bi-lateral agencies have expressed support of gender budget initiatives, including: the Commonwealth Secretariat; the International Development Research Centre (IDRC); the European Union (EU); the Nordic Council (of their own budget); the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM); the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA); the Swiss Development Corporation; German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ); the UK Department for International Development (DFID); the Governments of Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway, and the United Nations Development Program. Most significantly the United Nations' Beijing Platform for Action called for the integration of a gender perspective into budgetary decision-making and called for governments to be accountable for their gender equality commitments. Additionally the World Bank has promoted the idea of gender budget analysis

through its gender publications, in particular the models used in Tanzania and South Africa. And the UN European Economic Commission also has plans to support work on gender and budgets.

2. National Actors: At national level a range of actors can play a role in gender budgeting. Initiatives should engage across as many of these groups as possible. The most important actor is, obviously, the government, but other actors are also involved as follow;

Government: Experience has shown that gender budget initiatives are most effective when the Ministry of Finance (due to its role in the budgeting process) takes the lead in a government initiative - ideally with close engagement with the Ministry for Gender or Women's affairs. However Budlender et al (2002) note that due to absence of established working relationships between the two ministries, some countries have experienced a sidelining of the latter - and so valuable gender expertise is lost from the process. Although the Ministry of Finance is likely to take the lead, other ministries should also play a significant role in the process as it should not be assumed that any government policy is gender neutral. At the outset of the gender budgeting process most governments involve just two or three other key departments - typically health and education – departments that account for a large proportion of government expenditure and have particular relevance for women and those experiencing poverty. Another sector such as agriculture or transport may also be selected to demonstrate that gender budgeting has a role to play outside of the social sector. Within each ministry it is important that the more senior civil servants understand the need for gender budgeting initiatives and support them in principle and that there are civil servants who are equipped with the skills to carry them out.

Parliament: Gender budget initiatives are also likely to engage with parliamentarians - particularly women members - for example through lobbying activities, awareness raising seminars and fact sheets for their reference and use in the scrutiny and audit of government's public expenditure and revenue plans. However Budlender et al (2002) suggest that the effect of this methodology is limited - most parliamentarians are likely to have little or no powers to amend the national budget, although there is unrealized potential in their powers to audit the national budget. However parliamentarians have had a prominent role in both the South African and the Ugandan initiatives - but a few key individuals have led this participation. The Swiss parliament has a high level of budgetary power, but this is set to decrease dramatically with the introduction of New Public Management.

Civil Society groups: As the Australian example proved, the success of gender budgeting initiatives is limited without the involvement of civil society groups to keep up the pressure and provide expertise. Often the people involved in these groups are the contemporaries of the government officials so have a good working relationship. They are drawn upon to conduct research and even provide training for Government officials. In the South African, Tanzanian and Ugandan examples, NGO groups work alongside the government, acting as 'critical friends' and nudging the government further in the direction of a gender equality agenda. In the UK, the Women's Budget Group has been instrumental in encouraging the Government to commit to a gender budgeting approach. However there can be skepticism among some external gender economists about the ability of government to tackle gender issues adequately and, conversely, governments can be suspicious of NGOs.

Additionally, NGOs have concerns about maintaining their independent voice and critical distance. In the Tanzanian example, in which NGOs have worked especially close to government, this was a particular concern amongst the activists.

Academics: Some of the NGO initiatives draw on the expertise of academics, particularly feminist economists. Several initiatives, such those planned in Bangladesh and Italy are led by academics. Other initiatives, such as the UK Women's Budget Group are led jointly by academics and others from NGOs and trades unions. It is useful for these groups to come together to ensure that research is focused on what is useful for advocacy purposes and so that advocates have enough depth of knowledge to pursue their gender budgeting objectives.

Individuals: Individuals in key positions have been essential in ensuring the success of many projects - for example in Barbados, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Namibia. But ideally initiatives should not be reliant on the support of individuals, as once these key players move on or are replaced the project may suffer setbacks - as in South Africa and Mozambique. Initiatives should aim to build up a firm support base and institutionalize gender budget processes while these people have power and the climate is favorable.

3. Regional and Local Actors: An increasing amount of gender budgeting work is being done at the sub-national level, encouraged by the international trend to decentralize budgeting functions and power. Chile, Mexico, Peru, the Philippines, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Spain (in the Basque Country) are among the countries who are already having initiated work at this level. There are benefits to the decentralization of both the budgets and the gender budget projects - with the public becoming more engaged with the process now they can see the direct impact of budget decisions. The Ugandan Forum for Women in Democracy argues that local level interventions are most appropriate in their country where women are unlikely to have the resources to engage with decision making outside of their own locality. However, Budlender et al (2002) advise gender budget activists to be wary of decentralization. Inequality can grow between regions, functions may be decentralized but not the spending power and it can mean the state is absolving itself of responsibility of the budgeting function and hence nationally agreed gender budgeting arrangements.

Activity – 4

1. Describe the concept of gender budgeting
2. Discuss on the gender budgeting initiatives
3. Explain actors in gender budgeting at international, national and regional levels.

CHAPTER SIX: GENDER ISSUES IN ETHIOPIA

★ Unit Introduction

Dear learners, well come to the last but the most interesting chapter. This chapter takes you to consider some issues of gender in Ethiopia and also some policy measures taken by the government of as well. Hence, the chapter is divided in to two main sections. After brief introduction of the concept to Ethiopian context, the first section provides a discussion on some gender related issues in Ethiopia which includes gender and poverty, violence against women, women and participation, women and health, women and education, women empowerment, women and media, women work status, etc. The last section is on gender policy and implementation machinery in Ethiopia where you will be overviewed with some international and national commitments made by Ethiopian government and the means to implement these commitments.

Objectives

At the end of this chapter, learners will be able to:

- ❖ Explain the concept of gender in Ethiopian context;
- ❖ Describe the various gender related issues in Ethiopia;
- ❖ Conceptualize gender policy and its implementation machinery in Ethiopia.

★ Pre-Test Questions

1. How do to understand the concept of gender to Ethiopian context?
2. What are some of the gender issues in Ethiopia?
3. What policies and implementation machineries adopted by Ethiopian government?

6.1. Gender issues in Ethiopia and legal measures adopted

★ Section overview

Dear learners, in this section of the unit you will be provided with the discussion on the concept and issues of gender in Ethiopia which includes gender and poverty, violence against women, women and participation, women and health, women and education, etc.

Section Objective

Dear learner, upon the successful completion of this section, you will be able to:

- ✓ Elaborate the concept of gender in Ethiopia;
- ✓ Recognize some issues of gender in Ethiopia.

6.1. Conceptual overview

The issue of gender inequality can be considered as a universal feature of developing countries. Unlike women in developed countries who are, in relative terms, economically empowered and have a powerful voice that demands an audience and positive action, women in developing countries are generally silent and their voice has been stifled by economic and cultural factors. Economic and cultural factors, coupled with institutional factors dictate the gender-based division of labor, rights, responsibilities, opportunities, and access to and control over resources. Education, literacy, access to media, employment, decision making, among other things, are some of the areas of gender disparity.

The problems of gender inequalities discussed above are very much prevalent in and relevant to Ethiopia. Ethiopia is a patriarchal society that keeps women in a subordinate position and remains one of Africa's most traditions bound societies. (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003). There is a belief that women are docile, submissive, patient, and tolerant of monotonous work and violence, for which culture is used as a justification (Hirut, 2004).

The socialization process, which determines gender roles, is partly responsible for the subjugation of women in the country. Ethiopian society is socialized in such a way that girls are held inferior to boys. In the process of upbringing, boys are expected to learn and become self-reliant, major bread winners, and responsible in different activities, while girls are brought up to conform, be obedient and dependent, and specialize in indoor activities like cooking, washing clothes, fetching water, caring for children, etc. (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003; Hirut, 2004).

The differences in the ways in which individuals are treated through the socialization process, mainly due to their sex status, leads to the development of real psychological and personality differences between males and females (Almaz, 1991). For instance, a female informant in Arsi stated that a man is a big person who has higher social position and knowledge, who can govern others and think in wider perspectives; while a woman is a person who can serve a man, who is like the husband's object transferred through marriage, and to whom he can do anything he wishes to do (Hirut, 2004). These socially induced differences between males and females result in discriminatory rewards, statuses, opportunities and roles as shall be discussed below.

6.1.2 Critical areas of gender issues in Ethiopia

? What are some of the issues related to gender in Ethiopia?

a) Poverty and gender

Although women's contribution to their households, food production and national economies is immense, it has not been translated into better access to resources or decision-making powers. As a result, women remained to be the poorest of the poor constituting 70% of the global poor. Women in Ethiopia face similar constraints. Due to the different roles and responsibilities men and women

have in the society, the causes and experiences of poverty also differ by gender. Rights such as, access to land, credit and other productive resources are difficult for women to attain. Women make up half of the population and the majority of the poor and illiterate in the country. Though women play a vital role in production activities, in addition to shouldering reproductive responsibility, they are denied recognition and access to resources. Cultural attitudes and harmful traditional practices are major factors which relegate women to a subordinate position.

Like other least developing countries (LDCs), Ethiopia in 2002 also started the preparation of the final draft of poverty reduction strategy paper immediately after the approval of the interim poverty reduction strategy paper. The final document entitled "sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) provides a sound basis to continue the implementation of the sustainable development and poverty reduction program activities in the country. Given poverty reduction will continue to be the core of the agenda of the country's development, the strategy is built on four pillars (building blocks). These are Agriculture Development led Industrialization (ADLI), Justice System and Civil Service Reform, Decentralization and Empowerment, and Capacity building in public and private sectors.

Taking the significance of addressing the gender dimension of poverty into consideration, a lot of advocacy and lobbying work has been done by the government and Non Government Organization (NGOs) and other actors to incorporate gender issues in both the interim and final poverty reduction programs. Efforts have also been done by the Women's Affairs Office of the Prime Minister Office (WAO/PMO) in terms of advocacy and lobbying the issue to be embedded in the overall SDPRP. As a result of these and other effort made by various stakeholders, gender and development has been incorporated as a cross cutting issue in the SDPRP.

b) Violence against women

Violence against women is a general problem in Ethiopia, where culturally based abuses, including wife beating and marital rape, are pervasive social problems. A July 2005 World Bank study concluded that 88 percent of rural women and 69 percent of urban women believed their husbands had the right to beat them. While women had recourse via the police and courts, societal norms and limited infrastructure prevented many women from seeking legal redress, particularly in rural areas. The government prosecutes offenders only on a limited scale. The population sex ratio in Ethiopia has been stable (around 99%) for the past 50 years, and the occurrence of missing women is not widespread in the country.

? What are some of the traditional and socio-cultural practices against women in Ethiopia?

Violence against women such as rape, domestic violence, abduction for marriage, sexual harassment, female genital mutilation, early marriage are widely speared in the country and are being widely recognized, as a violation of women's right apart from the physical and psychological consequence it has on the life of a woman. Women in Ethiopia as anywhere else are also victims of various violence

and harmful traditional practices simply because of their gender. Patriarchal domination, cultural and traditional practices, economic deprivation etc are among the reasons for violence against women in Ethiopia.

The practices of female genital mutilation (FGM) and early/and forced marriage, impinge on the rights and health of women. Traditional discriminatory practices such as FGM and widow inheritance (including all her property) continue to persist. In Ethiopia, 80% of women (and in some parts of the country up to 100%) are mutilated, as a means of women's loyalty to culture and faith (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003). It is also estimated that, in each of the 28 Woredas in Addis Ababa, three women are raped each day making it a total of 30,660 rape cases every year (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003). Data compiled by the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association from woreda police stations in Addis Ababa showed a 39% and 54% increment of abduction and assault and bodily injury to women and young girls between 1999 and 2001 (Federal Civil Service Commission, 2005). The rapid spread of HIV/AIDS is also posing a serious threat to the development of the country.

Cognizant to this fact, a lot of awareness has been undertaken by various stakeholders including the WAO/PMO, Sectoral women's affairs machineries, and civil society organizations. FGM is forbidden according to national law, and is presumed to be declining. The new penal code criminalizes FGM by imprisonment of no less than three months, or a fine. Likewise, infibulations is punishable by imprisonment of five to ten years. However, no criminal prosecutions have ever been sought regarding FGM. Various strategies, including IEC materials, training's/workshops, media campaign (both print and air), panel discussions, legal aid for women etc were used in this regard. Taking the multi-dimensional consequences of violence against women into consideration, the government of Ethiopia has taken measure in creating conducive environment for the revisions of legal reforms that are discriminatory to women. Accordingly, the family law has been revised in a gender sensitive manner and the penal code is at stake.

c) Female -headed households

According to the 2004/05 household survey the average household size for the country is 4.8 (4.9 in rural areas and 4.3 in urban). Of the estimated 13.4 million households, about 75% are male headed and 25% female-headed. It is estimated that about 16% of households are urban dwellers and 84% rural. A much higher proportion of female-headed households reside in urban areas compared to rural areas. About one in five rural households (22%) and nearly two in five urban households (39%) are female-headed.

d) Women's economic participation

The backbone of the economy in Ethiopia is agriculture, which accounts for 54% of the gross domestic product (GDP) and 60% of exports, and 80% of total employment. The agricultural sector suffers from frequent drought and poor cultivation practices. Under Ethiopia's land tenure system, the government owns all land and provides long-term leases to tenants.

? What is the status of women in agriculture in Ethiopia?

Rural women in Ethiopia engage as equally as their male counterparts in agricultural activities, in addition to carrying the heavy burden of household duties. Even in areas where women are excluded by custom from farming and planting, they participate in weeding, transporting harvest and storing grain, as well as in livestock husbandry activities. In areas where production is based on the use of the hoe and shift cultivation, women participate in all farm activities including soil preparation. In pastoral societies, like Afar and Somali, where animal products are the predominant source of income, women play a critical role in rearing animals and processing animal products for home consumption and the market.

Women's access to land is not only smaller, but they are also disadvantaged in terms of using their land. This is because their land is often in a worse condition than those used by male-headed households. This is due to the fact that women do not have the necessary resources to cultivate the land, which in a lot of cases forces them to rent out their land to others.

Women also lack agricultural labor; this is another reason why they are forced to rent out the land. This is not necessarily because they are incapable of working on their plot, but because the culturally accepted gender divisions of labor prohibit women from such activity. For example, in the grain producing areas of the country social norms prohibit women from farming land (Yigeremew, 2001). Studies have also revealed that in areas where oxen are essential for farming, such as in plough agriculture, women do not have enough oxen or the necessary implements to farm their land. Women also have problem accessing credit because they do not have property for use as collateral. In effect, this means that they are prevented from improving their land.

e) Gender and Education

Studies have shown that women are seriously disadvantaged regarding educational attainment. Women's education was found to be significantly far behind from that of men. For school age population the participation or enrolment rates in schools has shown a remarkable increase for both boys and girls in recent years. However, the gender gap remained to be there. Dropping out after enrolling for few years is the main obstacle to girls' educational attainment. As education of girls and women is rightly considered to be the key for improving women's status at all levels, it is indeed necessary to explore further what specific factors work against girls' education in the society. Factors affecting educational attainment of girls include early marriage, living in rural areas and poverty (being in households grouped in lower and poorest wealth quintile groups), etc.

Further exploration of causes for poor educational status of women, by means of qualitative data that are collected from selected regions in the country, revealed that early marriage is the single most important reason mentioned in all Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and interviews with key persons as to why girls' education is undermined in almost all regions. Most cultures strongly urge girls to get married early and take the responsibility of serving their husbands. The cultural pressure in favor of early marriage is so strong that families who do not get their daughters married at an acceptably

young age will be scorned and ridiculed; the girls may also not get husbands if they pass that age. To respect this tradition, parents continue defying the Constitution that set minimum age of marriage.

Other reasons given for early marriage and dropping out from school were fear of sexual violence, such as rape and abduction, that befall young girls before marriage and fear of promiscuity and unwanted pregnancy before marriage on the girls' side. Yet another reason mentioned in the FGDs held in Gambella was the dowry paid to parents of the girl, upon her marriage. Parents do not believe that girls' education is useful and girls are employable. Once married, women will have no time and permission to go to school. Young girls are also expected to share the work load of their mothers at home, taking care of their younger siblings and helping in household chores which lead to being absent regularly and later results in drop out from school. It is also indicated that any financial stress in the household will lead to pulling girls out of school to cut expenses or involve them in household maintenance. In most societies girls' main role is believed to be learning household activities, cooking, cleaning, rearing children and taking care of the family as a whole, rather than going to school. It is believed that educating girls is not that useful as they are going to get married and assume their role soon anyway. These reasons are shared by almost all rural communities of the country to different degrees while some are indicated even in urban settings.

Some region-specific, (in Somali, for example), reasons indicated that girls are not allowed in many cases to attend classes with boys in the same classroom. In addition, the pastoralist lifestyle, which involves relocating temporary residence and family maintenance, burdens women and girls and leads to the disruption of girls' education (Somali and Afar).

Low educational level is one of the causes and consequences of females' low socio-economic status. In spite of the fact that significant progress has been realized in girls' education during the last decade, gender gap is still observed. According to various statistical abstracts of the Ministry of Education, the share of female students has increased from 21% to 25% between the years 1998/99 and 2002/03. Nevertheless, the sex disaggregated Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER), the ratio of total enrolment at primary or secondary education to the corresponding school age population, shows disparity between the two sexes. Though female GER in primary education has increased from 41% in 1999/2000 to 54% in 2002/03, the respective figures for males are 61% and 75%. In the year 2002, the rate of adult literacy for women was 34%, while it was 49% for men (MOE, 2002). The gender gap is clearly observed when the Gender Parity Index (GPI), the ratio of female to male enrolment, is considered. Between the years 1999 and 2003, GPI was found to be 0.7, indicating that there were only 7 girls enrolled at primary schools for every 10 boys (Federal Civil Service Commission, 2005). The gender inequality in education widens as one goes up higher in the educational ladder. In the academic year 2001/2002, among the students who managed to enter colleges at diploma level, only 24.9% were women. This figure goes further down for females in undergraduate and postgraduate degree programs of various higher education institutes; only 15.0% in undergraduate and 7.3% postgraduate degree programs were females. If one sees the percentage share of females in higher education teaching staff it is on the average of 5.73% (Emebet, et al, 2004).

One of the strategic objectives and actions in the Beijing Declaration and the Platform of action is education and training of women. The strategic objective clearly states that education is a human right and an essential tool for achieving the goals of equality, development and peace. Following the declaration, Ethiopia has been trying to close the gender gap in education through formulation of policies, strategies and action oriented measures. The new education and training policy declared in 1994, has addressed the importance of girls education and among others it clearly stated that the government will give financial support to raise the participation of women in education. It further stated that, special attention would be given to the participation, recruitment, training and assignment of female teachers.

? What is proposed in MDG as far as education is concerned in Ethiopia?

f) Women's work status

Analysis of the DHS (Disease and Health Survey) data (2005) has shown that employment of women was significantly less than that of men. The factors identified as positive predictors for women to be engaged in non- household work were living in urban area, later age at first marriage (above age 18), having some education and being in a household at a better economic status (indicated by households in richer and richest wealth quintiles). In rural areas where girls' education is discouraged and the role of a woman is believed to be solely marrying, bearing and raising children and maintaining the family, tradition and culture do not support women to go out and work for earning. This is believed to be the role of the man only. According to the FGDs and interviews, it is thought in some societies that letting women to go out and work for earning could be opening door for them to be unfaithful and disrespectful to their husbands as it involves interactions and some level of independence. Conforming to the culture and tradition husbands do not allow women to go out and work; otherwise they will be considered as deviators from the norm. In addition to this cultural barrier, for the uneducated poor women economic constraint makes it difficult to start even small scale income generating work. In many instances having many children coupled with the heavy daily workload at home to maintain the family does not leave much time to venture working outside. The cultural barriers preventing women from working to earn a living were strongly stated in Gambella, Somali and SNNP regions.

? What is the status of women employed in formal institutions?

Women are underrepresented in the formal sector of employment. The survey conducted by the Central Statistical Authority (CSA, 2004) showed that women account for less than half (43%) of the total employees in the country. Considering the percentage of female employees from the total number of employees by employment type, the highest was in domestic activities (78%) and followed by unpaid activities (59.3%). In other types of formal employment (e.g. government, NGOs, private organizations), the percentage of female workers is less than 35. On the other hand, the survey showed overrepresentation of female workers in the informal sector. About 58% of

working women work in the informal sector whereas the percentage of working men in the informal sector was 37.7 % (ibid).

The breakdown of the federal government employees by occupational groups also indicated gender disparity. From federal government employees found in the clerical and fiscal type of jobs 71.3 % were female, while the percentage of females was slightly more than half (51%) in custodial and manual type of jobs. Women make up 25% and 18% of the administrative and professional and scientific job categories, respectively, indicating that upper and middle level positions are overwhelmingly dominated by men (Federal Civil Service Commission, 2005). This concentration of women in the informal sector and low level positions has implication on their earnings. In this regard, the survey showed four out of ten women civil servants earn Birr 300 a month compared to two out of ten for men (Federal Civil Service Commission, 2005).

g) Gender and desire for more children

The research results indicated that men have consistently shown greater desire for having more children than women. Demand for limiting family size is higher for women than men. On the other hand, men are the principal if not the sole decision makers regarding controlling fertility of women in most of the societies particularly in rural areas. Studies revealed that the desire for more children by men has cultural basis. A man with many children has better prestige since having many children is considered strengthening the clan one belongs to (Somali, Afar). It is also believed that children will provide support to their parents at old age. In Gambella, having many children, especially daughters, is desirable, as they may bring dowry money to parents and are, thus, sources of income. Religion is also another strong reason for both men and women to consider having many children. Children are believed to be God's gifts. Having many children is considered observing the religion rightly (Somali, Afar and other regions). Given all these traditional beliefs, women still desire to limit their children since raising children and family maintenance are their sole burden.

h) Gender and Health

Women's health problems, which were formerly conceived as biological and reproductive issues, are nowadays re-conceptualized to encompass gender issues. This is because reproductive health issues do not give the full picture of the problem as women's health is also embedded in the social and cultural settings. Accordingly, Yegomawork et al. (2005) classified the health problems into two. The first is maternal health problems which are directly related to child bearing complications such as prolonged labor, retained placenta, maternal malnutrition, etc. In this regard, Ethiopia is one of the developing countries with high Maternal Mortality Ratio (871 deaths per 100,000 live births in 2000) (Mukuria et al., 2005). Although the MMR has reportedly decreased since then to 673 deaths per 100,000 live births for the period 2000 to 2005, according to the recent DHS 2005 result, it is still on the higher side. Similarly, among women aged 15 – 49 and with children under three years, 25% have Body Mass Index of below 18.5, a cut-off point used to identify chronic energy deficiency (Mukuria et al., 2005). The authors also stated, according to the categorization of World Health Organization, this percentage shows a serious nutritional situation in the country.

? Who are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, men or women? Why?

HIV/AIDS epidemic is a threat to socio-economic advancement of most countries in the world. The issue goes beyond health problem and it becomes a cause for social disintegration and economic deterioration of many developing countries including Ethiopia. The problem is aggravated by the existence of gender discrimination and violence against women. In Ethiopia, like many other developing countries, the social definitions and expectations of gender put women at higher risk with respect to HIV apart from their biological vulnerability to the disease.

To this effect, measures are being taken to integrate gender issues in response to HIV/AIDS. Among these, the formation of a national coalition of Women against HIV/AIDS is a pioneer in terms of building the leadership capacity of women to prevent the spread of HIV at the grassroots level. A 'core group' comprised of senior leadership from the government, including the first lady, and other prominent women has been set up to manage and steer the process leading up to the formal launch of the Coalition in June 2003. The vision of the Coalition is to create and promote leadership of women at all levels that will inspire and lead a national movement of committed men and women throughout Ethiopia to make HIV/AIDS, poverty and harmful traditional practices a thing of the past. The work of the National Coalition for Women Against HIV/AIDS, will complement the existing leadership of the Ethiopian Government in reversing the spread and impact of HIV/AIDS by focusing in particular on addressing the gender and poverty related causes which fuel the epidemic.

Other attempts made in fighting the Gender dimension of HIV/AIDS include:

- The formation of a national policy on HIV/AIDS in 1998. The policy has addressed gender concerns in its objectives, recognizing gender inequality and socio-economic disempowerment of women as one of the root causes for the spread of HIV/AIDS;
- As per the policy a national coordinating body, HIV/AIDS prevention and control Office (HAPCO) is established and a task force at Minister Offices ranging from Federal to Regional level.
- Various guidelines such as HIV/AIDS mainstreaming, monitoring and evaluation etc have also been developed by HAPCO in a gender sensitive manner;
- HIV/AIDS and gender project, which is financed by the Ethiopian multi sectoral AIDS program, has been established under the Women's Affairs office of the Prime Minister Office (WAO/PMO) with the objective of reducing the risk of women to the epidemic.

I) Women and Media

Ethiopian women's access to mass media is one of the lowest. In their DHS comparative report, Mukuria et al. (2005) show that, among 25 Sub-Saharan African countries, Ethiopia was the last with respect to percentage of women who have access to newspaper. In the same report it was indicated that in 2000, among women aged 15-49 in Ethiopia, only 1.7% read newspaper at least once a week, compared with 15% in Uganda, 36% in Gabon and 37% in Namibia. Regarding women's access to television, among the 25 countries, Ethiopia was the second from the last with only 4.4% of women aged 15-49 watching television at least once a week, surpassing only Malawi

(3.8%). Women's access to radio was relatively better than access to newspaper and television, with 11% of the women listening to radio at least once a week. It is, however, the lowest compared to other sub-Saharan African countries; 72% for Gabon, 53% for Uganda, 52% for Malawi and 39% for Rwanda.

? To what extent do Ethiopian women get access to media?

j) Women in Power and Decision Making

Due to the various obstacles that women have such as triple role, violence against women, lack of education etc, their representation and participation in leadership and decision making position has also been limited. Despite the Government policies of equal opportunity for both men and women to participate in the democratization of the country, women have not been adequately represented at all levels of decision-making positions.

? Comment on the extent at which females are making decision in your family?

Out of 547 seats reserved for parliamentarians in 1995, it was only 15(2.74%) that was occupied by women. However, by the next round election, an increasing trend of women's participation has been observed. During the 2000 House of People's Representative election, about 42 (7.7%) of the candidates for parliamentary seats were women compared to 2.7% in 1995. Although not satisfactory, women participation in local authorities has also improved. With the introduction of a Federal System of Government, in 1991, by devolution of decision making power and responsibilities to regional states, an increasing trend of women participation in local authorities have also been seen. During the 1995 general election for regional council, out of 1355 members 77 (5.0%) were women. This number increased both in terms of membership and number of women in 2000 election. Thus, in the election held in 2000 for regional council, while the number of members increased to 1647, there were 244 (12.9%) women, which have shown an increase by 10%. At the lowest level of Woreda Council, only 6.6% are women out of the 70,430 council members. At the lowest administrative unit, the Kebele, women constitute only 13.9% of the 928,288 elected officials.

It is also the case that women have little or no power of making decisions on matters related to their own households. Their decision making power is limited regarding land use in rural areas (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003) and even on sexual interactions (Adanech and Azeb, 1991). Haregewoin and Emebet noted that less than 25% of women are able to decide by themselves on contraceptive use. Mostly women in the country have the power to make decisions on issues related to the daily life of their family, but decisions about large household purchases, degree of participation of a woman in social activities, and reproductive health issues are dominated by men.

Further, at the level of international representation, among the 28 ambassadors that Ethiopia appointed at different mission abroad, only 4 (14.3) are women. In the area of employment, while the number of women in the Ethiopian civil service has been relatively small, the senior positions are overwhelmingly held by men. Federal Civil Service Commission recent statistics revealed the

fact that the overwhelming majority of women civil servants are concentrated in positions such as secretary, cleaner, and others.

Activity – 1

1. Elaborate the concept of gender in Ethiopian situation?
2. Give a brief explanation on some issues of gender in Ethiopia?
3. What do you think are key gender issue in Ethiopia? Justify?

6.2 Gender policy and machinery

Section overview

Dear learners, this section focuses on gender policy and implementation machinery in Ethiopia. Since coming to power in 1991, the current government has introduced several laws and policies to address issues of democracy, decentralization, poverty reduction, institutional capacity and improvement of the social, economic and political status of the citizenry. Moreover, the Constitution of the federal government that was proclaimed in 1994 has domesticated international instruments which Ethiopia has ratified or adopted. Ethiopia has ratified major international conventions, protocols and treaties.

The issue of gender equality has become an area of concern in development planning during the last few decades. The marginalization, from development programs, of women for a long period of time is challenged with changing policy perspectives from Women in Development (WID), which aims to include women in development projects in order to make the latter more effective, to Gender and Development (GAD), which aims to address inequalities in women's and men's social roles in relation to development (March et al., 1999).

Despite recently introduced policy instruments and legislative commitments serving women's interests, the vast majority of Ethiopian women - particularly in rural areas - are far from being well-off, independent and direct beneficiaries of development initiatives. Hence, gender mainstreaming, the integration of gender issues into every aspect of development programs, is aimed at empowering women to enable them participate in and benefit from the programs equally as men, being supported by international and national policies.

Section Objective

Dear learner, upon the successful completion of this section, you will be able to:

- ✓ Identify international agreements regarding gender to which Ethiopia is a part;
- ✓ Identify gender sensitive policies at national level;

✓ Recognize the different implementation machineries in Ethiopia.

? What are some of the international agreements related to gender equality to which Ethiopia is a part?

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Global effort had been underway to alleviate the low status of women since the 1990s. In the framework of the general conferences held in Cairo (1994) and in Beijing (1995), direction was set and recommendations were made targeting mainly the removal of all the obstacles to gender equalities. The outcomes of these conferences recognized that the integration of gender issues into the general development plan and program of a country is crucial and unavoidable step for overall sustainable development and that needs to get proper attention by governments.

At international level, the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA), and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are the main strategies and conventions introduced for the achievement of gender equality. CEDAW incorporates the following measures that governments have to take to guarantee gender equality: elimination of discrimination against women in employment opportunities and benefits of service; ensuring gender equality in all areas of socio-economic life such as legal rights to contracts and property, and access to financial credit; equality of women in national constitutions; and abolishing existing laws, regulations, customs and practices that discriminate against women.

The government urged regional governments to make CEDAW part of the regional law and encouraged them to proceed with the full implementation of the provisions of the Convention throughout the country, through the enhancement of cooperation between federal and regional governmental bodies and institutions, to achieve uniformity of results in the implementation of the Convention. The Committee assigned by the government also recommended that the State party improve its efforts to systematically monitor progress achieved in the implementation of the Convention at all levels, and in all areas. Particular focus being placed on the improvement of the capacity of all public officials in the area of women's human rights, and the seeking of resources through international development assistance programmes, as necessary. It was also recommended that the State party launch, at the national level, a comprehensive programme of dissemination of the Convention, targeting women and men, in order to enhance awareness and promote and protect the rights of women. However, CEDAW has not been implemented in regional law, even though the Constitution encourages it.

According to CEDAW committee report (2003), women in the civil services, the largest employer in the country, remain a small minority. In the legislative and judiciary branches, the situation is worse. Women are seriously underrepresented. In the Federal Parliament, the highest decision making body, women hold only 7.7% of the total seats. The figure sheds light on how far the country has to go in the direction of empowering women. Especially in this key area, the government has a long way to go. For without a vigorous effort to level the political playing from a gender perspective, the gap in this area, critical in measuring women's empowerment, will remain wide. The government cannot fully meet its CEDAW obligations and commitments so long as the political representation gap remains as high as it is at present.”

The measures that are included in the BPA are ensuring women's equal rights and access to economic resources; elimination of occupational segregation and all forms of employment discrimination and promoting women's access to employment, appropriate working conditions and control over resources; facilitating women's equal access to markets, trade, information, and technology; promotion of harmonization of work and family responsibilities for women and men; and conducting gender-based research and dissemination of its results for planning and evaluation.

? What domestic policies were developed to translate global commitments in to action?

The key commitments of governments and other development partners set in the MDGs include gender equality and women's empowerment. The commitments include ensuring universal primary education for both boys and girls by 2015; elimination of gender disparity at all levels of education by 2015; and reducing maternal mortality ratio by three quarters between 1990 and 2015. Ethiopia adopted these agreements to promote gender equality and improve the lives of women. As a means to implement these global agreements, different policies and legislations have also been enacted. These are the National Policy on Women, National Population Policy, Education Policy, Cultural Policy, and other legal documents.

The National Policy on Women, introduced in 1993, was the first policy that is specifically related to the affairs of women (Jelaludin et al., 2001). The objectives of the policy include facilitating conditions conducive to the speeding up of equality between men and women so that women can participate in the political, economic and social life of their country on equal terms with men; ensuring that their right to own property as well as their other human rights are respected and that they are not excluded from both the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor or performing public functions and participating in decision making.

Cognizant of the adverse impact of low status of women on the overall economic development in general and on reproductive health issues in particular, the National Population Policy of the country, which was also endorsed in 1993, included in its objectives women's status and health issues such as reduction of incidence of maternal mortality, improvement of females' participation at all levels of education and enhancement of the contraceptive prevalence rate (TGE, 1993).

The 1994 Education and Training Policy affirmed the importance of girls' education. It focused on the reorientation of the attitude and values of the society towards recognizing the roles and contributions of women in development. The policy included gender equality issues such as increasing girls' school enrolment ratio, preparing a gender sensitive curriculum, and reducing girls' dropout and repetition rates (FDRE, 1994).

In an attempt to address customary practices and backward traditions that undermine the roles of women in society, the National Cultural Policy was enacted in 1997. The main objectives of this policy are to ensure equal participation in and benefit from cultural activities, and to abolish traditional harmful practices that violate the rights of women such as early marriage, female genital mutilation and abduction (FDRE, 1997).

? What are the rights of women guaranteed by the constitution of Ethiopia?

In addition to the aforementioned national policies gender equality is guaranteed by the Constitution of the country. **Article 25** of the FDRE Constitution states that all persons are equal before the law and it prohibits any discrimination on grounds of gender. In **Article 35**, equality in matters related to employment, equality in acquisition and management of property, equal participation in policy and decision making, and right of women to plan families are stated to ensure gender equality. Similarly, **Article 42** states the right of female workers to equal pay for comparable work (FDRE, 1995).

? What is the implementation machinery of these policies?

On the basis of the Women's policy of the Country, a considerable number of women's machineries have been set at different government level ranging from Federal to the lowest administrative unit. From 1991-1995 the Women's Affairs Office (WAO) is constituted in Prime Minister's Office with a mandate of coordinating, facilitating and monitoring of women's affairs activities at national level. In 1995 this was changed to a separate ministry; the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The following are some of the **duties and responsibilities/mandate** of WAO:

- Coordinate, facilitate and monitor of women's affairs activities at national level;
- Create conducive atmosphere for the implementation of women's affairs policy in various governmental organization and the country in general and monitor its realization,
- Encourage the establishment of women affairs organs in all the regions, central ministries and public organizations at all levels, as well as the formation of self-initiated women's organizations in order to strengthen and expand the activities of the Ethiopian women.
- Coordinate the financial and material aids to be secured from various sources;
- Process information and reports to be received from women's affairs departments and self-initiated women's organization and provide solutions to their problems in consultation with higher authorities;
- Organize seminars, workshops and symposiums at the national level

Other Women's Affairs Department (WADs) is also set up in 16 sectoral Ministries, two Commissions and in all regional governments at department level. According to the policy, these WADs are accountable to the organization in which they are formed and have equal power with other departments. The WADs are, therefore, responsible to monitor, follow up and design ways of implementing the national women's affairs policy effectively in accordance with the powers and duties of the organization in which they are based. Based on the decentralized development program of the country, gender focal points have also been established in each Woreda (district) in order to incorporate gender issue in local development program.

Being placed in the highest governmental office, the 'Women's Affairs Office play a primary role of facilitating, coordinating and monitoring activities of the Women's affairs departments and bureaus established in the various line ministries and regions. Although the implementation of the national policy on women lays mainly with the government machineries, NGOs, Women's Organization and other stakeholders also play a pivotal role for the successful implementation of the national policy. Concurrently, it is within this already established institutional mechanism for the advancement of women that the BPA is being implemented in Ethiopia.

Even if women in Ethiopia formally have the same rights as men, their situation is difficult and does not show any sign of improvement. According to the UN's Equal Rights Index (GDI) on health, education and work, Ethiopia is ranked as 142 out of 146 countries. Despite the existence of policy instruments and legislative and institutional commitment to women's causes, the vast majority of Ethiopian women, especially in rural areas live in poverty. Their status in the socio-political, economic and cultural contexts is critical.

The main reasons for the situation are the socio-cultural portrait of women and girls and their assigned role; existing practices of resource distribution; the division of labor, and the distribution of opportunities. Moreover there is a considerable gap between the needs and concerns of women and girls, and the actual effort being made in response to them (CEDAW). In most cases this is associated with implementation, or lack of implementation, of the policy, laws and constitutionally given rights of women, and to national poverty.

Activity – 2

1. Discuss on the main national and international commitments entered by Ethiopian government to mainstream gender?
2. Elaborate on the gender equality in Ethiopia in reference to the different articles constituted in the FDRE constitution?

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