

Commonwealth Youth Programme
Diploma in Youth Development Work

Module 5

Gender and Development

Commonwealth Secretariat
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The Commonwealth Youth Programme's Mission

CYP works to engage and empower young people (aged 15–29) to enhance their contribution to development. We do this in partnership with young people, governments and other key stakeholders.

Our mission is grounded within a rights-based approach, guided by the realities facing young people in the Commonwealth, and anchored in the belief that young people are:

- a force for peace, democracy, equality and good governance,
- a catalyst for global consensus building, and
- an essential resource for poverty eradication and sustainable development.

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Introduction

Welcome to Module 5 *Gender and Development*. This module explores the theory and practice of how to ensure equal outcomes for young women and young men. It examines a range of theories and approaches in different development and feminist traditions, and explores the implications for youth development work. It looks at the development issues that affect men and women, and the ways these issues may affect them differently. It examines the concept of gender and development and how this can be applied in projects and practical work.

The general aim of the module is to help you ensure that your youth development work and policy, planning and evaluation processes are gender-sensitive. It should also help you become more gender aware as you work through later modules of this diploma.

The module builds on the work you have done in earlier modules, for example, on informal learning and facilitation in Module 1 *Learning Processes*, perspectives on society in Module 2 *Young People and Society*, approaches to working with young people in Module 3 *Principles and Practice of Youth Development Work* and the theory and practice of community development in Module 4 *Working With People in Their Communities*.

In the module activities you will be asked to find out about a whole range of gender issues in your country and to discuss them with colleagues and fellow students so that you can apply what you learn, including the theoretical material, to your own practice. Allow plenty of time for this research and discussion. Build up information resources for your future work with young people and their communities.

Above all, the module asks you to stand back and look at yourself and your society and community from different perspectives – to explore your own ideas and experience of gender and to test the reality of the ideas you meet in terms of the lives of yourself and the young people with whom you work.

Module learning outcomes

Learning outcomes are statements that tell you what knowledge and skills you will have when you have worked successfully through a module.

Knowledge

When you have worked through this module, you should be able to:

- discuss a range of gender and feminist theories and approaches within different political, social and cultural traditions
- give examples of ways in which inequality between women and men manifests itself in the social structure and in social relationships
- explain the role of gender in development
- describe the implications of gender issues for the practice of youth development work
- critically assess current youth services of which you have experience in the light of your learning in this module.

Skills

When you have worked through this module, you should be able to:

- intervene effectively in a range of youth work situations in relation to gender issues
- construct informal education programmes that focus on gender issues
- work with both mixed and single sex groups on gender issues
- make changes in agencies' policies and programmes to achieve equality of outcomes for young women and young men.

About this module

This module is divided into five units.

Unit 1: Gender issues in youth development work

This unit explores the development issues that affect women and men. It examines issues such as life expectancy, population, education, health and youth unemployment. It explains the concept of 'gender' and its use as an analytical tool, and introduces the 'male marginalisation' debate.

Unit 2: Inequality and discrimination

In this unit, we look at the nature of the social and economic differences between men and women and the problems caused by their unequal access to resources. We examine the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) as an approach to tackling inequality and discrimination.

Unit 3: The role of gender in development

In this unit, we examine the concept of gender and development (GAD) and theories about women's role in development. We discuss how the concept of gender can be used as a tool in development work.

Unit 4: Creating gender awareness

This unit focuses on the importance of gender awareness when planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating development projects. It looks at the use of GAD tools in projects.

Unit 5: Feminist Theories

This unit examines a number of feminist theories including theories developed by women in Western industrialised countries, by black women in industrialised countries and by women in the developing world. We highlight the differences between these theories and their implications. The unit ends with activities to devise informal education activities to raise awareness of gender issues among young people.

This table shows which units cover the different module learning outcomes.

Module 6 Learning outcomes		1	2	3	4	5
Knowledge						
1	Discuss a range of gender and feminist theories and approaches within different political, social and cultural traditions.	x	x	x	x	x
2	Give examples of ways in which inequality between women and men manifests itself in the social structure and in social relationships.	x	x	x	x	x
3	Explain the role of gender in development.			x	x	
4	Describe the implications of gender issues for the practice of youth development work.	x	x	x	x	x
5	Critically assess current youth services of which you have experience in the light of your learning in this module.		x			x
Skills						
6	Intervene effectively in a range of youth work situations in relation to gender issues.	x	x	x	x	x
7	Construct informal education programmes that focus on gender issues.		x			x
8	Work with both mixed and single sex groups on gender issues.	x				x
9	Make changes in agencies' policies and programmes to achieve equality of outcomes for young women and young men.		x			x

Assessment

Each module is divided into a number of units. Each unit addresses some of the learning outcomes. You will be asked to complete various tasks so that you can demonstrate your competence in achieving the learning outcomes. The study guide will help you to succeed in your formal assessment tasks.

Methods

Your work in this module will be assessed in the following three ways:

- 1 Two assignments, 1a at the end of Unit 3 (500 words) and 1b at the end of Unit 4 (1,500 words) (together worth 50 per cent of the final mark).
- 2 A review of the learning journal you keep – see below (worth 20 per cent of the final mark). Your institution will inform you when to submit the learning journal for assessment.
- 3 A written examination set by the institution in which you are enrolled for this diploma programme *or* assignment 2 – a 1,500-word report described at the end of the module (worth 30 per cent of the final mark).

Note: We recommend that you discuss the study and assessment requirements with your tutor before you begin work on the module. You may want to discuss such topics as:

- the learning activities you will undertake on your own
- the learning activities you will undertake as part of a group
- whether it is practical for you to do all of the activities
- the evidence you will produce to prove that you have met the learning outcomes – for example, learning journal entries, or activities that prepare for the final assignment
- how to relate the assignment topics to your own context
- when to submit learning journal entries and assignments, and when you will get feedback.

Learning journal

Educational research has shown that keeping a learning journal is a valuable strategy to help your learning development. It makes use of the important faculty of reflecting on your learning, which supports you in developing a critical understanding of it. The journal is where you will record your thoughts and feelings as you are learning and where you will write your responses to the study guide activities. The journal is worth 20 per cent of the final assessment.

Again, we recommend you discuss the learning journal requirements with your tutor before you begin, including how your learning journal will be assessed.

Self-test

Take a few minutes to try this self-test. If you think you already have some of the knowledge or skills covered by this module and answer 'Yes' to most of these questions, you may be able to apply for credits from your learning institution. Talk to your tutor about this.

Note: This is not the full challenge test to be held by your learning institution for 'Recognition of Prior Learning'.

Put a tick in the appropriate box in answer to the following questions:

	Yes	No	More or less
Can you explain and discuss a range of gender and feminist theories and approaches from at least two different political, social and cultural traditions?			
Are you aware of ways in which social inequality between women and men manifests itself?			
Can you explain why gender issues matter in development?			
Do you understand the implications of gender issues for youth development work?			
Can you critically assess current youth policies with regard to gender issues?			
Are you able to intervene appropriately in a range of youth work situations to confront gender issues?			
Can you devise informal education programmes that focus on gender issues?			
Are you able to work with both mixed and single gender groups on gender issues?			
Can you devise and implement changes in agencies' policies and programmes to achieve greater equality of outcomes for men and women?			

Learning tips

You may not have studied by distance education before. If so, here are some guidelines to help you.

How long will it take?

It will probably take you a minimum of 70 hours to work through the study guide for this module. The time should be spent doing the activities, completing the assessment tasks and studying the readings.

Note that units are not all the same length, so make sure that you plan and pace your work to give yourself time to complete all of them.

About the study guide

This study guide gives you a unit-by-unit guide to the module you are studying. Each unit includes information, case studies, activities and readings for you to complete. These are all designed to help you achieve the learning outcomes that are stated at the beginning of the module.

Activities, self-help questions and case studies

The activities, self-help questions and case studies are part of a planned distance education programme. They will help you make your learning more active and effective, as you process and apply what you read. They will help you to engage with ideas and check your own understanding. It is vital that you take the time to complete them in the order that they occur in the study guide. Make sure you write full answers to the activities, or take notes of any discussions.

We recommend you write your answers in your learning journal and keep it with your study materials as a record of your work. You can refer to it whenever you need to remind yourself of what you have done. The activities may be reflective exercises designed to get you thinking about aspects of the subject matter, or they may be practical tasks to undertake on your own or with fellow students. Answers are not given for activities. A time is suggested for each activity (for example, 'about 20 minutes'). This is just a guide. It does not include the time you will need to spend on any discussions or research involved.

The self-help questions are usually more specific and require a brief written response. Answers to them are given at the end of each unit. If you wish, you may also record your answers to the self-help questions in your learning journal, or you may use a separate notebook.

The case studies give examples, often drawn from real life, to apply the concepts in the study guide. Often the case studies are used as the basis for an activity or self-help question.

Readings

There is a section of Readings at the end of the study guide. These provide additional information or other viewpoints, and relate to topics in the units. You are expected to read them.

There is a list of references at the end of each unit. This gives details about books referred to in the unit. It may give you ideas for further reading. You are not expected to read all the books on this list.

Please note: In a few cases full details of publications referred to in the module have not been provided, as we have been unable to confirm the details with the original authors.

There is a list of further reading at the end of each module. This includes books and articles referred to in the module and are suggestions for those who wish to explore topics further. You are encouraged to read as widely as possible during and after the course, but you are not expected to read all the books on this list. Module 4 also provides a list of useful websites.

Although there is no set requirement, you should aim to do some follow-up reading to get alternative viewpoints and approaches. We suggest you discuss this with your tutor. What is available to you in libraries? Are there other books of particular interest to you or your region? Can you use alternative resources, such as newspapers and the internet??

Unit summary

At the end of each unit there is a list of the main points. Use it to help you review your learning. Go back if you think you have not covered something properly.

Icons

In the margins of the *Study Guide*, you will find these icons that tell you what to do:



Self-help question

Answer the questions. Suggested answers are provided at the end of each unit.



Activity

Complete the activity. Activities are often used to encourage reflective learning and may involve a practical task. Answers are not provided.



Reading

Read as suggested.



Case study

Read these examples and complete any related self-help question or activity.

Studying at a distance

There are many advantages to studying by distance education – a full set of learning materials is provided, and you can study close to home in your own community. You can also plan some of your study time to fit in with other commitments, such as work or family.

However, there are also challenges. Learning away from your learning institution requires discipline and motivation. Here are some tips for studying at a distance.

- 1 **Plan** – Give priority to study sessions with your tutor and make sure you allow enough travel time to your meeting place. Make a study schedule and try to stick to it. Set specific days and times each week for study and keep them free of other activities. Make a note of the dates that your assessment pieces are due and plan for extra study time around those dates.
- 2 **Manage your time** – Set aside a reasonable amount of time each week for your study programme – but don't be too ambitious or you won't be able to keep up the pace. Work in productive blocks of time and include regular rests.

- 3 **Be organised** – Have your study materials organised in one place and keep your notes clearly labelled and sorted. Work through the topics in your study guide systematically and seek help for difficulties straight away. Never leave problems until later.
- 4 **Find a good place to study** – Most people need order and quiet to study effectively, so try to find a suitable place to do your work – preferably somewhere where you can leave your study materials set out ready until next time.
- 5 **Ask for help if you need it** – This is the most vital part of studying at a distance. No matter what the difficulty is, seek help from your tutor or fellow students straight away.
- 6 **Don't give up** – If you miss deadlines for assessment pieces, speak to your tutor – together you can work out what to do. Talking to other students can also make a difference to your study progress. Seeking help when you need it is a key way of making sure you complete your studies – so don't give up!

If you need help

If you have any difficulties with your studies, contact your local learning centre or your tutor, who will be able to help you.

Note: You will find more detailed information about learner support from your learning institution.

We wish you all the best with your studies.

Unit 1: Introducing gender issues

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Unit introduction

Through your own life and your practice as a youth development worker, whether you are a woman or a man, you cannot fail to have observed – and experienced – many differences between the lives of women and men, in terms of their perceived roles, access to resources, life chances and work. Why are there so many differences and, often, contradictions? What needs to be understood about gender factors that influence development in different countries? And how do we achieve this understanding? What tools are available to us?

To begin to answer these questions, in this unit we explore important development issues such as life expectancy, population, education, health and youth unemployment, and discuss their different effects on men and women. As you work through Unit 1, you will find that the factors underlying these differences interact with each other and profoundly influence the lives of women, men, children and young people at different stages of development. You will see how facts and figures can be used to throw light on the different experiences of men and women.

Then we define the concepts of ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. We discuss the difference between them and the importance of the concept of gender and other related concepts as tools you can use to investigate social problems and relationships.

We end the unit with a discussion of the debate about ‘male marginalisation’ and its implications for you as a youth development worker.

Before you start working on this module, a word about the activities you will be doing. In this unit, and later units of the module, many of the activities will ask you to find out about gender issues and experiences in your country and then to discuss your findings with others – colleagues, peers or other students. You may need to discuss with your tutor the best way of finding this information. You may find it helpful to plan the activities for the unit, so that you can combine some activities, share fact-finding with others and hold longer discussions. The suggested timings therefore just indicate how long you may need to write up any particular activity, but do not allow time for your research and discussions.

Unit learning outcomes

When you have worked through this unit, you should be able to:

- identify ways in which important development issues have different effects on men and women
- define 'sex' and 'gender' and explain the difference between the two concepts
- summarise the 'male marginalisation' debate and relate it to your own youth development work.

Gender issues in development

Life expectancy

The first of the gender issues we discuss is life expectancy. Women live longer than men do, but in certain parts of the world – particularly the developing world – men outnumber women. Why this contradiction?

Life expectancy is the number of years on average that someone can expect to live. High and rising life expectancy is associated with a good and improving quality of life. A country's life expectancy is therefore a measure of how effectively it is governed and how it compares with the rest of the world.

Figures on life expectancy are calculated from the average age of death across a country's population. They vary considerably from country to country, and even from region to region within the same country. There is a notable difference in life expectancy between people in developing regions and those who live in developed parts of the world.

- Life expectancy is reported to be very high and still rising or at least static at a high level in the most developed countries.
- It is rising relatively slowly in many developing countries.
- It is actually falling in several of the countries of sub-Saharan Africa.

This increase or decrease is clear when you compare the statistics for 1970 with those for 2002.

Life expectancy 1970 and 2002, selected countries

Country	Life Expectancy	
	1970	2002
Australia	71	79
Bahamas	66	67
Bangladesh	44	61
Botswana	55	41
Fiji	60	70
Ghana	49	58
Guyana	60	63
India	49	64
Jamaica	68	76
Malawi	40	38

Country	Life Expectancy	
Pakistan	48	61
Papua New Guinea	43	57
Samoa	55	70
Sri Lanka	64	73
Tanzania	45	44
United Kingdom	72	78
Zimbabwe	55	34

(Source: Bellamy, 2003, pp 122–125)



Self-help question 1.1

(about 5 minutes)

In the table we listed five countries in sub-Saharan Africa: Botswana, Ghana, Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. In four of these countries, life expectancy was lower in 2002 than in 1970. Drawing on your own experiences and knowledge, take just 5 minutes now to think about why this is so, then write down at least three possible reasons in the space provided.

Life expectancy is dropping in a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa because:

- 1
- 2
- 3

Compare your answers with those provided at the end of the unit.

There are also differences in life expectancy between men and women, and this pattern varies in different parts of the world. In developed countries, women live longer than men. In developing countries, men live longer than women. This suggests that, assuming women in both sets of countries are genetically similar, there must be social factors at work. The following activity gives you the opportunity to discuss the reasons for this with others. A reminder that you may need to do some fact finding for this activity, and you may need to discuss with your tutor possible sources of information for this and later activities.



Activity 1.1

(about 15 minutes, not counting research and discussion)

You will find this activity most useful if you do it with friends, family, colleagues or a small group of fellow students. If this is not possible, complete it on your own.

Discuss the life expectancy of women and men in your country or community. Based on what you already know, consider the following questions:

- 1 Roughly what age do women live to on average?
- 2 How does this compare with the life expectancy of men?
- 3 What differences are there?

Given your state of health, your work and leisure activities, and the tendencies among those around you, what do you think your own life expectancy might be?

Now look at official statistics from your country and other countries. What differences do you find?

Write your answers in your learning journal.

By doing this activity you may have worked out that the reasons for differences in life expectancy in different countries and between women and men are socially quite complex. The next section, which looks at another population and gender issue – the proportion (ratio) of men to women – helps provide some answers.

Population

Male–female ratios

Given what is known about general population statistics, it would be reasonable to begin by assuming that in any particular country the proportion of males to females would be about 50/50. Yet recent United Nations figures suggest that, although women live longer than men do, and although in 1985 there were more women than men, there are probably slightly more men than women in the world today.

Here are some facts and figures.

- The world statistical average of women per every 100 men is 98.6.
- There are 72 countries where men outnumber women. Nearly all of these countries are in the developing world – particularly in Asia, the South Pacific, Latin America and North Africa.
- A striking case is that of India, where the gender ratio is 92.7 women to every 100 men, and even more startlingly, in a

relatively wealthy state such as the Punjab, only 79.3 women per 100 men.

- In all the other regions there are more women than men.

So how are these variations to be explained?

A serious imbalance in the gender ratio is likely to be the result of human intervention in countries where there is strong preference for male children.

This is publicly acknowledged to be the case in China and India. In both countries it is of considerable concern to the governments. The Indian Medical Association estimates that sex-selection abortions probably run as high as 5 million terminations a year (Moran, 2006). In a country of well over a billion population, this may well not show up as a high percentage. But according to campaigners it is a clear indicator of how necessary it is to eradicate such practices if the status of women is to be raised. This is particularly so as the country is rapidly developing, and equality between men and women is a crucial aspect of successful development.

Ironically, modernisation and the increasing availability of technologies such as amniocentesis and ultrasound have increased rather than decreased the problem (UNFPA, 2004), even though sex-selection abortionists may be liable for jail sentences. This issue of gender imbalance is discussed further in the Health section below.



Self-help question 1.2

(about 5 minutes)

From your knowledge of those societies where there is a preference for male children, suggest two reasons for families wanting boys rather than girls.

1

2

Compare your answers with those provided at the end of the unit.

Next, here's another activity that involves research and discussion.



Activity 1.2

(about 20 minutes, not counting research and discussion)

You will find this activity most useful if you use it as the basis of a group discussion. Talk to your family, friends, colleagues or fellow students, if you can, about the issues raised.

Discuss the situation in your own country regarding male-female ratios in the population. Look if possible at population studies. If not, look at official government statistics. Compare these figures with your and your colleagues' collective sense of the situation. Then discuss the following questions.

- Is the proportion of males to females increasing, decreasing or static?
- What local reasons can you think of for this?
- What factors in your country might lead to this state of affairs?
- Should an attempt be made to rectify any imbalance in the male-female ratio? What measures could be taken to rectify any imbalance?
- What might be the future implications if the international trend towards more males than females continues?
- How might an imbalance in the male-female ratio affect you in development work?

Write the findings from your discussion in your learning journal.

This activity will have helped you find out about male-female ratios in your own country and reflect on the causes and implications. Now we consider the population issue with respect to children.

Children

The proportion of the population under the age of fifteen varies from region to region. Populations tend to be very young in developing countries.

- In the developed countries, and in Europe in particular (though not in Eastern Europe), about 20 per cent of people are under 15 years old.
- In East Asia about 26 per cent are 15 years old.
- In developing countries between 30 and 45 per cent are under 15 years old.
- In Northern Africa the proportion of young people is as high as 45 per cent.

There are very good reasons for this: the likelihood of children in Africa surviving until parents are old is very low; children perform a significant welfare function for parents and grandparents. The view is that the more children a family has, the more likely it is that enough children will survive to adulthood to support the family in later years. Also, in countries where boys are favoured, families may have many children to ensure that sufficient numbers of boys are born.

- If you include those between the ages of 15 and 19, young people constitute close to 50 per cent of the populations in many African countries.

So what are the implications? Such high proportions of children and young people put extraordinary pressure on welfare resources such as education and health, and on employment. Therefore young people in most developing countries in the world, especially in Africa, face special challenges and problems.

Here is an opportunity to reflect on those problems in your country, and to think about whether girls and young women face particular problems.



Activity 1.3

(about 15 minutes, not counting discussion)

Either discuss the following questions with colleagues, friends or fellow students - or use them as the basis of a tutorial discussion. You can also reflect on them on your own. Make notes on your findings in your learning journal.

- What are the main opportunities and problems facing children and young people in your community, particularly those who are no longer in school?
- Is there evidence of extra barriers facing girls and young women in your community? What are these barriers?
- What measures could be taken to improve the situation of youth in your community?
- What different measures might be needed for young women and young men?

In this activity you've started thinking about the gender implications of a general issue – the proportion of children and young people in a population.

Education

You've already looked at education in previous modules, and you know that educational attainment rates vary from region to region.

There are several factors operating, including:

- illiteracy levels
- access to schooling
- school dropout rates.

We'll examine each of these in turn and consider the gender differences.

Illiteracy

In Module 1 *Learning Processes* you saw that the human capacity to learn and understand ideas is limited only by lack of access to knowledge. Literacy levels are an important indicator of a country's level of development. High levels of literacy, because it provides the main access to advanced knowledge, are essential to the development necessary to survive in the current global context. Low levels of literacy are common among excluded groups in developed countries. But illiteracy is widespread in developing countries, particularly in the poorer countries of Africa and Asia, and that implies widespread exclusion from development.

Note also that illiteracy rates tend to be much higher in rural areas than in urban. There are a number of reasons for this, for example: low supply of teachers in rural areas, poorer access to schools, isolation and transport problems, rural poverty and traditional rural cultures and methods of work that do not emphasise the need for literacy. Governments may not see rural education as a priority, so resources for education may not be made available to rural populations.

In regions where illiteracy is evident, it is much higher among women than among men.

- Currently, 64 per cent of the world's 800 million illiterates are women.
- In 2000, Africa (29 per cent) and Asia (19 per cent) had the highest rates of illiteracy among girls aged 15 to 24 years old even though these two regions have seen major improvements in the past 30 years (UNESCO, 2005).

Illiteracy among women has a particular impact, as you will see in the next section.

Schooling

Achieving gender equality in education is an important social goal. The socialisation of children tends to be primarily in the hands of women, and educated women can raise the educational level and aspirations of their children far more easily than uneducated women.

For example, a study covering Bolivia, Lao People's Democratic Republic and Niger showed that the risk of children being out of

school is highest among mothers with low literacy skills. In Niger, 70 per cent of primary children of illiterate mothers are not in school, compared with 30 per cent of those whose mothers report being able to read easily (UNESCO, 2005). So the level of education of women is a measure of a region's potential for social and economic development.

Many developed and recently developing countries have attained near parity (i.e. equal numbers of boys and girls) in access to education at primary and secondary school levels over the past decade (UNESCO, 2005).

- Regions where this has been achieved include Latin America, East and South East Asia and Oceania. Girls' enrolment rates are also much higher than those found in the less developed regions in Africa and Asia.
- The largest gaps are in the Arab States (here girls are 60 per cent of those out of school at primary level), sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia.
- Girls' participation is substantially lower than boys' in 71 out of 175 countries at primary level.
- Of 83 developing countries with data, half have achieved gender parity at primary level, fewer than one fifth at secondary and only four countries at tertiary level.
- In West Asia and North Africa, the number of girls enrolled was just slightly below the number of boys.

Parity indicates simply that the same proportion of girls as boys of the same age group enter the education system and participate in the different educational cycles. Parity is not the same as gender equality, which is not simply a numerical concept. Gender equality means that boys and girls experience the same advantages and disadvantages in educational access, treatment and outcomes. Progress towards gender equality will not only be a more complex goal to achieve, but it will be more difficult to measure as well.

Progress towards gender equality in areas where girls are at present underachieving and under-represented will require a wide-ranging and concerted effort. This will include:

- increasing emphasis on recruiting female teachers to act as role models
- reducing the parental demand for girls' help with household chores
- ensuring that schools become safe places for girls and that school-based gender violence is reduced
- increasing opportunities for gender-sensitive training for teachers
- eliminating sexism in classroom practices, textbooks and curricula.

These last two points apply equally to the situation where there is a lack of gender equality for boys, as appears sometimes to be the case among lower class boys in developed countries. In fact, you need to examine the situation carefully in your own region, where the balance may be shifting subtly towards inequality for boys. This question is discussed further in the last section of this unit on 'male marginalisation'.

The next activity asks you to consider gender equality and schooling in your country.



Activity 1.4

(about 20 minutes, not counting research and discussion)

Reflect on the following questions and make notes in your learning journal on your responses to them. You may like to use them as the basis for a discussion with your colleagues or fellow students - or in a tutorial group if you have one.

- Are there differences in your country between the percentage of boys and girls
 - in primary education?
 - in secondary education?
- If so, what do you think are the likely causes?
- If there is a serious imbalance that is likely to cause problems at some point, what steps can you as a youth development worker take to help remedy the situation in your community?
- Is there gender inequality in education? What is the evidence of this? Can you suggest why?

School dropout rates

One of the Millennium Development Goals is to achieve parity in the provision of education for boys and girls. However, not only do smaller percentages of girls than boys enrol at schools in many countries – as you have just seen – but also girls drop out of school earlier than boys.

There are many reasons for the high dropout rates, particularly for girls in poor countries. These include

- the high relative cost of education and the need to prioritise
- the distances children have to travel to school
- parents' need for their children's labour

- the fact that parents may feel that schooling is becoming less relevant wherever the opportunities for modern and public sector work decrease (as they are doing in the poorest countries).

Another reason is becoming more apparent as the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic is felt. Girls are the first to be removed from school as substitute carers, to take care of ailing parents or orphaned siblings. In addition, girls between the ages of 15 and 19 are becoming infected at rates four to seven times greater than that of boys, and they have to drop out of school because of persistent illness.

As globalisation calls for higher levels of education, it is clear that measures will have to be found to counter school dropout. Poor countries will become even poorer the less education children get. Some of these measures will need to be national and initiated by governments, such as incentives to encourage qualified teachers to work in remote rural areas. Other measures, however, can be initiated in communities by, or involving, youth development workers. They can be simple but vital measures, such as organising youth groups to travel to school together to ensure that girls arrive safely, and other measures to ensure that school becomes a safe place for girls. Innovative action and thinking will help to correct the situation.

To end this section on education, here's a reading about schooling for girls followed by an activity to help you apply the educational issues discussed to your own work.



Reading 1 'School's in' by Malcolm Doney describes how Nigeria's Islamiya schools are bringing education to girls. As you read, note ways in which this example addresses some of the factors we have discussed so far, such as access, dropout and illiteracy. What lessons can you learn from the reading for your own context?



Activity 1.5

(about 25 minutes, not counting the interview)

This is a brief research task to help you set the issues discussed in your own context.

- Find a girl or young woman in your community who has dropped out of school early and interview her briefly.
- Ask her why she dropped out of school and what effect this has had on her and her family.
- Ask her what she intends to do in the future and whether she hopes to return to school.
- If your region is experiencing as much dropout (or more) among boys rather than girls, do the same investigation with a boy who has dropped out.

- Ask the young person what difference being a girl (or boy) made to the decision to drop out, its impact and any future plans.

Note: It's important to explain to the young person you interview the nature of this course and the purpose of the interview. Remember it is ethical to seek consent first and to keep the information confidential. You should not reveal the identity of the interviewee without her or his permission.

When you have gathered the information, think of ways you as a youth development worker might try to prevent this kind of situation happening in the future. Make short notes about possible projects.

Write your findings and your ideas in your learning journal.

This activity should have given you a real sense of what dropping out of school means for a young woman or young man.

In the previous section you have seen how important education, particularly women's education, is for development. Next we consider the gender aspects of health.

Health

In Module 12 *Youth and Health*, you will examine health issues in depth. Here we give you a brief overview of the key issues, particularly as they relate to young women.

Social and biological factors tend to affect the health of females and males differently. Females in particular face many health problems because of their reproductive functions. A World Bank study lists several such problems and we will discuss them in summary form here (World Bank, 1994, pp 15–19).

Girls in infancy and childhood

Girls are born with certain inherent biological advantages that make them less vulnerable to childhood diseases given equal nutrition, health conditions and health care. However, discrimination in the treatment of girls can destabilise their innate biological advantages. In many developing countries, girls experience poorer health than boys because of inadequate nutrition and health care. Such disparities are greatest in India and China, where more girls than boys die before their fifth birthday. In a number of other developing countries, girls are also more likely to die than boys because of similar problems.

The key factors that adversely affect girls' health include:

- discriminatory childcare practices
- female genital mutilation
- sex selection and sex selective abortion.

Let's now look at each of these factors briefly.

Discriminatory childcare practices

In societies where boys are more highly valued than girls, boys receive more preventive care and more timely attention when they fall ill. In some societies, girls receive less food and less nutritious food than boys, leading to malnutrition and impaired physical development.

Female genital mutilation

An estimated 2 million young girls are subjected to genital mutilation or female circumcision. Often performed under unsterile conditions, this invasive procedure can lead to death, acute pain, recurrent urinary tract infections, mental trauma, painful sexual intercourse and complications during childbirth.

Sex selection/ sex selective abortion

There are no certain overall statistics on the numbers of girls that die each year by infanticide, because the data are unreliable and ambiguous, according to Gendercide Watch (a Canadian NGO). However, the least it would be is in the hundreds of thousands. Sex-selective foeticides through abortions are likely to be even greater in number.

Gendercide Watch's web site says:

“... female infanticide reflects the low status accorded to women in many societies around the world. The “burden” of taking a woman into the family accounts for the high dowry rates in India which, in turn, have led to an epidemic of female infanticide. Typical also is China, where culture dictates that when a girl marries she leaves her family and becomes part of her husband's family. For this reason Chinese peasants have for many centuries wanted a son to ensure that there is someone to look after them in their old age.”

http://www.gendercide.org/case_infanticide.html

In an article in *The Guardian* (13 May 2002), John Gittings cites Chinese national census statistics to show that the female/ male imbalance is 100 to 116. Today this is likely to be primarily caused by the Chinese Government's attempt to control the population explosion through its one-child per family rule. That rule, allied to the long-standing demand for male children, is generating the upsurge in foeticide.

In India, “*Sons are called upon to provide the income; they are the ones who do most of the work in the fields. In this way sons are looked to as a type of insurance*” (Marina Porras, cited on the Gendercide Watch web site 28/03/06). This, added to the fact that the bride's family has to pay enormous sums of money to the family in which the bride will live after marriage, means that poorer Indian families will only want male children. Moreover, India is the centre of sex-selective abortion. After

1974, when amniocentesis was introduced to ascertain birth defects in a sample population, medical entrepreneurs seized on the potential market. Now many of the infanticides indicated by population statistics are really foeticides. The provision of 'dowry' renders the bride's family vulnerable to various kinds of economic exploitation: hence the decision to abort the female foetus. In Mumbai, for example, only one of the 8,000 abortions performed after parents learned the sex of the foetus prevented the birth of a male child.

The Gendercide Watch web page cites Zeng et al's (1993) prescriptions for a fundamental shift in these patterns. They recommend improving public awareness of what is happening, and creating specific socio-economic policies to protect the basic rights of women and children, particularly female children, punishing the misuse of prenatal sex identification, protecting women and children from kidnap, and developing high quality family planning services.

Girls in adolescence

A number of other problems affect adolescents and have a much more negative impact on females. These include:

- early childbearing
- unsafe abortion
- sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS
- under-nutrition
- substance and drug abuse.

Again there is more on these topics in Module 12 *Youth and Health*. Here we'll discuss each briefly.

Early childbearing

The proportion of women giving birth during their teenage years ranges from 10–50 per cent depending on the country and region. Early childbearing is particularly common in traditional, often rural, settings where early marriage is the norm. It is also becoming widespread among unmarried adolescents.

Early pregnancy can have particularly harmful effects on a girl's social and economic opportunities. In Botswana, for example, a study found that one in seven women who dropped out of school did so because of pregnancy, and of those only one in five returned to school (Bledsoe and Cohen, 1993).

Adolescent girls are not physically prepared for childbirth, since linear growth is not complete until the age of 18 and the birth canal does not reach mature size until two to three years later. As a result of this and other factors, teenage mothers face a high risk of serious pregnancy-related complications. In fact, one in every four women in developing areas suffers from pregnancy-related health problems. In Africa, a woman's risk of dying from causes related to childbirth is

one in 16, while that of a woman in Europe is much lower risk at one in 1,400 (United Nations, 2000, p. 4).

Early pregnancy increases the chances of maternal mortality and illness. In a Nigerian study, for example, 17 per cent of 14-year-olds developed hypertensive disorders in pregnancy, compared with 3 per cent of women aged 20 to 34. Also in Nigeria, 33 per cent of all cases of vesico-vaginal fistulae (a tearing of the walls between the vagina and bladder or rectum following prolonged labour) affected women under the age of 16.

About 20 per cent more childbearing adolescents are at risk of experiencing maternal or infant death compared with women in their twenties. The risks increase many times for girls under the age of 16.

Unsafe abortion

Many unmarried adolescents seek abortion – whether legal or not – in order to avoid expulsion from school and social condemnation. Because they often seek abortions secretly, and there are often delays before the abortion is obtained, adolescents face a high rate of abortion complications.

Studies of hospital records in several African countries found that between 38 and 68 per cent of women seeking care for complications because of abortion were under 20 years of age.

To follow these examples of the impact of early childbearing and unsafe abortion, here's an activity to relate them to your own community.



Activity 1.6

(about 20 minutes, not counting the research)

Find out what services, if any, exist in your community to help adolescents who become pregnant.

Collect any information that is available to educate young women on how to avoid unwanted pregnancy and unsafe abortions.

What advice might you give young women to help them avoid these?

Make notes about your ideas in your learning journal.

You will find it useful to keep the information you have gathered in this and other activities for future use in your work in communities.

STIs and HIV/AIDS

Sexually transmitted infections (STIs) including HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) are spreading rapidly among young

women, mainly through heterosexual sex and especially unprotected sexual relations with older men. HIV eventually leads (seemingly inevitably at present, although expensive drugs can delay it) to Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).

At the global level, almost 40 million people were living with HIV in 2006 (UNAIDS/WHO, 2006). Two thirds (63 per cent) of all adults and children with HIV globally live in sub-Saharan Africa, with its epicentre in southern Africa. In many regions of the world, new HIV infections are heavily concentrated among young people (15–24 years of age). Among adults 15 years and older, young people accounted for 40 per cent of new HIV infections in 2006 (ibid.).

In Thailand an estimated 800,000 prostitutes are under the age of 20. Of these, one quarter is under 14, and roughly three in ten are HIV-infected. There is evidence to show that adolescent girls are biologically more vulnerable to STIs than older women because the immature genital tract is more prone to tear during sex. In addition, they are more likely to have difficulty negotiating safe sex practices with their partners and have limited access to public health information and services.

According to the Human Rights Watch, 2001 (cited in Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002, p 4) AIDS flourishes:

“where women are unable to negotiate the terms of their sexual relations, where gay men and sex workers are marginalised and excluded from services, and where sexual violence (particularly during armed conflicts) is prevalent.”

For many women, contracting HIV through sexual intercourse is not because they have multiple sexual partners, but rather because of the sexual behaviour of their steady male partners. Marriage can actually increase the risk of HIV for young girls: In various African countries, *‘married girls between the ages of 15 and 19 have higher HIV infection levels than non-married sexually active females of the same age’* (UNAIDS, 2004).

Even in instances when women have the information and knowledge to act safely, the need for them to reproduce, and their traditionally subordinate role within the family and society, together with their economic dependence on men, may act as a deterrent to their refusal to be engaged in risky, sexual behaviour (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002).

From what you have read so far, you can see how important information and education are. Women need to be able to access information about HIV/AIDS, sexuality and reproductive health. More importantly, education is a critical tool for increasing people’s knowledge and understanding of preventative health-care practices. The following quotation, from a World Bank publication (2002, p 7), shows how education can protect women from HIV/AIDS:

“Women with a post-primary education were three times more likely than uneducated women to know that HIV/AIDS can be transmitted from mother to child.”

- “In Zimbabwe secondary education had a protective effect against HIV infection for women that extended at least into early adulthood ...”
- “In Zambia young women with a secondary education were less likely to be HIV-positive than those who had not received a secondary education (1995–1997). During the 1990s the HIV infection rate fell by almost half among educated women with little decline for women without any formal schooling ...”
- “In 17 countries in Africa and 4 in Latin America better educated girls tended to delay having sex, and were more likely to require their partners to use condoms.”
- “In Uganda, while infection rates among young women of all educational backgrounds fell, the decline was greatest for women with a secondary education.”



Activity 1.7

(about 20 minutes, not counting discussion)

Reflect on the following question. If you can, ask friends, colleagues or other students their opinions - or you may want to use the question as the basis of a discussion.

- What can you do as a youth development worker to make young people aware of HIV/AIDS and to encourage them either to abstain from early sexual engagement or to practise safer sex?

Make notes about your findings and your ideas in your learning journal.

This activity should have helped you start relating the question of STIs and HIV/AIDS to your work as a youth development worker. Now we consider the last two health-related problems that may have a particular impact on girls and young women.

Under-nutrition

Girls' nutritional needs increase in early adolescence because of the growth spurt associated with puberty and the onset of menstruation. Adolescent girls need not only adequate food, but also the right kinds of nutrients and micronutrients for reproductive health.

Inadequate diet and micronutrient deficiency during this period can jeopardise girls' health and physical development, resulting in life-long problems. Iron-deficiency anaemia is particularly common

among adolescent girls. Skeletal growth is also delayed by malnutrition, and since a smaller pelvis can prolong labour and obstruct delivery, incomplete skeletal growth, or stunting, may cause serious risks during childbirth.

Gendercide Watch (28/03/06) argues that nutritional and health-care deficits in India target female health. They cite Karlakar's work, *The Girl Child in India*, which says:

“In Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, it is usual for girls and women to eat less than men and boys and to have their meal after the men and boys had finished eating... In case of illness, it is usually boys who have preference in health care... More is spent on clothing for boys than for girls, which also affects morbidity.”

Substance and drug abuse

Adolescents often experiment with harmful substances, including tobacco, alcohol and drugs. In the past, diseases associated with this lifestyle and behaviour have been less of a problem for women than for men, but this is changing in some countries. Cigarette advertising is now targeting women and young people, and smoking is spreading most rapidly among young women. Early initiation into such behaviours sets a pattern for life-long use and increases morbidity and mortality, including risks specific to women's reproductive functions. For example, women over the age of 30 who smoke heavily and take oral contraceptives have a higher risk of cardiovascular disease, and pregnant women who smoke have a higher risk of stillbirths, premature labour and low birth weight babies.

You will find more details on youth and drug abuse in Unit 6 of Module 12 *Youth and Health*.

Here's a role-play activity to highlight the special health problems girls and young women face. This activity will call for both time and organisation on your part, but we hope you will find that it is an effective way of making the issues come alive and creating positive approaches.



Activity 1.8

(The time will depend on how long you want to spend organising and carrying out the role-play and the subsequent discussion. Allow at least 20 minutes to write up your findings.)

This activity involves a role-play that aims to highlight the special health problems faced by young women and girls. You will need to find a small group of people to do the role-play with - family members, friends, colleagues at work or fellow students.

Role-play

In many countries, girls experience a whole range of health problems often because of discriminatory practices. In your group:

1. Identify any practices in your community that tend to affect the health of girls negatively.
2. Develop and perform a role-play to highlight the pressures girls experience in any **one** of the following areas:
 - discriminatory childcare
 - female genital mutilation
 - sex selection
 - early marriage/ early childbearing
 - unsafe abortion
 - STIs and HIV/AIDS
 - under-nutrition
 - substance/ drug abuse

The role-play should include positive messages to discourage these practices.

After the role-play, discuss both the surface and underlying issues that emerge.

Write a short account of the role-play and the issues discussed in your learning journal.

Well done, and we hope you found that a fruitful and creative activity helped you understand the problems better and identify positive messages.

After this exploration of different health issues, one further issue that affects young people, in particular young women, is unemployment. We will now provide a brief overview of this problem.

Youth unemployment

You may recall that Module 2 *Young People and Society* mentioned the issue of gender and the labour market in Unit 4. In this section, we look briefly at some recent trends.

Unemployment rates vary significantly by age and gender. For countries where data are available, unemployment has been found to be highest among young people. The UN *World Youth Report* (2005) indicated that global youth unemployment had increased to a record high of 88 million. Moreover, the general observation is that levels of unemployment among youth tend to be two to three times higher than the adult population. Unemployment rates are higher for women than for men in all developing regions except East Asia and sub-Saharan Africa (ibid). There tends to be higher unemployment among young women than young men, even in many industrialised countries.

Unemployment rates among youth are highest in Northern and sub-Saharan Africa. These are also the regions where the population of children and young people is higher than the adult population. Unemployment rates among females aged 15–19 years are very high in the sub-Saharan region, as the following rates show:

- Swaziland – 63 per cent
- Namibia – 51 per cent
- Botswana – 42 per cent
- Kenya – 40 per cent
- Zambia – 40 per cent.

Except for Kenya and Zambia, the unemployment rates are lower among males.

In the age group 20–24 years, unemployment rates are slightly lower, but much higher than in the developed countries and Latin America. Unemployment is higher among women than men in this age group also.

Encouraging trends started emerging during the 1990s, however. Larger percentages of women were becoming economically active across the developing world. Most become self-employed in non-agricultural activities, such as informal trading, service repairs and small manufacturing. The United Nations points out that the *“largest increase was in sub-Saharan Africa, where women’s self-employment grew from 44 to 90 per cent between 1970 and 1990”*, particularly in the micro and small enterprise sector (United Nations, 2000, p 6). Women’s participation in the informal sector is also significant in Asia. In India and Indonesia, for example, nine out of 10 women who are not engaged in agricultural activities, work in the informal sector.

While women's increased economic participation is to be welcomed, it is significant that this occurs mainly in a sector characterised by lack of security, lack of benefits and low income.



Activity 1.9

(about 10 minutes, not counting the fact-finding)

Check the levels of youth unemployment in your country, and details of different unemployment rates for young men and young women.

In your view, what are the implications of youth unemployment in your country?

In your view, what are the different implications for young men and young women?

Make notes in your learning journal.

There will be very different answers for the different regions and countries of the Commonwealth. However, implications of unemployment for young people may include: poverty, migration to urban areas, homelessness and housing problems, rising crime rates in some areas, lack of youth participation in society and low morale among young people

Implications that may have a particular impact on young women are adolescent prostitution and higher rates of teenage pregnancy. Young women may find their life chances particularly limited.

So far in this unit you have seen how a number of important development issues – life expectancy, population, education, health and youth unemployment – may have different impacts on women and men, and how statistical patterns underline these differences. Now we move on to define key concepts that can be used as tools to investigate these differences further.

Key concepts: sex and gender

In this unit you have come across the two terms 'sex' and 'gender'. You may have been wondering what the difference is.



Activity 1.10

(about 5 minutes)

If you think you know the difference between the two terms, write down your definitions now in your learning journal. If you are not sure, make an attempt and then read the following explanations.

'Sex' and 'gender' have very different meanings.

- **Sex** is a biological concept. It refers to all the physiological characteristics that distinguish women from men, on the basis of their reproductive functions. Sex is determined prior to our birth.
- **Gender** is a social construct. It refers to these socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities and attributes that are considered appropriate for women and men. In other words gender is something we shape and define as a society. The two sexes occupy different positions in society. Their chances in life, and the way in which they are destined to participate in the different spheres of society, are determined to a large extent by their gender identity. However, the fact that childbearing can create significant penalties of time and indisposition for women influences this.
- **Gender identity** refers to the set of roles, characteristics and behaviour that is prescribed for a particular sex by each society and that is learned through a socialisation process, both within the family and in the wider society.

"Essentially, the distinction between sex and gender is made to emphasise that everything women and men do, and everything expected of them, with the exception of their sexually distinct functions (child-bearing and breast feeding; impregnation) can change, and does change over time and according to changing and varied social and cultural factors."

(Williams, Seed and Mwau, 1994)

For example, girls and women may be expected to:

- be caring, gentle, passive, respectful and obedient
- be responsible for domestic chores and childcare
- speak and dress moderately
- please and obey men

- control their sexuality, behave responsibly and hide their sexual feelings.

Conversely, boys and men may be expected to:

- make important family decisions – for example, about household expenditure or how many children to have
- marry and provide for their family
- be strong and not show their emotions
- take the lead in relationships and sex.

(Commonwealth Secretariat, September 2001)

Gender identity, based on the sex into which someone is born, therefore shapes and determines the roles and activities that society regards as appropriate, determines the level of access each person will have to services and resources (and therefore determines the extent to which each person is excluded from such services and resources) and shapes the relations between men and women, as well as their relative power in social and political relations.

In essence, the different roles of women and men depend on a particular socio-economic, political and cultural context, and are affected by other factors such as age, race, class and ethnicity.

As you can see, 'sex' and 'gender' have different meanings – so you must be sure to use them accurately and not interchangeably. In the rest of the module, we will mainly be concerned with the term 'gender' and explore why this is such a vital issue in youth development work.

First, we introduce other gender concepts that can be used as tools for the investigation of gender issues.

Using gender concepts

The concept of 'gender' is a valuable tool for you to use to investigate social relationships and problems such as social class. There are several other concepts that will aid you in that investigation:

- gender relations
- gender analysis
- gender equality
- gender equity
- gender discrimination
- gender socialisation
- gender mainstreaming.

Gender relations	The social relations between women and men, which can be investigated by considering their degree of cooperation, connectedness, mutual support, competition, conflict, difference and inequality.
Gender analysis	A method for investigating the nature of the social relationships between men and women in every sphere of society: identifying inequalities and highlighting how power is distributed between them: who does what? who possesses what? who gains? who loses? In order to be effective, gender analysis has to break down and show the links between the public and private spheres. There is more discussion of forms of gender analysis in Unit 4.
Gender equality	Gender equality means women and men have equal rights and should have the same entitlements and opportunities. Equality is rights-based.
Gender equity	Gender equity means justice so that resources are fairly distributed, taking into account different needs. <i>Note: Gender equality and gender equity are not the same thing, though the terms are often used interchangeably.</i>
Gender discrimination	The differences of treatment accorded to women and men in the spheres of public activity, such as legal status or the way the educational system favours one gender more than another.
Gender socialisation	The processes by which men and women learn the behaviour and attitudes regarded as appropriate for their sex. There was a great deal of work done on this in the 1960s and 1970s, for example, investigating the way that girls may be gently coerced into becoming feminine by the ways they were treated and what they were expected to do.
Gender mainstreaming	An interventionist strategy whose aim is to achieve gender equality goals in an organisation through integrating gender analysis into everything the organisation does. To achieve such change, interventionists must understand exactly how the organisation works and what is needed to affect its rules and structures.

To end this section here is a short activity to help you reflect on what gender means in practice.



Activity 1.11

(about 10 minutes)

Think about the following questions and make notes in your learning journal of your answers.

- When did you discover that you were different from the opposite sex?
- What messages did you receive as a child about gender - about the roles, qualities and expectations for girls and boys, women and men?
- Where did these messages come from? (e.g., family, school, peers)
- How has this early learning shaped your adult values and assumptions?

Your reflections on these questions will no doubt reveal something about the social and cultural expectations of your time and place. This activity can be adapted for use with young people you are working with, to help them understand more about their gender identity and gender issues.

As youth development workers, part of our role is to facilitate social development by helping to remove those things that block the development of young people. From the start of this diploma we have argued that there is evidence to show that human beings have the potential to grow in intellectual and social capacity. However, the effects of elite social structures, elite practices and elite ideologies can prevent this growth. We have to challenge this, whether the elites are social class and power elites or gender elites.

The issues we have examined in this unit affect all young people. But you can see from the data that young women tend to be more vulnerable and disadvantaged in all the key areas of development: life expectancy, male-female population ratios, education, health and work opportunities. Social forces and circumstances, structural and cultural, determine this. These can be challenged and it is part of our role to ensure that they are challenged.

At the same time, sometimes, in some places in the Commonwealth, gender practices and ideologies may be beginning to favour women and girls. If these block the development of young men and boys (and possibly in certain ways disadvantage girls and women if they fail to develop balanced professional and personal relations with men), then we have to challenge these as well. In the next section we consider ways in which gender issues affect not just young women, but young men too.

Male marginalisation

This unit ends with a discussion of the concept of male marginalisation, focusing on the debate on this issue in the Caribbean and recent related research in the UK.



Case study 1.1

Male marginalisation in the Caribbean

The debate about male marginalisation can create sharp political difficulties for human development specialists.

It did so when Errol Miller, Professor of Teacher Education at the University of the West Indies (UWI), used two terms – ‘male marginalisation’ and ‘men at risk’ – in his book *Men at Risk* (1991). The book is a scholarly, deeply felt critique of social developments in the Caribbean. In this region women had become much more dominant in social and professional life than they had been previously. This is something that youth development workers should all be delighted about. However, according to Miller, it also had several unforeseen and ideologically invisible consequences. He wanted to ensure that these were recognised and tackled.

“The description of Caribbean societies points to lower strata men’s marginal positions in the family, role reversal in a small but increasing number of households, boys’ declining participation and performance in the educational system, the greater prospect of men not inheriting their fathers’ positions in the social structure, the decline of men in the highest-paying and most prestigious occupations and the decrease in men’s earning power relative to women’s, especially in white collar occupations.”

(Miller, 1991)

Miller’s book has generated a lot of argument between those who support his view and those who argue against it. The debate is fierce and highly relevant to our work.

Dr Eudine Barriteau, Head of the Centre for Gender Studies at the University of the West Indies (UWI) in Barbados, presented a paper at the sixth meeting of the Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women’s Affairs, which she called ‘Re-examining Issues of Male Marginalisation and Masculinity in the Caribbean: the Need for a New Policy Approach’.

Barriteau argued that there are two dimensions to the issue of gender equity: (1) how equitably men and women gain access to state resources; and (2) how significant the dominant ideological ideas in the Caribbean are about what is masculine and what is feminine, which may work against equitable treatment for either gender. She

claimed that she could find no evidence in either of these dimensions that Caribbean men were discriminated against. In her view, the anxiety that had led to Miller's thesis was caused by the prevailing ideology in the Caribbean that men should be dominant and privileged. This was threatened by the strides that women had made in responding to the adverse circumstances of their lives. She argued that Miller's underlying assumptions must be that men have an automatically greater right to state resources than women and that the attempt to correct faults that deny resources to women is designed to punish men.

In her paper, Barriteau cited Keisha Lindsay who challenges Miller's 'inadequate and selective data', and Barry Chevannes and Marlene Hamilton who point out the dominance of males in positions of institutional power in the region. Chevannes has also made an analysis of Caribbean Examinations Council and UWI results. This shows that the academic dominance of women is only in the liberal arts and humanities, while men seek success in technologically and vocationally based subjects – subjects that are probably more productive in terms of long-term employment.

However, it can be argued that this presents an unbalanced view of Miller's book, which points towards quite a narrow population of young, lower class males. While the debate about his ideas is important conceptually, it's crucial to focus on the precise situations in which problems reveal themselves, because that is where we can probably do something about it. The problems that Miller highlights are becoming much more evident among lower class boys and young men in the developed countries and those places like the Caribbean and Malaysia that are developing rapidly. They seem to have some basis in social psychological responses to the speeded-up growth of the global economy. This growth can move low-skilled (particularly manual) work in more affluent countries – which used to be guaranteed work for boys and men – to countries like China and India where education levels are relatively high but wages are cheap.

Of course Barriteau is right to support the advances of women in the Caribbean, which has made enormous strides in women's development. However, it could do the same for men by applying the same principles formed in the women's struggle. In fact, Barriteau's own department at UWI has inaugurated a progressive and challenging course, 'Introduction to Men and Masculinities in the Caribbean', which is clearly attempting to do this.

It is simplistic to see the situation discussed in the Caribbean case study as only a problem for boys and to blame the success of girls as taking necessary resources away from boys, as some of the popularisers of the male marginalisation thesis may have done. The issue is one of structural and cultural change embodied in social relationships, and it can lead to some serious problems. For example, when large young groups of men are alienated from civil society there

are dangers of violent reactive behaviour, absorption in the drug culture or suicide in response to their lack of access to educational success, housing, marriage and social status.

The failure of young people to develop their potential is a predicament for any society. And the complex social psychological pressures do not simply affect young males, as the next case study drawn from UK research illustrates.



Case study 1.2

Lads and ladettes in the UK

There has been a report in the UK (15 August 2006) of research with 13-14 year olds, conducted by Dr Carolyn Jackson of Lancaster University, for her book *Lads and Ladettes in School* (Jackson 2006), of the rise among middle class girls of a “culture of laddishness”, influenced by the behaviour of boys. They are beginning to develop the disruptive, anti-school, anti-learning behaviour of working class and some middle class boys.

“The girls I interviewed suggested that it’s ‘uncool’ for girls to work hard. This counters perceptions that it’s OK for girls to work hard but uncool for boys... The girls think their behaviour makes them appear cool and popular if they have a laugh and mess about in class.”

Dr Jackson’s view is that this is largely ego defensive, as if in the current situation children’s egos are particularly vulnerable.

“Being laddish gets round the fact that, to some extent, because you pretend that you haven’t worked and so expect to fail, if you do well you’re seen as a genius because others think you succeeded without effort.”

The anti-school behaviour of many boys probably also has a deep ego-defensive quality about it. The UK schools are now enormously competitive, and those lower down the social system are unlikely to have the resources to support them in an increasingly competitive qualifications and job market that makes deep demands on private resources. A report in the UK *Times* (14 August 2006) says, ‘*Young people with fewer than five good GCSEs risk becoming unemployable and should stay on at college to boost their results, employers have advised.*’ Less than 50 per cent of pupils in the UK achieve five good GCSEs. ‘Cool’ behaviour is at least psychologically boosting for young people, both young men and young women, during the troubled teen years, faced by this knowledge.

UK employers’ bodies (20 August 2006) have complained strongly about the fact that business managers have to retrain “*untidy and grunting school leavers*” in basic arithmetic and reading and writing, as well as social skills, before they can be employed. So the effect of

what is happening to both young men and young women has very serious social and economic consequences.

The next activity asks you to think about what you have read in the case studies in relation to your own situation.



Activity 1.12

(about 10 minutes)

Draw on your own experience and observations to answer the questions, and write your answers in your learning journal.

- Does male marginalisation exist in your country?
- Do girls display the 'laddish' behaviour the second case study describes?
- What evidence do you have to support your reply? (e.g., participation in education system, academic performance, employment patterns, earning power)
- What do you think are the social and economic consequences in your country?

The two case studies and the final activity show that as development workers we need to analyse the specific situations where behaviour and their consequences occur, and we should know enough to counsel young people who fail to develop essential abilities because of social, cultural and identity pressures. The failure of young people of either sex to develop their full natural potential will have serious social and economic consequences.

This brings you to the end of Unit 1. In this unit, through the activities, you have started to explore the gender impacts of development issues in your country, and to consider the implications for you as a youth development worker. Well done if you have worked through all the activities and group discussions that helped you apply general ideas and information to your own work and practice.

Unit summary

In this unit, you have covered the following main points:

- Key development issues have different impacts on men and women. You have seen how data and statistical patterns can be used to analyse these impacts.
- You have looked specifically at.
 - *Life expectancy*: Women live longer than men, but there are slightly more men than women in the world today.
 - *Population*: In some societies where male children are preferred, male-female imbalances are increasing due, for example, to sex-selective abortion or infanticide.
 - *Education*: Women make up two-thirds of the illiterate population in the world.

While many countries achieve near parity in educational enrolment (i.e. equal numbers of boys and girls), progress towards gender equality in education is a more complex goal and more difficult to measure.

School dropout rates are higher for girls than boys in many developing countries.

- *Health*: Women experience more health problems than men because of problems related to their reproductive functions (e.g. early child-bearing, unsafe abortion) and because of discriminatory practices (e.g. discriminatory childcare, under-nutrition).

Women face specific gender-related health problems through STIs, HIV/AIDS and substance and drug abuse.

- *Youth unemployment* is a serious problem for all young people, but girls' rates of unemployment are generally higher than boys'.
- The concepts 'sex' and 'gender' mean different things. 'Sex' is a biological concept, while 'gender' is a social construct. The concept of gender is a crucial tool for exploring the unevenness of development and how it affects men and women in different ways.
- The debate about male marginalisation highlights the fact that gender issues and discrimination do not just concern women. Youth development workers need to be alert to the social forces and circumstances that may affect both young women and young men.

To check how you have got on, look back at the learning outcomes for this unit and see if you can now do them. When you have done

this, look through your learning journal to remind yourself of what you have learned and the ideas you have generated.

As you move on to Unit 2, you will examine further the issue of gender inequality and theories that have been put forward to explain it. We then look at attempts to eliminate discrimination, and the implications of this for your work.

Answers to self-help questions

Self-help question 1.1

Here are some suggested reasons. You may have thought of others.

Life expectancy is falling in these countries because:

Poverty is increasing in these countries.

- AIDS and other diseases are having a major impact on some developing countries.
- Drought and environmental degradation have led to food shortages in some countries – particularly in sub-Saharan Africa – that weaken people's resistance to illness.
- Structural adjustment policies imposed on indebted governments have reduced the money they can spend on social welfare – including health.
- Worldwide economic change has reduced the percentage of money developed countries give to developing nations for humanitarian aid.
- Prices of primary products across the world are falling because of globalisation. These are the products most developing countries depend on for income. Lower income means fewer welfare programmes for the population.

Self-help question 1.2

In these societies, reasons to prefer boy children might be:

- Boys are seen to be more likely potential breadwinners for the family.
- Boys may carry on the family name and inherit family property, whilst girls may not.
- Girls may be seen as a burden on the family until they are married. Even then, many societies require a girl to have a marriage dowry. This may be seen as an expense the family cannot afford, since it's normally large.
- There may be cultural and religious traditions that favour males.
- In some societies, females have such low status and such a poorer quality of life than males, that this may lead mothers to prefer to keep their male children.

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Unit 2: Inequality and discrimination

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Unit introduction

In Unit 1 you saw how a range of development issues affect women and men in different ways. In this unit we look at a number of theories that have been put forward to explain gender inequality (and that can, of course, also be applied to groups of men that experience discrimination).

Next we discuss the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). It is included as a reading, to enable you to study the way that international theorists have applied ethical and social principles to the problems faced by women around the world. We will ask you to spend some time studying it and considering how it can be used as a guide for action and for a review of your organisation's policies and programmes.

Finally we focus on your role as a youth development worker, and consider approaches to tackle gender discrimination and inequality.

Unit learning outcomes

When you have worked through this unit, you should be able to:

- outline briefly some theories put forward to explain gender inequality
- relate the main provisions of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to your own country and society
- devise changes in your organisation's policies and programmes to help it better achieve the Convention's recommendations
- discuss the part played by social processes and structures in creating or eliminating gender inequality and discrimination.

Theories of gender inequality

Before you begin work on this unit, you need to recall the definitions of gender equality, gender equity and gender discrimination you met in Unit 1, so we start with a self-help question.



Self-help question 2.1

(about 5 minutes)

Write definitions in your own words of the following:

- gender equality
- gender equity
- gender discrimination

Compare your answers with those provided at the end of the unit.

In Unit 1 you also looked at the way important development issues have different impacts on men and women in terms of life expectancy, population, education, health and employment. We now look further at the nature and causes of these differences.

Women's status

“...gender discrimination remains pervasive in every region of the world. It appears in the preference for sons over daughters, limited opportunities in education and work for girls and women, and outright gender-based violence in the forms of physical and sexual violence.”

(UNICEF, 2006, p viii)

The problem of gender inequality is of course structural and it cannot be resolved ideologically, though major ideological changes in a society's accepted moral values may clear the ground for the important changes in administrative power that are necessary. Until there is serious change in the social processes and structures you learned about in Unit 1 – where we saw that there are in many countries marked differences between women's and men's educational status, health status and employment opportunities – then the effects of discrimination are unlikely to disappear.

In the handbook for policy makers and other stakeholders, *Gender Mainstreaming in Poverty Eradication and the Millennium Development Goals*, Naila Kabeer makes the following statement about gender inequality:

“Gender inequality is constructed both through society's formal laws and statutes and through unwritten norms and shared

understandings. It is... the most prevalent form of social disadvantage in societies. It cuts across all other forms of inequality, such as class, caste and race. The argument for addressing gender inequality, therefore, is not simply that it exists in all societies but that it exists at all levels of society.” (2003, p 2)

It is important to note that women are not a homogeneous group. In studying this module, you have already learned that there are regional gender differences, and we have to be wary about making generalised statements about the situation of women throughout the world. Information from the United Nations also shows some important changes over the past 30 years. In many respects women have generally made slow but steady progress. For example:

- Girls’ education has improved over the last half century in many parts of the world, though there are still hundreds of millions of illiterate women and girls who do not complete primary schooling, especially in Africa and South Asia.
- There has been an improvement relating to women’s decreasing fertility. In countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, fertility has declined significantly, while it remains very high in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.
- Women’s labour force participation rates have gone up in many parts of the world, though they have declined in countries that are wracked by war and economic stagnation.

However, women will suffer more in a crisis than a group in a stronger position (i.e. men). According to the conflict structuralist argument (discussed further below), this is because of their structurally weak position. This has been the case with the implementation of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), which have left poor countries unable to get out of the financial burdens imposed on them. The following short case study outlines the impact on women of SAPs and illustrates the different – and unforeseen – ways aspects of development may affect women and men. (You may find it helpful to refer back to Module 2 *Young People and Society*, especially Unit 1 and Readings 1, 2 and 3 for a fuller discussion of what structural adjustment involves.)



Case study 2.1

The impact of macroeconomic policies on women

The Commonwealth Secretariat (1989) had this to say about structural adjustment:

“The economic crisis of the 1980s, and the types of stabilisation and adjustment measures taken in response to it, have halted and reversed the progress in health, nutrition, education and incomes which women had enjoyed in developing countries

during the previous three decades. In the 1980s, despite greater national and international commitment towards gender issues, most women have suffered disproportionately during the widespread economic and social disruption that has occurred in much of the developing world.”

“The underlying reason for the negative impact of SAPs on women can be traced back to the built-in bias against women that characterises macroeconomic analysis and policy.”

“Macroeconomic statistics do not stipulate gender or the sexual division of labour and they appear to be neutral or value-free. Statistics such as gross domestic product refer to marketed goods and services, however, and do not consider subsistence farming, or fuel gathering, water collection, preparation of food, nurturing of children, caring for the elderly or the ill, or processing food – all women’s tasks. In designing SAPs, the international financial institutions – the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund – failed to acknowledge the male bias of their statistics, and they simply assumed that the programmes would impact positively on women’s lives as well.”

“This did not happen. Because women’s work is often unpaid work, it was assumed that women did not work or had sufficient spare time to devote to taking on additional tasks, such as caring for the ill who could no longer be accommodated in hospitals because of the lower government expenditure on social services such as health. Structural adjustment also led to the salaries of civil servants being reduced. This meant that many women had to find work in the informal sector to supplement their households’ meagre incomes.”

“In the 1990s, it became clear that women were no longer able to cope with the many additional tasks that came their way because of SAPs and changing global economic conditions. They had to find alternative coping mechanisms. For example, some authors believe that the increased incidence of children living and working on the street is a sign that large numbers of women have reached breaking point and are opting for sending their children out on their own as a survival strategy and coping mechanism.”

“Although structural adjustment and macroeconomic policies opened new employment opportunities, the poor, and particularly poor women, were in no position to take advantage of these. Either they did not have the training to do so, or they did not have the time.”

The preceding short case study illustrates just one aspect of inequality between men and women.

Next we will outline very briefly some of the explanations that have been proposed for why and how such inequality has come about:

- women's reproductive roles
- functionalist theory
- conflict interactionist theory
- structural conflict theory
- the patriarchal system
- marriage and patriarchy.

Women's reproductive roles

Some people argue that women's reproductive roles have always put them at a disadvantage to men. While they bear and raise their children, women have traditionally been taken out of the mainstream of public life for long periods. This has enabled men to take advantage of the situation by assuming control of all the formal aspects of public life. They may partly do this for convenience and necessity, and women may generally approve for short-term, practical purposes. But it deeply affects the way that a tradition of social interaction and administrative power is built up. Women have to fight their way into many male administrative cultures.

A somewhat similar situation may exist for men, of course, in those few areas of society where the administrative power may be in the hands of women, as in a few university arts and social studies departments or in some schools.

Functionalist theory

A functionalist theorist may argue that it has always been functional (or practical) for men to take up the available public roles. The functionalist theory argues that women are naturally suited to the role of childcare, while in modernising societies men are more suited to the labour market. This theory implies that women with children will give up or interrupt their careers to care for their children. Because women are likely to set aside their education or careers at an early age, they are therefore of less value to their employers in the job market than their highly trained and more skilled male counterparts. Among farmers there is also a division between productive and reproductive work. Research shows that this division of labour works to the disadvantage of women in terms of their ownership and control of resources.

However, functionalist theory is based on stereotyped ideas about women and men, the differences between them and their roles in society (we will return to the dangers of stereotyping later in this unit). This theory disadvantages women massively, so it's clear that there is more than practical advantage at stake. A critic of the functionalist position would observe that, whether consciously or

unconsciously, in practice men systematically exploit women's labour and take the opportunity to get control over their affairs when they can.

Conflict interactionist theory

Some see the source of gender inequality in the nature of society itself. The conflict interactionist model argues that when there are differentiated social groups in a social formation, they tend to be in conflict with each other over resources. They say this is why women and men at some deep level are in conflict over the control of the resources of human labour, money and property. At one level they have the same goals – to maintain society and to bring up their families – but they tend to see this in different ways. This theory helps explain why women's reproductive roles work to their disadvantage – because they are a separate social group in conflict with men for the same resources and taken out of an advantageous position by reproduction. There is a lot of social research describing the way women fight to regain some of their leisure time from men because men have assumed informal rights over their labour.

Structural conflict theory

The Marxist structural conflict theorists have tended to argue that it is capitalism that causes the main problem, because it uses women's reproductive and child rearing functions as cheap ways of replenishing its labour markets. Moreover, in the capitalist system the labour power of all workers of either sex is exploited, even if that is sometimes a well-rewarded exploitation. And this results in a conflict where each layer of the social system exploits the labour power of the next one down, which in turn tries to get as much reward for as little work as possible, because of selling its labour power in a 'free market'. Women are in a structurally weak position so will be exploited more than men and, importantly, by men. That would certainly explain what might underpin the gross unfairness expressed in the Commonwealth Secretariat quotation at the head of this first part of the unit.

However, radical feminists point out that the male exploitation of female labour, particularly in the family, predates capitalism. In addition, there is no obvious reason why capitalism should exploit female labour more than male, since it is blind as an economic process and only takes advantage of whatever comes its way, in the interests of profit.

Structural conflict theorists try to explain the way society as a whole fits together. In the labour market, for example, men who follow strictly masculine careers and women who follow traditional feminine careers reinforce structural features of the labour market – which produces gender differences. This division of labour by gender makes it difficult for people to pursue careers that are not traditional to their gender (e.g. as male nurses or female engineers). (The functionalist,

conflict interactionist and structural conflict theories will be familiar to you from Unit 1 of Module 2 *Young People and Society*.)

The patriarchal system

Patriarchy is a concept that is frequently used to define the expression and institutionalisation of male dominance over females and children in the family, and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. The matriarchal system theoretically does the same for women, though there is very rare female dominance over society in general. The implication here is that men in a patriarchal system hold power in all the important institutions of society and that women are deprived of access to such power (Lerner, 1986). The liberal approach to understanding patriarchy associates gender oppression simply with the lack of equal opportunity with men, while a Marxist approach argues that class conflict is the dominant factor that sets up a structure in which women are exploited by whoever has control.

In many developing societies, the patriarchal system is firmly reinforced by all spheres of the legal system as may be observed in Asian and African societies. Fatima Farideh (2003) notes that:

“the patriarchal system mainly sets forth the idea that women are weak, they need protection, and a safe place for them is the home. Violence, such as rape, is used as a socially justified weapon, to make the environment outside of home unsafe. This enforces the domesticity of women. All these differences are then reinforced by the legal system.”

Marriage and patriarchy

Marriage is of course the institution that is pivotal to establishing gender differences. This takes place at the point at which women and men are starting to live in partnerships, and it's also the point when all the cultural symbols in many societies are designed to reinforce the active, dominant role of men and the passive, grateful role of women.

Here are two short case studies to illustrate the relationship between marriage and patriarchy.



Case study 2.2

A wedding in rural Pakistani Kashmir

Among land-owning caste groups such as choudharys in rural Pakistani Kashmir, when a wedding has been negotiated between two families, the male wedding party, with the resplendent bridegroom at its head, often on horseback, approaches the home or village of the bride to be. After a huge meal and celebration where many clan members of both families are present, he symbolically snatches the bride away from her family and childhood friends in a *doli*. This is a tiny carriage supported on two long poles that are held on the shoulders of the bridegroom's party and taken to his home, where a second party is held. Before this, the bride's village people sing songs of love and loss, while afterwards his party sings songs of triumph and success, fire guns and explode fireworks. Of course she is carrying significant amounts of wealth in the form of gold and wedding gifts to his family, and is also agreeing to give over her labour power to serve its members.

This is a profound, symbolic, socialising experience for the community and legitimised by a customary law that makes it extremely difficult for the bride, even if sometimes her labour is badly exploited and/or her husband is unfaithful or abusive, to disengage herself from his family. They now assume it as their right to exploit her labour power and consider her dowry wealth to be part of their estate. She can nevertheless in principle retrieve the situation by divorce, even if with great difficulty and the risk of public shame.

Of course, there is a longstanding reciprocity in these relationships. In the vast majority of marriages, the bride now has a respected if onerous place at the centre of a family where her husband has rights to family land and therefore where her children will inherit their share of the family's respect and wealth. And she will not be bringing a husband from outside her father's family to share in the limited family landholdings that choudharys generally have. However, from the point of view of gender equality, these marriages do establish women as the objects of the transactions that are negotiated by the male leaders of the family. Many of the marriages are intra-family, with first cousins or second cousins marrying, and involve negotiations between brothers and uncles over land and decision-making rights. This symbolically and practically reinforces patriarchal relations, so that structural differences between the genders are perceived as 'natural' and 'normal', contributing significantly to gender socialisation of the young people.



Case study 2.3

A Maasai bride

Peter Rigby's (1985) excellent study of several groups of Maasai pastoral people quotes Melissa Llewellyn-Davies' 1979 study of Maasai, which highlighted the ambivalence of women's position in a still surprisingly successful patriarchal society.

Llewellyn-Davies describes how a bride would refuse to enter her husband's village *'until she has been promised substantial gifts of livestock (and therefore friendship) by some of the women...'* In a cattle herding society this meant that the new bride had considerable status from that point on, because these cattle would be her inheritance for her own sons. Nevertheless, a ceremony ensued immediately afterwards in which she was verbally attacked and spat upon by the village women and made to break down in tears before she could enter the *enkang*. This perhaps ensured at that time that she had enough status and basic wealth to join the *enkang*, but also that she would have to accept the relationships in the patriarchal social formation.

These two very different accounts show how marriage may be used to make patriarchy seem natural and normal. Marriage is used similarly in a number of societies. While patriarchy may have been functional for the societies where it first developed or for pastoral societies where it is still pivotal, it seems dysfunctional for a post-modern world with its changing gender and power relations.

In Unit 1 you examined ways in which a number of issues may affect women and men differently and you came up with evidence and examples from your own country. Now that you've read these brief accounts of theories to explain gender inequality, the next activity asks you to start analysing your own experiences and observations in the light of the theories. (Keep in mind the definitions for gender equality and gender equity and the difference between them.)



Activity 2.1

(about 15 minutes)

Write down your own ideas about the following questions in your learning journal.

- Do you think that there is any gender inequality and gender inequity in your society?
- What evidence do you have for your answer?
- What are the specific features of the gender roles in any part of your society that allow men to control women or women to control men?
- Why do you think such an inequitable state has developed there?
- Which, if any, of the theories help to explain what you have experienced or observed? How?

You may find it useful to discuss the issue with friends, colleagues or fellow students.

CEDAW: The UN Convention on women's rights

From our discussion so far, it is clear that gender equality and gender equity are not just a matter of fair play or justice for women – important as these are. They also affect the whole development of countries and the well-being of societies. One of the eight Millennium Development Goals formulated in 2000 is: 'Promote gender equality and empower women' (Goal 3). However this goal is stated in rather limited terms, as the target refers only to the elimination of gender disparity in education.

A much more comprehensive undertaking regarding gender equality is the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which was adopted by the General Assembly on 18 December 1979. In this section we will look at how CEDAW is designed to promote and protect the rights of the world's women. We provide the text of CEDAW as a reading and will ask you to study it carefully, to consider how it is most relevant to your country, to identify your obligations as a youth development worker and finally to evaluate your organisation's policies and programmes in relation to CEDAW.

CEDAW is a human rights instrument designed to promote and protect the rights of the world's women. By November 2006, most member countries of the UN were parties to (i.e. were legally bound by) this Convention. Exceptions are Brunei Darussalam, Iran, Qatar,

Sudan, Swaziland and the United States of America (which has signed, but not yet ratified the Convention).

Commenting on the implementation of the Convention, the Commonwealth Secretariat (1996, p 2) says:

“The Convention essentially constitutes the international bill of rights for women. Its preamble recalls that the elimination of discrimination against women and the promotion of equality between men and women are central principles of the United Nations and constitute binding obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and other instruments.”

“However, by pointing out that extensive discrimination against women continues to exist, it indicates that the existing human rights machinery has been insufficient to guarantee the protection of women’s rights. It goes on to state that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, and amounts to an obstacle to women’s participation, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries and hampers the growth of prosperity of society and the family.”

“The preamble states that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields.”

In other words, by supporting equity and equality for women, we are safeguarding ourselves. Any State that has ratified this Convention is bound by its terms. As a youth development worker, you should study CEDAW and adhere to it. We have provided you with the text as a reading.



Turn to Reading 2, and read through the full text of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Then do the activity that follows.

As you will see, the preamble and Articles 1–16 are the crucial parts. Articles 17–30 are to do with committees, structures, reporting and so on.



Activity 2.2

(about 10 minutes)

Answer the questions below in your learning journal.

- Which articles of the Convention are most relevant to your country?
- Are there any areas or rights that the Convention does not cover that you think should be included?

With this activity and your reading of the Convention, you've got an overview of what CEDAW covers and the articles that are most relevant to your country. The next section looks at how CEDAW can be used in a practical way.

CEDAW as a guide to action

CEDAW is more than a statement of principles or goals – it can be used as a guide to action for youth development workers. With this aim, the Commonwealth Secretariat developed a manual to help people evaluate how far the Convention has been implemented in their societies: *Assessing the Status of Women – A Guide to Reporting Under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*.

The manual states that its main purpose:

“...is to assist individuals' and women's human rights and other groups, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), to assess the status of women and to determine the extent of Convention implementation in the countries that have ratified or acceded to the Convention... The manual is grounded in the premise that independent groups and organisations have a crucial role in monitoring implementation of the Convention.”

(Commonwealth Secretariat, 1996)

Article 1 of the Convention concerns the definition of discrimination. The manual makes the following comment:

“The Convention defines discriminatory practices to include any differentiation, whether by way of distinction, exclusion or restriction, on the basis of sex, which aims or has the effect of preventing or hampering the enjoyment by women, whether married or unmarried, of their human rights to the same extent as men. It includes intentional and unintentional discrimination and encompasses differential treatment, as well as treatment which impacts differentially and disadvantageously on women when compared to men. Article 1 makes clear that the Convention aims to eliminate discrimination in all public spheres, which include the political, economic, social and civil fields. In light of the fact that discrimination against women is perhaps most entrenched in the private sphere, it also includes discrimination in 'any other field' within its reach, thereby encompassing private or domestic differentiation.”

(Commonwealth Secretariat, 1996)

The manual takes the crucial first sixteen articles of the Convention and sets out a series of questions for monitoring groups to ask about the situations in their countries. These are included as the next reading.



Read Reading 3, 'Assessing the Status of Women', an extract from the Commonwealth Secretariat publication, *Assessing the Status of Women: A Guide to Reporting Under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*.

As you read, make notes on the text. Answer 'yes/ no/ don't know'. At the end check through your 'don't know' replies and highlight those where it is important for you to find out the answers.



Activity 2.3

(about 15 minutes)

From what you have learned from Readings 2 and 3 and from your own experiences, make notes in your learning journal on the following points.

- Compile a list of areas of public and private life in your society where women do not enjoy the same rights as men.
- Give examples of how this affects women's everyday lives.
- In your opinion, how far have the articles of the Convention been enacted in your own country?

Your obligations

From your study of the Convention and the manual, you've identified areas in which inequality and discrimination may occur. Next we look at the implications for you professionally.

As a youth development worker your obligations are to:

- eliminate discrimination against women
- develop and advance women
- accelerate the development of equality between women and men
- prevent sex role stereotyping
- suppress the exploitation of women.

These requirements are meant to advance the welfare of women in relation to:

- political and public life
- international representation and participation
- nationality rights
- education
- employment
- equality in access to health care and welfare benefits

- equality before the law and other civil matters including family law.

All women are entitled to these rights whether they live in urban or rural areas.

Even if you live in one of the few countries that have not ratified the Convention, we feel that as members of this course of study you have a moral obligation to try as far as possible to ensure that its recommendations are implemented.

So the next activity asks you to evaluate your organisation in relation to its obligations under CEDAW. You will need information relating to your organisation's policies and programmes for this activity.



Activity 2.4

(about 20-30 minutes)

Read over the list of obligations outlined above, then write answers to the following questions in your learning journal.

- Review your organisation's policies and programmes in relation to these obligations. How far do they go towards meeting these obligations?
- How might you go about reviewing your organisation's policies and programmes to bring about changes in them to achieve greater equality of outcomes for girls and women?
- What specific actions could be taken to achieve this?
- Give an example of one programme or project that currently does not seem to you to fulfil obligations under the Convention.
- Describe what steps you could take to improve this programme or project so that it reflects the obligations of the Convention.

You may find it helpful to discuss your ideas with others, especially people who work for the same organisation.

Your answers will depend on your organisation, but this is an important activity that should have helped you understand your organisation and also your scope for taking action to improve it, a topic we will now explore in more detail.

Tackling inequality and discrimination

In the previous section you studied how CEDAW can be used to promote and protect women's rights and you reviewed your own organisation in terms of its obligations under the Convention. In the rest of this unit you will consider how you as a youth development worker can start to tackle discrimination and promote gender equality and equity. The starting point is your own awareness, your understanding of such questions as:

- How does change in social processes and structures come about?
- What forms may discrimination take?
- Why does stereotyping matter?
- How do women and men experience the world differently?
- How can you raise awareness of gender equality among the young people you work with?

Your role

It's vital that as a youth development worker you understand clearly the differences between the ways that men and women experience their situations if you are to support gender equality in development. You must be aware of these differences so that you can appreciate the underlying problems that you are dealing with. Successful policy formulation and the development of strategies to cater for gender-related problems among youth will depend largely on developing a sharp awareness of the real differences that exist between females and males, and on your awareness that you may be constructing unreal differences because your perceptions are stereotyped. You must take into account the disadvantaged position of any group of women or men that you may be dealing with, paying very particular attention to the extra disadvantages women may be experiencing because of the consequences of patriarchal relations.

Above all, implementing change requires sensitivity. As a youth development worker, you will have to be very sensitive about when and how you try to make those changes suggested by the Convention, otherwise there may be powerful resistance.

Earlier in this unit we mentioned the importance of social processes and structures in creating or eliminating gender inequalities and in implementing change. So first we ask you to think in general terms about how these processes and structures come about and how they can be changed.

Understanding human interaction

An inequitable social structure is most of the time maintained by ordinary everyday acts of human interaction, rather than by acts of

physical or administrative force. The Convention implies this when it says that it requires countries to prevent unintentional discrimination.

Pierre Bourdieu (1990) argues that ordinary, practical, day-to-day activity, including human interaction, does not take place primarily as a result of deliberate decisions but as a result of what he calls the 'habitus'. This is that part of the personality whose reactions are formed from habitual relationships with the world around us. Women are not so much discriminated against because people don't like them or intend to do them harm, but because the social field in which they live and operate carries structural discrimination embedded in every part. This practical sense that influences behaviour operates in a much more subtle manner – through language, through the body, through attitudes towards things which are below the level of consciousness. This is part of the culture. Culture transforms social being but the process is invisible. People are not conscious of the culture that makes them discriminate against women, because they live it. This process of becoming absorbed into a form of life seems to be 'natural' because the mechanisms of the 'habitus' cause us to construct ourselves and our attitudes in its terms.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) puts the issue of the domination of women in this way:

“It is fitting to recall that the dominated always contribute to their own domination: it is necessary at once to be reminded that the dispositions which incline them to this complicity are also the effect, embodied, of domination.”

The following case study gives you a practical example of what has just been said. It examines how women are dominated by men among the Kabyle on a normal day-to-day basis: how differences between the social and economic positions of men and women are socially constructed and embodied in human actions such as physical movements and subtle interactions between the participants.



Case study 2.4

Socially accepted ways of walking

In a study carried out during the Algerian War of Independence, Bourdieu explains how, among the Kabyle of North Africa, a patriarchal social structure is embodied in the very movements of men and women (1992, p 94):

“The Kabyle is like the heather; he would break rather than bend. The man of honour's pace is steady and determined. His way of walking, that of a man who knows where he is going and knows he will arrive in time, whatever the obstacles, expresses strength and resolution, as opposed to the hesitant gait announcing indecision, half-hearted promises, the fear of commitments and the incapacity to fulfil them ...”

“Conversely, a woman is expected to walk with a slight stoop, looking down, keeping her eyes on the spot where she will next put her foot, especially if she happens to walk past the thajma'th; her gait must avoid the excessive swing of the hips which comes from a heavy stride; she must always be girdled with the thimehremth, a rectangular piece of cloth with yellow, red, and black stripes worn over her dress, and take care that her headscarf does not become unknotted, revealing her hair. In short, the specifically feminine virtue, lahia, modesty, restraint, reserve, orients the whole female body downwards towards the ground, the inside, the house, whereas male excellence, nif, is asserted in movement upwards, outwards, towards other men.”

This kind of expression of patriarchal social structure occurs in a subtle way in many societies. It is extremely difficult to challenge because it's virtually invisible, but it has powerful sociological and psychological effects. Probably you can think of similar examples of the impact on women and men of habitual relationships and behaviours in your society, for example, in relation to dress, gesture, social behaviour or speech.

Understanding structure and agency

So how can change in the social processes and structures that may cause gender inequality come about?

Social theory indicates how such change might occur. Giddens (1984) argues that concrete social systems are not structures in themselves. But when you examine them, they reveal structural properties in the activities and procedures that enable them to work. People interact in certain ways to make systems function: the way they do that embodies the power relations that make things happen in the system. But in principle, the quality of those interactions can be challenged and changed within the tolerances of the legal and administrative system.

We tend to think of human agency as consisting of specific acts of speaking out, doing something to challenge the status quo and so on. However, in the light of what has just been said about 'habitus', changing a patriarchal society into a genuinely democratic one is not possible in quite that way.

Nevertheless, for Giddens (1976) what marks out human agents as members of a special species is their capacity for reproducing and transforming their own historical circumstances: “*The production of society is a skilled performance, sustained and 'made to happen' by human beings.*”

Of course, Giddens is highly aware that there are often powerful economic and social constraints, sometimes impossible for people to change. Social life mostly consists of repeated patterns of behaviour like the movements of the Kabyle, trapped within the boundaries of

these social constraints. However, Giddens' structuration theory has the idea of transformative capacity at its centre. For Giddens the social practices of a group of agents, such as youth development workers, can be forms of real agency, in that they will transform aspects of society. However, they have first to become skilled in the underlying forms of knowledge of the social formation, and in the laws and administrative procedures that will need to be manipulated to bring about change. These are the sources of administrative power. And they will have to become skilled in the social abilities needed to challenge administrative practices. Understanding discrimination is one aspect of becoming skilled in such underlying forms of knowledge.

Discrimination

As you saw, Article 1 of CEDAW concerns the definition of discrimination. Look back at that article in Reading 2 now to refresh your memory.

If you live in a highly industrialised country, you may feel that there is no gender inequality left to combat. But you need to re-examine this issue carefully because, in spite of changing values and legislation, women are still an unfairly treated gender group in countries all over the world.

For example, in many areas of the social system in Britain there is a surprising lack of equality between women and men in terms of promotion prospects, levels of pay for similar (though not the same) work, and amounts of time and effort spent on domestic labour and child-rearing. These problems occur to varying degrees within the country according to differences in social grouping: ethnic groups, economic class groups, social status groups, geographical regions, age groups, groups with different levels of education, occupational groups and families. Women have fared no better politically, at local or national level.

The public arena the world over is riddled with gender inequalities and there are low levels of participation and representation for women: worldwide women hold an average of only 10 per cent of parliamentary seats. So gender inequality is not only typical of states that very obviously have predominantly patriarchal systems.

As a contrasting example, Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe are three countries where women play important roles in national politics. In South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs – an important portfolio usually regarded as 'masculine' – is a woman. By ensuring that women fill at least 30 per cent of all parliamentary positions, the South African Government is creating strong female role models that help young people question some of the social patterns we have looked at earlier.

What is perhaps most challenging in the Convention is that it says discrimination can be unintentional as well as intentional. So what is

unintentional discrimination? We can define it as the subtle attitudes and actions of a society that create discriminatory practices without consciously intending to.

A case study drawn from the UK helps to illustrate what this can mean.



Case study 2.5

The hidden curriculum

Research in British education of the 1960s showed that there was a hidden curriculum, not just the official curriculum, in every teaching situation. This refers to the social values that are never openly stated but convey to pupils what is expected of them.

In most British situations, until the 1990s, these values constantly favoured boys over girls. This had an enormous influence on educational performance and it worked collectively and cumulatively against equal achievements by girls – particularly in the subjects of science and technology, where few girls progressed to technical careers. This was clearly unintentional on the part of most teachers, but was somehow built into the classroom practices. For example, it was shown that science and maths teachers – both male and female – tended to ask girls the less challenging ‘factual’ questions, and ask boys ‘reasoning’ questions. As a result, boys tended to dominate science lessons and control the flow of information in the way that suited them.

It is clear that this kind of discrimination was based on gender stereotyping where assumptions were made about the roles of men and women or boys and girls.

What is interesting is that the opposite now appears to be true in British schools, particularly where working and lower middle class school children are concerned. Girls are now in the dominant position and are the high achieving gender.

The main difference seems to be the effect on teachers, families and pupils of the way that globalisation has dissolved many jobs that were once thought to be the preserve mainly of men, and replaced them with ‘feminised’ work. This has coincidentally involved the dissolution of the habits of thought and behaviour (the ‘habitus’ as defined earlier in this unit) that accompany the roles of male workplaces. There have also been related changes in the curriculum, with much less teacher-dominated work, and pupils are given greater responsibility for managing their own learning. Girls appear to excel at this. Boys drop out more often or yield to girl dominance. The main problem is how to resurrect the self-belief and ambition of these young male school leavers so that they get switched on to new forms of learning and new roles.

This case study shows how unconscious attitudes and actions can have unintended discriminatory effects. CEDAW requires that we understand this and prevent it from happening. The implication for you, as a youth development worker, is that you need to study habitual behaviour, be aware of subtle attitudes and actions in yourself and in your target group, modify your own behaviour and, through your example, change the behaviour and unconscious assumptions of those young people you work with.



Activity 2.5

(about 10 minutes)

Make notes on the following in your learning journal.

- How would you explain the term 'unintentional discrimination' to a colleague?
- Describe three examples of unintentional discrimination in your country or area.

As you have probably noted, unintentional discrimination is subtle. It comes from deep-seated assumptions and attitudes based on gender biases that are absorbed unconsciously from the culture. There are many examples of unintentional discrimination. One famous study dressed the same infants as boys, then as girls, and observed the differences in the ways caregivers treated them. The study found that caregivers encouraged the 'boy' babies to be more active and physical, whilst they tended to engage the 'girl' babies in passive play with more verbal cues and interactions and fewer physical ones.

Gender stereotyping

We have used the word 'stereotype' a few times, but what do we mean by it, and why do we, as youth development workers, need to be aware of the potential dangers of stereotyping? As you will see, gender stereotyping is a powerful way in which discrimination, intentional or unintentional, occurs. The example of unintentional discrimination at the end of the last section is also an example of stereotyping.

A stereotype can be defined as a fixed image, or set of characteristics, that many people believe represents a particular type of person or thing. In many cases, this fixed general idea is probably false or at least inadequate.

Alice Eagly's social role theory provides the most common and influential explanation of why we conform to gender stereotypes. Her theory suggests that the main reason is because women and men act in accordance with their social roles, which are almost invariably separated along gender lines (Eagly, 1987). Thus, women and men display gender-typed behaviours because the social roles that they

perform are associated with different expectations and require different behaviours. According to social role theory, therefore, women and men confirm gender stereotypes in large part because the different roles that they perform place different social psychological demands on them. Ultimately, these social roles are accepted by young people because they are socialised into them.

From early childhood, our culture teaches us to accept certain roles for boys/men and others for girls/women. From the type and colour of clothes we wear to the toys we play with and the books we read, we are bombarded by stereotyped messages from a very early age. Today, young people are unobtrusively coerced by numerous messages through the mass media (particularly in advertisements and movies) to conform to these stereotyped expectations and, in doing so, they unconsciously preserve a rigid set of values that emphasise particular gender differences. Unfortunately, we all 'buy into' the stereotypes.

Let's think of a practical example. When you hear the word 'farmer' what image comes into your mind?

Most people think of a man. They have the image of a man in their heads when they talk about hard physical labour and carrying heavy objects. Yet facts about Africa tell us that:

- half of all farms on the African continent are managed by women
- women are responsible for 60-80 per cent of all agricultural production
- women perform 90 per cent of the work of processing food crops and providing household water and fuel wood, often walking for up to two hours with heavy containers of water on their heads.

How often do we stop to question our fixed ideas and wonder about the dangers of stereotyping? If people assume that young women are only interested in fashions and hairstyles, they will be unwilling to encourage them to participate in community projects because it may be argued that they have very little to contribute. In other words, they would be expecting certain behaviour or certain qualities from young women that need not be true or valid. They may be pushing them into superficial roles.

This is the danger of stereotyping. It often leads us to regard certain groups as inferior, and we do not take them seriously. Also, these negative images help to shape the views groups have of themselves, and this further limits their potential because they start acting as if these images were true. Therefore, stereotyping ends up harming all members of a community.

In the same way that men and women have stereotypical ideas of one another, there is also stereotyping among different generations, including negative stereotyping of young people by older people and those in authority. And in Module 1 *Learning Processes*, Unit 6 looked

at stereotypical assumptions about learning in relation to learning styles.

As a youth development worker you will need to ensure that stereotyping – on the basis of both gender and age – is systematically broken down.

One of the key methods for breaking down role-codified behaviour in young people is by engaging in the dialogues that they have with each other, really listening to the underlying logic and structures of their arguments and engaging with them seriously. You may quickly find that talk about fashion, for example, is likely to contain a deeper level agenda about female roles and important female dilemmas in the world the participants live in.

As we said earlier in this section, the starting point for tackling inequality and discrimination is your own awareness and understanding. So listening and engaging with young people seriously, as described here, is an essential step. This unit now ends with two activities to help increase your own understanding and to raise awareness among the young people you work with.

Male and female worlds

Throughout the world, women and men in the same situation tend to live in different worlds in terms of the ways in which they experience that situation. In Module 2 *Young People and Society*, you saw that the way people interpret their situation is crucial in determining how they will act in those situations. For example, women's interpretations and experiences of the same work differ significantly from men's. This is because the worlds of men and women are different in terms of work and employment opportunities, wealth, health, education and influence in the family and society. It is essential to understand these differences in the way women and men experience their situations if you are to support gender equality.

The next activity involves you in a brief research task. Its aim is for you to find out for yourself if you can detect key differences in the ways women and men view the same or similar life experiences. This is another activity that will call for time and organisation on your part, but it will be rewarding in terms of enhancing your understanding.



Activity 2.6

(You will need to allow at least 30 minutes to write up your findings. You will also need to allow plenty of time to plan and carry out the interviews, and further time for the group discussion.)

Interview briefly a woman and a man who share a very similar life experience.

It may be that they work in the same job, live in the same family or are partners in raising a family themselves, have had the same health problems or have been to school together.

Focus on one of the experiences they have in common and ask them a few questions about it. For example:

- What did they like most/least?
- What was most important to them?
- What did they remember best?

Try to find out how they regard their common experience, and discover any key differences in their views of it.

In analysing their answers, focus on the most important factors for them in the experience, the different ways they speak about the same things and the emphasis each one gives to different details.

Record any differences in the way the man and the woman view the experience.

Discuss your findings with colleagues or fellow students in a group, and explore how these findings help you understand how the different roles women and men take up in society are shaped.

At the end, write up your main findings from the interviews and the main conclusions from your group discussion.

Well done for completing this activity. The increased understanding it will have given you will help you in the final activity in this unit.

Consciousness raising

As already stated, as a youth development worker, you will have to be very sensitive about when and how you try to make changes suggested by the Convention or which you have identified as necessary. There may be powerful resistance if you are challenging people's habitual behaviours and views of the world.

In some situations, you may have to start with consciousness raising.

For example, working class women from the poorest areas of Kingston in Jamaica formed the Sistren theatre group. They used theatre group improvisation of social issues to raise the level of their own understanding of their situation and also to change their habitual patterns of social and communication skills. The all-women group has now been performing and holding role-playing workshops for 25 years. The process depends on participants bringing out a situation's underlying social issues for themselves.



Activity 2.7

(At least 30 minutes if you are just doing this as a paper-based activity. Allow more time if you work collaboratively with others)

Devise an activity for male and female youth group members that will raise their awareness of the principles of equal opportunity for women and girls enshrined in the CEDAW.

Be imaginative in your approach. You could use role-play or drama, or one of the informal approaches or techniques you have learned about, for example, in Module 1 *Learning Processes*. Or you could perhaps adapt one of the activities from earlier in this module.

Have another look at Readings 2 and 3 to remind yourself of the recommendations of the Convention.

Again, you may find it helpful to work with colleagues or fellow students on this activity.

Make notes in your learning journal, summarising the objectives of the activity, what it involves, the resources required, evaluation method and so on (Module 1 Unit 7 Facilitating adult learning may be a useful resource to help you devise the activity).

If you get the opportunity to carry out the activity, write it up, with your reflections on the experience.

This activity brings together what you have learned in this unit about gender equality as enshrined in CEDAW, and gives you the opportunity to start applying what you have learned to your work with young people in a practical way.

Unit summary

In this unit you have covered the following main points.

- Gender inequity results in inequitable distribution of resources between women and men all over the world. Gender inequality is constructed through both formal laws and statutes and unwritten norms.
- A number of theories have been proposed to explain this state of affairs, such as:
 - women's biological reproductive role
 - functionalist theory – that gender differences are the most logical and practical way of organising roles
 - conflict interactionist theory – that conflict between men and women for scarce resources is normal
 - structural conflict theory – that capitalism's principle of the exploitation of labour by the more powerful affects female labour particularly negatively
 - the patriarchal system and the role of marriage.
- The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, which can be used by youth development workers and others to monitor progress towards gender equality in their societies.
- As a youth development worker you have specific obligations to work to eliminate gender discrimination and stereotyping across the social and economic spectrum.
- You also need to understand the importance of social processes and structures in creating or eliminating gender inequalities and in implementing change, in particular
 - the power of 'habitus' or unconscious habits in influencing behaviour
 - the nature of gender discrimination, intentional and unintentional, and the part stereotypes play in it
 - the way women and men interpret their experiences differently from men
 - consciousness raising as a starting point for implementing change.

To check how you have got on, look back at the learning outcomes for this unit and see if you can now do them. When you have done

this, look through your learning journal to remind yourself of what you have learned and the ideas you have generated.

The next unit looks the role of gender in development, and specifically women's role in development.

Answer to Self-Help Question

Self-help question 2.1

Gender equality means women and men have equal rights and should have the same entitlements and opportunities. Equality is rights-based.

Gender equity means justice so that resources are fairly distributed, taking into account different needs.

Gender discrimination means the differences of treatment accorded to men and women in the spheres of public activity, such as legal status or the way the educational system favours one gender more than another.

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Unit 3: The role of gender in development

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Unit introduction

In Units 1 and 2, you saw how the concept of gender enables us to see that women and men of every social class are affected in different ways by social structures. In every society women have been historically discriminated against more than men, and this has been shown to have negative effects on development. Poor men are also discriminated against. As globalisation rapidly changes social structures, those who lose out in the process of change, men or women, will automatically suffer relative discrimination in terms of work, housing, health and so on. This will seriously hamper social development.

In this unit, we examine in more detail how and why gender is a development issue. We look at three theories about the role of women in development. You will start to apply gender and development (GAD) theory to the design of development projects.

The unit ends with this module's first formal assessment task, which will cover the work done in the first three units.

Unit learning outcomes

When you have worked through this unit, you should be able to:

- outline why gender issues are important in development
- distinguish between the three theories of women in development (WID), women and development (WAD) and gender and development (GAD), and examine the ways they are used to analyse problems of development
- apply the GAD approach to a case study and evaluate its use.

Why gender matters in development

To start this unit, reflect for a few minutes and recap on what you have already learned.



Activity 3.1

(about 5 minutes)

In the light of Units 1 and 2, write down in your learning journal your own ideas about why you think gender is a development issue in your own context.

As well as aspects specific to your country or region that you may have noted, general points covered so far in this module include: the ways in which a whole range of development issues, such as life expectancy, education, health and employment, affect women and men differently; widespread evidence of gender inequality, inequity and discrimination; and the fact, as stated in the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW), that these hamper development.

In the first section of this unit, we explore further the reasons why gender should be a primary focus of the development process.

The word ‘development’ entails the notion of progress in all spheres of society – economic, political, social and cultural. Development of a local community, such as the one in which you live, cannot take place in isolation. It is always influenced by political and economic decisions taken at higher levels, whether regional, national or international.

In tackling women’s and men’s exploitation as a development issue, we are dealing with it in a context of globalisation and economic liberalisation, where multi-national companies and international bond markets have enormous indirect control over the economic and social decision-making of governments. Therefore, when we work for gender and development, we must take into account the impact that international economic decisions have on young women’s and young men’s lives. Here are two examples that illustrate the impact of international economics.



Case study 3.1

The feminisation of poverty

According to the United Nations, the majority of the 1.5 billion people living on one dollar a day or less are women. The gap between women and men caught in the cycle of poverty has also continued to widen. In other words, not only are more women poorer than before, but also women are very often poorer than their male counterparts. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as 'the feminisation of poverty'.

In both developed and developing countries, there has been an increase in the number of female-headed households. Those that do not have access to remittances from male earners are generally assumed to be poorer than male-headed households. Female-headed households are also more vulnerable to increased unemployment and reductions in social and welfare spending. Female workers in the informal sector are poorer than male workers. Worldwide, women earn on average slightly more than 50 per cent of what men earn.

There is currently a great deal of analysis and discussion about both the concept of the feminisation of poverty and its implications for policy. Much material is available on the internet, including a detailed critique by Sylvia Chant (2003).

It's important to remember, before we concentrate on women in development, that in some situations international economics can have a more negative impact on men. Case study 3.2 provides an example of this.



Case study 3.2

The impact of economic change on men

In South Yorkshire, UK, the new jobs that have emerged to replace those destroyed by the collapse of the steel and coal markets have been 'feminised' jobs in the new service industries. There is probably rather more poverty among men than among women, and probably increasing poverty in the light of higher prices for housing and the rapid disappearance of manual work.

There has certainly been an enormous loss of morale among redundant male steelworkers and miners and their male children. Youth development workers and further education teachers have experienced many difficulties in retraining men for the new kind of world where women are more likely to be employed in the jobs that emerged, and also in coping with a great surge in drug taking and consequent drug-related crime among young men.

The impact can also be seen more generally in the way that disaffected young working class men in metropolitan societies have rejected education in large numbers (Epstein et al 1998). The curriculum and organisational changes in British education, for example, may have made the experience of learning more girl-centred, but the male rejection of education is probably mainly an environmental effect arising from the redistribution of the bulk of working class jobs away from manual to white collar work.

In Units 1 and 2, you saw that women and men are affected in different ways by aspects of development, and that they experience what are superficially the same worlds in very different ways. In fact, most societies seem to exhibit a common pattern of relative female subordination, coupled with the feminisation of poverty. These two things alone make gender differences an important development issue.

Here is a quotation from Her Majesty Queen Rania Al-Abdullah of Jordan:

“Gender inequality has a negative impact not only on women but also on society as a whole. It restricts the ability of a country to efficiently allocate and use its most valuable resource – its human capital. Restricting the participation of women in public and economic life limits economic development and national potential. Empowering women and providing opportunities for their full integration into all aspects of society is not just an issue of justice for women – it is a vital factor in creating a climate favourable to achieving sustainable progress and development.... Empowerment of women... means stronger families and a richer sense of national community and pride.... Encouraging and empowering women to take their place as an integral part of regional growth and progress is the wisest and most effective means of closing the development gap.”

This quotation underlines the need to take gender into account in the development process. The World Bank notes that many gender inequities are the result of economic policies and sector strategies that fail to recognise gender differences in resources, roles and constraints; legal systems that limit women’s access to land and other forms of property; and political systems that limit women’s participation at the national, local and community levels.

The first and overarching Millennium Development Goal (MDG) is to eradicate poverty. One of the most basic aims of any development effort should be to eradicate mass poverty and, where it cannot be eradicated, to alleviate the effects it has on people’s everyday lives. In the light of what has been said so far in this unit, gender must be given a primary focus in this development process. As the *Human Development Report 2003* has stressed:

“gender equality is at the core of whether the Goals will be achieved – from improving health and fighting disease, to reducing poverty and mitigating hunger, to expanding education and lowering child mortality, to increasing access to safe water, to ensuring environmental sustainability.”

(UNDP, 2003)

CEDAW should also be used as “*a lens through which the gender equality dimensions of the MDGs are understood and addressed*” (UNIFEM, nd).

It would seem from what we have said so far that, as a development agent, you will at times need to consider the development needs of women and men separately, in order to pursue development activities optimally. For example, you need to be aware of the negative effects development may have on a specific sector of the community, such as Nigerian women market traders or male Zambian copper miners. You need to ensure that your activities will help work against phenomena such as the feminisation of poverty or the impoverishing of manual workers. In countries where tradition and religion require women to play a less visible role, men and women may well need separate or quasi-separate systems of help and support. It's very interesting how the educational development of youth in Muslim northern Nigeria is being pursued by women in a transformed Islamic education system. As you saw in Reading 1 'School's In' in Unit 1, this now includes more of the subjects taught in secular schools. These schools are packed with girl students, with very few boys. The schools are open to boys, but they appear not to be taking advantage of them for cultural reasons.

However, at other times, the needs of men and women are best dealt with together. For example, to improve the situation of women subsistence farmers in a country such as Zimbabwe, using women as the pivot for that change helped to improve the situation of the whole family, not by treating men and women separately but by considering the needs of and involving the whole family, including men, women, boys, girls and old people.



Activity 3.2

(about 20 minutes)

List three programmes in your region/community that have been set up to help women.

Summarise their main aims, particularly as they relate to gender.

Describe the successes and weaknesses of each one.

Describe the ways in which each programme works (or fails to work) against the feminisation of poverty (see Case study 3.1).

Write your short descriptions of the three programmes in your learning journal.

We hope this activity has got you to start thinking about the need for gender planning and the importance of incorporating women in the development planning process. The next section looks at theories about the position of women in development.

Women's role in development: three theories

Research has found that the development process affects women and men differently, and it is generally agreed that women have not benefited sufficiently from development. This has led theorists to try to establish ways in which the disadvantaged position of women can be improved.

Since 1970, a number of strategies and approaches have been devised to address this problem of women's disadvantage. We will examine three of them here:

- women in development (WID)
- women and development (WAD)
- gender and development (GAD).

For each theory we look at the background and approach. There are critiques of WID and WAD and a comparison of GAD with the other two theories. There is an activity on each theory.

But first, here's a general activity to help your study of each theory.



Activity 3.3

(ongoing, as you read through the next section)

As you read, make notes in your learning journal about each theory. Note especially the main characteristics of the approach. These notes will help you check your understanding of each theory and will come in useful for the assessment task at the end of the unit.

Women in development (WID)

Background

The post second world war engagement of rich countries with development problems in poor countries revealed little awareness of the special roles of women. A major change in approach, and the emergence of the women in development (WID) school of thought, can be traced back to 1970 when Esther Boserup published *Woman's Role In Economic Development*.

Boserup analysed the division of labour in agrarian societies. She demonstrated that women and men were differently placed structurally in agricultural work and played different roles. She also pointed out that development policies did not target women's work as separate from men's, presumably because these differences were not particularly visible.

A lot of WID research focusing on the roles of women was generated by the publication of Boserup's book. The movement was welfare-oriented and the research identified other problems, such as women's disadvantaged position in education, health and employment. WID writers concluded that women were being sidelined in the development process. In particular they sought practical methods to improve women's material conditions. Female academic pressure groups brought this research to the attention of policy makers and onto the agenda of bilateral US aid, so that WID theory soon became a descriptor for any policy that insisted on bringing women into the development process. The pressure resulting from this, and from the First UN Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975, led to the declaration of the 1976-1985 period as the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace.

Approach

Those who support the WID point of view suggest that the integration of women into development would be enough to put an end to the identified problems women faced in the development process. This can be done by designing and implementing income-generating projects for women. Women can also be integrated into the development process through legal and other reforms. Moser

(1993) identified five general policy orientations among development agencies that characterise WID: welfare, equity, poverty alleviation, efficiency and empowerment. The approach is essentially functionalist, the assumption being that the reforms themselves will bring the situation into an equitable balance between men and women. The economic influence is modernisation theory or stages of growth theory.

WID had an important influence on the way governments viewed the situation of women and led to the establishment in many countries of national women's machineries, usually consisting of under-funded women's desks or bureaus.

Critique

The WID approach has been criticised for several reasons. One of its basic flaws derives from its roots in functionalism, where not enough attention is paid to the subtleties of cultural and social interaction between men and women in the production and distribution processes. The resulting simplistic view is that women simply need to be integrated into development efforts, for reasons of equity or justice or to maximise the value of the programmes.

But women have always been part of development – think back to Unit 2 where we mentioned the important role African women play in agriculture and the marketing of agricultural products. New development projects, such as the mechanisation of agriculture, failed to recognise women's contribution and the interplay between the different roles of women and men in traditional production and distribution. Given the influence of the new ideology, women became widely incorporated into the new model but in a manner that disadvantaged them: in the development projects of the 1970s and 1980s they often became worse off in terms of their status in society and their decision-making power.

As stated above, Moser (1993) identified five general policy orientations among development agencies that characterise WID: welfare, equity, poverty alleviation, efficiency and empowerment. All of these, of course, have had a place in subsequent models, but have not been so individually dominant as development themes. Excellent as they are in principle, in a dominant role they may disrupt a finely adjusted social formation, and need careful embedding in the situations to which they are applied.

When the United Nations Decade for Women was introduced, attention turned to how women could be targeted by income-generating projects. International agencies expected women to participate uncritically in these projects despite the demands on their time because of their triple roles as producers, reproducers and community builders. In many ways, the projects initiated in those years disempowered women, because women were merely expected to participate in the development agendas that were set by the

development agencies and had little say in determining their own needs.

The African Women's Communication and Development Network (FEMNET, 1994) developed the following critique of the WID approach.

- The WID approach was based on the naïve assumption that all developing societies had to do in order to develop was to go through the same processes that the developed countries had gone through historically. This was the 'Modernisation: Stages-of-growth model of development', a theory that was generated by the intellectual sterility of the cold war era of the 1950s, and based on the successful regeneration of Europe funded by American loans. It assumed that all countries should logically develop through the same stages of growth that the rich countries had gone through in their development periods. The model and the WID concept did not look at the complex intrinsic, as well as the larger structural, issues that needed to be addressed when designing development programmes. Had it done so, it would have uncovered the very complex interplay of relationships between men and women in development projects.
- In identifying possible projects it assumed a simplified stereotyped account of the existing social origins of women's roles.
- It overlooked the intricate issues of cultural and class differences among women in different societies as some of the most significant bases of women's marginalisation.
- It focused separately on women's productive roles without relating these to the wider context they operated in. This limited the success of the income-generating activities.
- It reinforced women's traditional roles because it was usually strongly welfare-oriented. For example, the project activities tended to deal with activities like baking, weaving or sewing that only women did in the stereotypes of their traditional roles.
- It added to women's workloads because it did not have the subtle inbuilt mechanisms that create relief and save time, mechanisms that normally take lots of experience to build up.
- It had the deterministic tendency of functionalism: it assumed that gender power relations would automatically change over time as the development projects forced changes of role, ignoring the struggles that have to take place for such changes to happen.
- It was a conformist/ reformist system (i.e. one that did not bring about fundamental change). This led to further marginalisation of women because it compartmentalised them (separated them off from the complex issues and structures intrinsic to a social formation).

In line with these criticisms, but challenging at a more ideological level, has been the charge that the practices most influenced by WID theory have effectively been imported from the rich countries. They have underestimated local expertise and local knowledge. Moreover, they have sometimes generated a 'top-down' model that has antagonised influential local agencies and governments, especially when this has sought to force equity issues onto local agendas (Papart and Marchand, 1995).

A more searching criticism is that some of the models of gender planning and gender training have simplified complex theoretical principles to the point where programmes are run on superficially theorised grounds.

The next activity asks you to think about the practical implications and possible weaknesses of the WID approach.



Activity 3.4

(about 15 minutes)

Identify three problems you know women in your community or region face. You can take your examples from your work earlier in this module. For example, the problems might relate to poverty, employment, health or education.

Drawing on your understanding of the WID approach described above, write down the possible strengths and weaknesses of the approach in tackling the problems. Make the notes in your learning journal.

Women and development (WAD)

Background

The women and development (WAD) theory was initiated by Marxist feminists in the second half of the 1970s and established by the 1990s. Like analysts of all kinds, they understood that developing countries were dominated by rich countries. As Marxists their main concern was with unequal and unfair international economic structures, because of *“the historical evolution of a highly unequal international capitalist system of rich country–poor country relationships... which renders attempts by poor nations to be self-reliant and independent difficult and sometimes even impossible”* (Todaro, 1997).

Approach

The theoretical base for the WAD theory was the neo-colonial dependence model. Its proponents argued that developing countries are modern versions of colonies because they are economically dependent on their rich-country trading partners. So they are forced by this system, intentionally or unintentionally, to experience unequal

and exploitative relationships with the developed capitalist countries. In this situation, men and women alike are in disadvantaged positions because they are all victims of international economic and financial structures that cause unequal distribution of wealth. What is more, as Todaro says:

“certain groups in the developing countries (including landlords, entrepreneurs, military rulers, merchants, salaried public officials and trade union leaders) who enjoy high incomes, social status and political power, constitute a small elite ruling class whose principal interest, knowingly or not, is in the perpetuation of the international capitalist system of inequality and conformity by which they are rewarded.”

The WAD approach argues that women are deeply integrated in these structures, and no amount of superficial manipulation will solve their problems. What is required for women to advance is the removal of the inequitable structures and relationships. The needed reforms are both international and domestic, and must be at the political and institutional level as well as the economic. They will include the state expropriating many privately owned assets. Once these assets are socialised and a measure of national and international equity is achieved, the emancipation of women is much more likely to be achieved.

A further WAD argument is that since men have failed to achieve these equitable relationships (which are the basis for the emancipation of all people), women would do better than men – if given the chance. Women could achieve the desired equitable development, acting on their own. Hence the name of the theory.

Critique

The Marxist feminist model is good political economic analysis but does not explain clearly how you can in practice overcome the dependence of less developed economies on rich ones in the world capitalist system. Moreover, countries like Tanzania that have tried to run a socialised economy have found it very difficult to achieve significant development either economically or in terms of gender balance.

A weakness in the WAD approach is that it does not do enough to address the different experiences of women and men. It does not look at the way women are oppressed and subordinated in male/ female relationships. It tends to lump men's and women's problems together and fails to tease out the subtleties of the problems and to address women's added disadvantage. Moreover, the global reach of the theory over-emphasises the elimination of inequitable international structures. It could be argued that this is idealistic and not relevant to the goal of dynamic local change.

Like WID, WAD has received a lot of criticism from other scholars. FEMNET (1994) criticises WAD in the following terms:

- It does not address the internal class differences deriving from culture and non-capitalist forms of ownership. These exist as social contradictions among women themselves.
- As in the WID approach, women tend to be grouped together as a homogeneous category, which leads to further marginalisation.
- No methodological distinction is made between the problems unique to women and the problems they have in common with men.
- It does not address the question of patriarchy as the greatest source of gender inequality, nor does it look at issues of female subordination and related oppressions.
- Its assumption of women automatically becoming emancipated following the socialisation of society's wealth is as unlikely as the discredited trickle-down effect of modernist capitalist theory (the belief that large-scale economic development will eventually benefit the poorest). It is functionalist rather than radical.
- As in Soviet society it preoccupies itself with the relationships of production, in the form of income-generating activities, not paying enough attention to the relationships of distribution and other forms of injustice.
- It underplays the relative powerlessness of local groupings in relation to the influence of the international economic order.

Now here's a parallel activity, asking you to think this time about the practical implications and possible weaknesses of the WAD approach.



Activity 3.5

(about 15 minutes)

Think about the three problems you identified in the previous activity. Drawing on your understanding of the WAD approach described above, note down the possible strengths and weaknesses of the approach in tackling the problems.

Make the notes in your learning journal.

Gender and development (GAD)

Background

The realisation that both WID and WAD approaches promoted separate development for women and led to their further marginalisation gave rise to the theory of gender and development (GAD). GAD's focus is on remedying the strategic interests of women, altering the balance of power to help them. Unlike WID and WAD, the GAD approach does not see women as a separate group of

social agents. Pragmatically, it views women and men as closely interrelated in specific contexts throughout the social classes. It emphasises the need to analyse the detailed roles and responsibilities of both women and men and their gendered relationships in any given economic and social environment.

The development of GAD took place parallel to a general intellectual rejection of both functionalist social and neoclassical economic prescriptions for developing countries, and also with the failure of Marxist and conflict models to generate economic growth and gender equity in a world dominated by giant capitalist transnational corporations.

In economics, Todaro's view (1997, p 94) is that:

“successful development requires a skilful and judicious balancing of market pricing and promotion where markets can indeed exist and operate efficiently, along with intelligent and equity-oriented government intervention in areas where unfettered market forces would lead to undesirable economic and social outcomes.”

This is a strong plea for economic pragmatism paralleled by GAD's plea for social pragmatism.

The concept of GAD looks at:

- the gender division of labour – for both productive and reproductive work
- access to and control of resources and benefits
- the specific social, economic and environmental factors that influence the division of labour and access to resources.

GAD tries to analyse the roles and contribution of all members of a community – not just women – to the development process, and focuses on differences and disparities in their conditions. The GAD approach to development policy “*examines the socially constructed basis of differences between men and women and re-emphasises the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations*” where these are inequitable and where they impede the process of development. The main ethical argument is that women are not mere reproducers and passive recipients of basic needs and resources, but should be seen as having inalienable rights and also as being key agents of development (Reeves and Baden, 2000, p. 33).

There is now a considerable amount of support material for ‘gendering’ projects and programmes. The greatest value of this has been the uncovering, through case studies and comparative studies, of the detailed impact of political and social change and development on the lives of women. There has also been a shift in statistical methods for evaluating development programmes, by including proper accounting of women's true contribution in the subsistence as well as the domestic spheres. Gender specialists and gender units have been established in governments, replacing the old ‘women's desks’,

as well as in universities, NGOs and aid programmes. A number of countries have even established ministries of gender.

Comparing WID, WAD and GAD

GAD theory is very critical of the WID approach. According to GAD, the WID theory failed to identify the key structural problems that affect women in society. GAD argues that the key problem for most women is that they are in a continuing position of social disadvantage to men through particular forms of social and cultural subordination. This is what underpins their inability to participate in and benefit from the processes of development. It is part of a continuum of unequal relations of power that exist between the poor and rich and that prevent equitable development and women's full participation in social development. In this respect, GAD differs from WID but also from WAD.

To sum up these different views:

- WID sees the exclusion of women from the development process as the problem, and the solution as finding means to include them.
- WAD sees inequitable capitalist structures and relationships as the problem, and the solution as changing these basic relationships through changing the structures.
- GAD sees unequal power relations as the problem, and the solution as challenging the social and cultural sources of these relations.

How GAD works

In order to achieve equitable development, GAD proposes the transformation of unequal class and gender relations by empowering disadvantaged people, which includes enormous numbers of women and girls but also many men and boys.

Using the concept of the social construction of gender (as explained in Unit 1) as a basis, GAD believes that relationships between women and men can be changed by altering the public descriptions of the roles of women. GAD argues that development can no longer be based on just the visible public sector, which is mainly dominated by men. It states that this public sector can only function because it is supported by the invisible domestic sector in which women dominate. So programmes of development must be based on the analysis of the mutual contributions of both sectors and must publicly acknowledge the need to have the full commitment of all the parties. In sum, the GAD approach involves affirming men and women as equal partners in the development process.

Pragmatically, the GAD concept of empowerment emphasises the importance of female participation with men in a collective struggle for development even if this means conceding that men and women have different perceived interests and different degrees of power in the process. GAD advocates this as an acceptable compromise providing there is also genuinely equal dialogue and discussion and mutual reflection on practice, so that some progress towards equity can be achieved because it can be seen to be mutually beneficial and practically possible. This process needs to demonstrate to the participants the value of cooperatively drawing on the full range of each other's divergent skills to improve their community's living conditions and to raise questions about the inequitable relations that control these living conditions. This copes with the practical everyday interests of particular groups but has the potential to develop into a strategic vision that poses questions about the prevailing male and female divisions of labour and power within a social formation. (Note: For many aspects of the argument in this unit we are indebted to Carolyn Baylies' e-paper – *Feminist Scholarship in Development Studies* (2002)).

This process is rooted in social practice and therefore more likely to have staying power than 'gender aware planning', which can become little more than slogans set out in development manuals to tell workers what to do to enable bureaucrats to tick the appropriate 'gender boxes' in their evaluation documents.

According to FEMNET, the GAD approach has the following features:

- It recognises that gender roles are socially constructed and can therefore be reconstructed.
- It highlights reproductive roles alongside productive roles and says that they must both be recognised as making an equal contribution.
- It supports setting up systems that reduce women's workload and release them from domestic shackles. For example, if the government or community supplies key domestic services performed by women (such as supplying water), women could save time and participate better in more productive work. The same would happen if attitudes were changed to get males to share more in domestic work.

The GAD theory explores a number of concepts or analytical tools that can guide the design of development work. These include:

- 1 the sex/ gender division of labour
- 2 access to and control of resources
- 3 the condition and position of women and men in society
- 4 practical needs and strategic interests of women
- 5 levels of participation.

We will discuss these tools in detail in Unit 4.

Now read the following case study on gender and development in Kenya and then do the related activity.

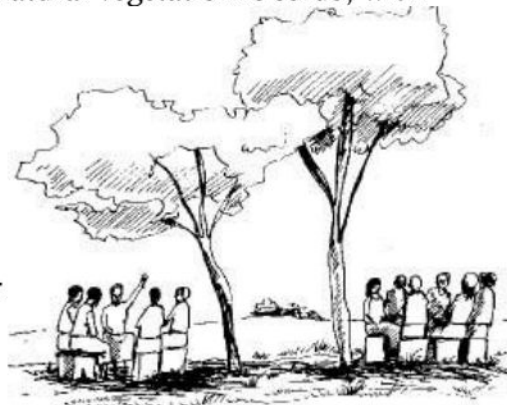


Case study 3.3

Gender and development in Kenya

This case study highlights the role of women in development and the gender-based barriers that frustrate sustainable development efforts.

Katheka is a semi-arid area about 85 km from Nairobi and 15 km from the market town of Tala. It has thin, sandy, fragile soils on steep, easily eroded slopes. The natural vegetation is scrub, with acacia and coarse grass. The area receives about 600-800 mm of rain per year. Drought is common, and the community sees water shortages as its number-one problem. Access to water is a gender issue because women alone are responsible for fetching water. During the dry season, it takes women no less than 5 hours to bring water home. A closer source of water would free up a lot of their time for other work.



The main crops are pigeon peas, maize and beans. Coffee, the only cash crop, has not done well. Recently, attempts have been made to grow fruit for commercial purposes.

Despite great efforts to conserve natural resources, life is precarious, and Katheka's 2,800 people (1989 census) work hard to survive. Many men spend up to seven months working away from home to earn money. Therefore, it is mainly the women who face the daily challenges of village life.

Gender study approach

Although poverty, poor infrastructure and low farm productivity had previously been identified as development challenges in Katheka, gender issues had not been studied in detail. A study was therefore undertaken in 1993 by a team who had previously worked in the area, so the area was not new to them. After the local chiefs had granted permission for the study, the team met with the villagers to explain the work process. They conducted a comprehensive needs assessment using participatory rural appraisal methods to highlight the gender aspects of the situation. The results of the analysis were presented to the community for discussion and endorsement. The final stage was to develop recommendations for action.

Study results

Similar to findings in Ghana, Tanzania and other parts of Africa, the study revealed that women are almost wholly responsible for 'reproductive' work, are substantially involved in 'productive' and 'community' work, but have little control over the necessary resources. Similarly, women also have limited control over the benefits of their work. The disparity between their responsibilities and control frustrates individuals and slows down development efforts.

Although the study did not benefit the community directly, it made them aware of the inequitable distribution of work and resources, and the impact this has on development. During the fieldwork, it became clear that men were not consciously aware of women's heavy workload. Their realizing this was a first step toward bringing about social change.

Division of labour

Generally, women worked 13-16 hours a day, compared to about 6 hours for the men.

Reproductive work

Women are overwhelmingly responsible for this work, (cooking, fetching water, etc.). Boys between 5 and 17 years also contribute, as do men from wealthier households.

Productive work

Both men and women are heavily involved in productive work. Women undertake all agricultural tasks except spraying.



Community work

The Katheka community has a long history of community work, possibly because of the fragile environment and the high levels of poverty – both of which demand a supportive community. Both men and women are involved in community work, but women appear to be more committed and consistent than men.

Access and control

Both men and women have access to most of the resources in Katheka. Both have user rights, although men determine the women's user rights. Unlike the case with access, women have limited control over resources such as trees, money, skills and tools. They also have little control over benefits, as decisions about these are made largely by men. Men control the sale and purchase of livestock and land, as

well as deciding what to do with the proceeds from selling cash crops. They essentially control the equipment and farm implements.

Summary

The gender relations in Katheka are similar to those in many other villages. The women appear to be overwhelmed with work, both productive and reproductive, but have little control over the resources to do the work, or the benefits of their efforts. In Katheka, as elsewhere, this remains a development challenge. Lack of necessary inputs and tools leads to low productivity. Katheka's high levels of poverty – despite the women's hard work – may in part reflect this inequality.

The women's heavy workload and their limited control over productive resources and benefits limit their ability and interest in sustainable development. They spend a lot of time on reproductive activities such as fetching water, fetching fuel wood, and health care. They could use this time more productively if these basic resources were readily available.

The gender study culminated in a set of recommendations and a loose community plan. The team used these recommendations to develop fund-raising proposals on behalf of the community. Unfortunately, none of these was successful. Nevertheless, the community has continued to mobilize local resources and is working with church organizations to build water systems to address their number one problem: water.

Source: Kabutha, 1998.



Activity 3.6

(about 20 minutes, not counting discussion)

Now you have read the case study on gender and development in Kenya, make preliminary recommendations for a development programme for the village, giving reasons for each recommendation.

If you wish, you may also identify aspects of the programme that are particularly relevant to young people.

Discuss your recommendations with colleagues or fellow students, and discuss ways in which the GAD approach was helpful or not helpful in assessing the situation and drawing up your recommendations.

Write up your recommendations and the results of your discussion in your learning journal.

This activity has asked you to apply what you have learned in this unit about gender and development to a practical case study.



The unit ends with a short reading.

Now read Reading 4 'New perspectives on gender and development'

This reading consists of short summaries of articles from an issue of the IDS Bulletin on *Men, masculinities and development: Politics, policies and practice*. It will give you a taste of recent discussions around gender and development, particularly the emergence of interest in 'men in GAD'.

After the unit summary comes the first formal assessment of this module, which aims to deepen your understanding of the WID, WAD and GAD approaches. We wish you luck with your assignment.

Unit summary

In this unit you have covered the following main points:

- key reasons why gender is important as a development issue
- three theories of women's role in development, summarised as:
 - WID sees the exclusion of women from the development process as the problem, and the solution as finding means to include them.
 - WAD sees inequitable capitalist structures and relationships as the problem, and the solution as changing these basic relationships through changing the structures.
 - GAD sees unequal power relations as the problem, and the solution as challenging the social and cultural sources of these relations.
- critiques of the WID and WAD approaches and their limitations
- how GAD differs from the other approaches, in emphasising involvement of both women and men as complementary in development projects
- a glimpse of the range of analytical tools used in the GAD approach.

To check how you have got on, look back at the learning outcomes for this unit and see if you can now do them. When you have done this, look through your learning journal to remind yourself of what you have learned and the ideas you have generated.

In the next unit you will look at the importance of gender awareness in youth development work and at the use of the GAD tools introduced above.

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Assignment

First a reminder that your work in this module will be assessed in the following ways:

- 1 Two assignments – 1a at the end of unit 3 (500 words) (which follows here) and 1b at the end of Unit 4 (1,500 words) – that together are worth 50 per cent of the final mark.
- 2 A review of the learning journal you keep (worth 20 per cent of the final mark). Your institution will inform you when to submit the learning journal for assessment.
- 3 A written examination set by the institution in which you are enrolled for this diploma programme *or* assignment 2 – a 1,500-word report described at the end of the module (worth 30 per cent of the final mark).

Note: make sure you discuss the assessment requirements with your tutor so that you are clear about what you are expected to do and when, and any particular requirements in your institution.

Assignment 1a

The aim of this assignment is to help you deepen your understanding of the WID, WAD and GAD development approaches.

The length of the assignment will depend on the detail you give in your answers. There are two tasks and six questions in all. As a guide, a total of 500 words should be enough.

Task 1

Read the following case study and then answer the questions.



Case study for Task 1

Philippine basket makers project

A loan fund was made available to individual women basket makers in a rural community in the Philippines. The loan was intended to allow them to purchase materials in greater quantities at lower prices, and to increase their productivity and income. However, many women found that their household and farming responsibilities did not leave them enough time to increase their basket production. Others had difficulty repaying their loans because of pressure to use the money for their other family needs. Those who were able to produce more baskets still faced the problem of having to sell them to local intermediaries, who would in turn sell them for a much higher price at distant markets.

- 1 Discuss the approach that was adopted by the development agency. Was it WID or WAD? Explain.
- 2 Would this project have been a success or failure? Give reasons.
- 3 How could this project be changed in order to address the needs of women more effectively?

Task 2

Read the following case study and then answer the questions.



Case study for task 2

Sri Lanka agricultural co-operatives

Institutional strengthening support will be provided to agricultural co-operatives in Sri Lanka. In addition to the development of village, district and national level infrastructures, membership development, management training and financial sustainability, an aspect of the project will be to promote women's membership and the formation of women's committees. Similar women's committee structures have existed for some years in consumer and credit co-operatives.

Although women are actively involved in agricultural production and often manage household finances, they have traditionally not been co-operative members. Newly mobilised women's committees will receive training in cooperative principles, leadership, community development, family health and nutrition and some income-generation skills. Women members will be eligible to receive loans for agricultural and income-generating activities. Eventually, district and national level women's committees will be formed and women will be represented by their leaders at all levels of committees.

Source: Adapted from the files of the Canadian Co-operative Association.

- 4 What are the strengths and weaknesses of this project?
- 5 Do you think that the project would have succeeded in meeting the needs of women? If not, why not? Give reasons for your answer.
- 6 How could this project be changed to address the needs of women and men more effectively?

Unit 4: Creating gender awareness

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Unit introduction

This is Unit 4 in this module on *Gender and Development*. It focuses on the importance of gender awareness. You will learn about the problems caused by gender blindness (i.e. not paying attention to the different effect of programmes on women and men), and we hope that you will come to appreciate the need for gender sensitivity when planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating programmes in youth development work.

The unit explores concepts around gender as tools for analysing the effectiveness of programmes: specifically, you will learn more about the gender and development (GAD) framework, which provides tools to help you assess projects at their outset in terms of their likely impact on women and girls. The same tools can of course be used for assessing the likely impact of projects on men if that is necessary. You will be shown how to use these tools to design gender-sensitive projects.

As you work through the unit, you will be introduced to several case studies and activities that are designed to help you apply the theory in real world contexts.

The unit ends with the module's second formal assessment task.

Unit learning outcomes

When you have worked through this unit, you should be able to:

- explain why gender awareness is important in designing development projects
- apply GAD tools to case studies and examples of youth development work.

What is gender awareness?

In earlier units, we explored some of the gaps that persist between women and men and discovered that a key problem facing development programmes is women's social and/or cultural subordination (their inferior, marginal, lower or submissive roles).

In Unit 3, we saw that some of the development strategies, such as those influenced by WID and WAD, might have unintentionally contributed to female subordination. They failed to analyse the complexities of prevailing cultural and social relations between women and men in the processes of production and distribution within the community. They therefore tended to stereotype women in traditional domestic roles.

One of the main reasons for women's continuing and often increased social disadvantage in development programmes is that those who devise the initiatives do not consider conceptual issues around gender. They therefore do not investigate the real nature of gender relations when they formulate policy and plan and implement programmes. Research shows that unless you target gender as an issue, you are unlikely to learn about the relative needs of males and females in development work. The failure to optimise the roles of women in the development process is therefore directly linked to a lack of understanding among those who plan and implement development projects. This is why creating gender awareness is so important in youth development work.

So what is gender awareness?

When you are planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating projects, gender awareness means always giving attention to the following issues:

- women have very different needs from men
- women are generally disadvantaged in their relationships with men
- these disadvantages differentiate men's and women's ability to access and control resources
- the development of society requires the full development of women as well as men
- women's development requires full equality with men.

When you devise a programme, it is important that in every situation involving both sexes you understand how to cater for the special needs of the women/ girls in their relationships with the men/ boys in the programme. This will obviously vary considerably from culture to culture.

By stressing the needs of women, we do not of course suggest that you pay no attention to the needs of men. They also have special

needs that vary from culture to culture and social class to social class. But the power imbalance between men and women is usually so significant a variable that the first priority should be women's needs.

Use this self-help question to help you check your understanding at this point.



Self-help question 4.1

(about 10 minutes)

Explain why you need to be aware of gender in project planning, implementation and evaluation. Try to give at least three reasons.

Compare your answers with those provided at the end of the unit.

Analytical frameworks

How can you develop greater gender awareness in your own development work?

There are several strategies devised for development workers that will help you assess the likely gender issues in your work and indicate how you can develop good practice. A number of analytical frameworks focus on predicting and assessing the effects of planned development work on the needs of the women involved. These frameworks highlight the key gender issues to focus on and suggest the important questions to ask yourself when devising projects so that you can ensure they are gender sensitive.

The following frameworks are all valuable in slightly different ways.

- The Gender and Development (GAD) Analytical Framework
- The Women's Empowerment Framework by Sara Longwe
- Caroline Moser's Framework on Gender Planning in the Third World
- The Harvard Analytical Framework
- The FEMNET Analytical Framework.

We include the names of these frameworks for your information, but we will be concentrating on only one: the Gender and Development (GAD) Analytical Framework. This framework is suitable to assess the needs of young women and young men in a variety of socio-economic environments, so is best suited to youth development work. It also contains the main principles underpinning the other frameworks, so that if you choose at some point to use one of them you will be in familiar territory.

The GAD analytical tools

At this point, look back again at the section that discusses GAD in Unit 3 before reading on. It's important to note that the tools in the GAD Analytical Framework apply to the roles of men as much as women. The main point of GAD is that it attempts to identify structural relations between women and men in development programmes. If such an analysis finds inequality of relationship that discriminates against men, that's important and needs dealing with.

The GAD analytical tools we discuss here have been extracted almost verbatim from Match International Centre, CCIC and AQOCI (1991): *Two Halves Make a Whole*. They will help you to analyse gender relations in development work. They also provide suggestions for practical applications in the following areas:

- development programmes and projects
- project design
- project planning
- policy formulation and development
- monitoring processes, assessment and evaluation criteria
- research projects.

Note that GAD views gender as an issue that cuts across many fields, relevant to all economic, social and political processes. GAD utilises its method of gender analysis to specify the detailed nature of the role differences between men and women. It asks operational questions, such as:

- who does what?
- where?
- how often?
- with what resources and returns?
- who controls what?

This is so that appropriate policies, projects, interventions and programmes can be designed to ensure and improve women's inclusion, their status and the quality of their productivity (for related information and materials, if possible look at the Asian Development Bank website at <http://www.adb.org/gender>).

We will now examine five of the GAD tools – these were mentioned briefly in the previous unit and are the ones that are particularly relevant to youth in development work. We will also see how they can best be applied to your work with young people. There are critical

questions to ask when using each tool. As the tools are discussed, we link them to examples in the form of case studies so you can see how they might apply in practice.

The five tools are:

- Tool 1: The sex/gender division of labour
- Tool 2: Access to and control of resources and benefits
- Tool 3: Condition and position of women and men in society
- Tool 4: Practical needs and strategic interests of women and men
- Tool 5: Levels of participation.

Tool 1: The sex/ gender division of labour

This tool focuses on the differences between men's work and women's work and how these are differently valued.

You need to understand the gender division of labour in a community or society before you can design and implement development initiatives. Both women and men work to maintain households and communities, but their work tends to be different in nature and social value. These differences are a central aspect of gender relations. Each society allocates different roles, responsibilities and activities to women and men according to what is considered appropriate.

The nature and extent of women's work can remain largely invisible. This can leave you unaware that the gender division of labour is always the main feature of the social structure in a community, determining who has status, who holds public office, who has rewards and who has privileges. Without having a clear awareness of this division of labour, you will make inappropriate assumptions about how the community achieves its goals, how work is organised and how men and women will be differentially affected by any development intervention. In turn, you will not be able to assess what the intervention will do to the social structure and the quality of life for all the members of the community.

In the project identification phase, you should do a participatory analysis of the gender division of labour (i.e. an analysis of the actual organisation and valuation of work between women and men in the community by observing and interviewing the participants). This will enable community members, and yourself as one of the planners, to understand how a particular project should be designed to have an optimal effect on the life of the community. This will allow the essential tasks to be done and the new activities to be developed, but without imposing excessive burdens on anyone, and enable the benefits of training and improved production and distribution to be dealt out equitably. (Note that you will examine participatory analysis in detail in Module 8 *Project Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation*.)



Activity 4.1

(about 20 minutes, not counting discussion)

Think about the gender division of labour in your community.

In your learning journal, write down five areas of work that are considered appropriate for women.

Opposite each one, write down answers to the following questions:

- Is this work paid or unpaid?
- How much value or status does the community put on this work?
- How far does the community recognise this work in comparison with work done by men?

You might find it useful to discuss these issues of women and work with friends, family members, colleagues or fellow students.

Critical questions for Tool 1

You need to identify and describe the different work done by young women and young men in any development work. Here are the critical questions you should ask yourself at the planning stage:

- 1 How is work organised in the target community?
- 2 What work do women and girls do – paid and unpaid?
- 3 What work do men and boys do – paid and unpaid?
- 4 What are the implications of this division of labour for achieving project goals?
- 5 Does the project reinforce or challenge the existing division of labour?

Here is a case study to help you explore the practical implications of these critical questions. Read the case study and then do the activity that follows.



Case study 4.1

Village-managed water project in Ghana

The project will be located in a semi-arid rural area with a cycle of annual dry and irregular wet seasons. Area residents are subsistence farmers living in and around villages and hamlets. Staple and supplementary crops are grown, using simple technology and relying extensively on female labour. Men are responsible for the staple crop

and livestock, and women for household management, water and firewood collection, food preparation, childcare, much of the manual agricultural labour and, increasingly, some income generation. Water is traditionally collected from often-distant riverbeds and ponds. The rate of infant mortality and water-related disease is high.

Project components

The following activities will be done by the agency in consultation with local government:

- Community mobilisation
 - community consultation
 - organisation of village and district committees
 - training.
- Pump installation and pump site construction
 - drilling
 - materials distribution
 - loan programme
 - training
 - construction and installation.
- User education
 - operation and maintenance of pump and site
 - health
 - sanitation.

Key project players

- Canadian NGO
- national water corporation
- district management committee
- village committees
- water users.

Project objectives

The project aims to improve the health and productivity of area residents through provision of an adequate, clean water supply. Communities will be assisted through provision of wells, loans for pumps and materials, technical assistance and training to install community-managed and financed hand pumps.



Activity 4.2

(about 15 minutes)

When you have read Case study 4.1, answer the following questions. Write your answers in your learning journal.

- 1 What gender-related information about the community would be useful in designing and planning this project?
- 2 What goals would you have for the involvement of women?
- 3 What barriers can you anticipate in achieving these goals?
- 4 What strategies or approaches might work toward these goals?
- 5 Does this project have the potential to address women's longer-term interests? If so, how?

The project only provides information on what the group will do. It is silent on how the people involved will participate. This gap may offer a clue for your answers to this activity. The project might provide an opportunity for involving women, traditionally responsible for collecting water, in the planning, organisation and delivery of the development project. A participatory approach would be important to overcome any cultural barriers to such involvement of women. It would be important to treat this as a social, not just a technical, development project. There is more about long-term strategic interests under tool 4.

Tool 2: Access to and control over resources and benefits

The GAD approach emphasises sensitivity to how much access and control women have over resources in comparison with men. You need to be aware of:

- women's access to the resources needed for their work
- their freedom to use those resources in the ways that they wish
- their access to the benefits derived from family and personal work
- the amount of control they have over those benefits.

All types of work – productive, reproductive and community work – require the use of such resources, which may include:

- economic or productive resources such as land, equipment, tools, labour, cash credit, income-earning opportunities
- political resources such as leadership, education and information, self-confidence and credibility, public-sphere experience

- time, which has been shown to be a particularly critical and scarce resource for women.

Women should also share equally in benefits, which may include:

- basic needs (such as food, clothing and shelter)
- income
- rights of ownership
- education and training
- political power
- prestige
- status
- opportunities to pursue new interests.

Critical questions for Tool 2

Critical questions that you need to ask about women and access to resources are:

- 1 What resources and benefits do women and men have access to and control over in the target community?
- 2 What effect will the project have on girls' and women's access to and control over resources, and how might it be used to increase them?
- 3 How can girls and women be helped to gain access to and control over benefits?

Tool 3: Condition and position of men and women in society

The GAD approach emphasises that for a development initiative to be successful, it must improve the condition and position of both women and men in society. But what do these terms mean?

'Condition' refers to the material state of affairs, such as the needs of men and women in terms of clean water, food and education. You have learned that development projects affect the condition of women and men differently. For example, a water supply project may improve the condition of women's lives significantly, but make little impact on men's lives. The situation may be reversed in agricultural projects, with negative impacts being experienced by women. For example, a project that introduces a new fertiliser may make women's lives harder by increasing the labour of weeding, which is a traditionally female task.

'Position' refers to women's social and economic standing in relation to that of men. The differences in the position of men and women are revealed, for example, by disparities in wages and employment

opportunities, differential participation in governing bodies and vulnerability to poverty and violence.

Development projects can affect the position of women:

- negatively – if existing areas of activity and control are eroded or eliminated, or
- positively – if women are included as active change agents. For example, a water project that involves women as pump caretakers, technicians, community water committee members and health educators contributes towards improving their social position.

Critical questions for Tool 3

Critical questions to be addressed when implementing a development project are:

- 1 How and to what extent do project or programme activities and organisational policies contribute towards improving the conditions of women and of men?
- 2 How and to what extent do they contribute to improving women's position in society?

Adapted from the files of CARE, Canada.

The following case study gives you an example of a project that produced negative effects on both the condition and the (economic) position of women.



Case study 4.2

Tendu leaves project in India

In a remote village in Kerala, India, women collect tendu leaves, which are used to wrap local cigarettes called bidi (an activity undertaken by millions of poor Indian women). The leaves are collected from the forest and dried around household cooking fires. The women sell the dried leaves to intermediaries to supplement household income.

Personnel from a local rural development project became concerned about deforestation and suggested that a village charcoal drying centre would save on fuel. The project offered to provide the materials to construct the drying centre as a pilot project. The women provided their labour. With the assistance of project staff, the women of the village met, formed a co-operative and elected four women to form the executive.

A Canadian NGO that was funding the local rural development project agreed to fund the co-operative charcoal drying project as its first gender and environment project.

After the construction of the drying centre, all the women brought their leaves to be dried. When the first batch was sold, the women received the same price for the leaves as before, even though the quality was slightly higher. However, once the cost of running the centre was deducted, the women themselves received slightly less. Some of the village women stopped using the drying centre. Within a year, the husband of one of the members of the co-operative executive gained control of the drying centre and interceded with middlemen so all village women were forced to collect more tendu leaves and made less money than they had before they formed the co-operative.

An energy audit of the project, done by local consultants, found that 50 per cent more fuel wood was being used than prior to the project.

Adapted from the files of the Canadian Co-operative Association.



Self-help question 4.2

(about 10 minutes)

Summarise how the project negatively affects the position of women and what steps might have been taken to have more positive effects.

Compare your answers with those provided at the end of the unit.



Activity 4.3

(about 20 minutes, not counting discussion)

- 1 Identify an existing development project for young people in your community.
- 2 Describe it briefly.
- 3 How far does it improve the condition of women in the community?
- 4 How far does it improve the position of women?
- 5 What could be done to enhance this project's impact on the condition and position of women?

You may find it useful to discuss the project with colleagues or fellow students who are familiar with the project.

Write your answers in your learning journal.

Tool 4: Practical needs and strategic interests of women and men

The development projects that you initiate should identify and address the needs of the targeted communities. The GAD approach distinguishes between women's practical needs and their strategic interests. These are closely related to condition and position.

Practical needs are linked to women's condition. They can be readily identified and usually related to living conditions and availability of resources. Practical needs for poor developing world women, for example, may be related to availability of food, water, health facilities, education for their children and increased income. If these needs are not satisfactorily met and if resources are lacking, then women's condition – and also that of men – will be affected negatively.

Strategic interests are linked to women's position. They arise from their subordinate (disadvantaged) position in society. Strategic interests are long term and related to improving women's position. Access to gender equality is in the strategic interest of women because they gain more opportunities, greater access to resources and greater participation with men in decision-making.

The strategic interests of women include:

- reduced vulnerability to violence and exploitation
- access to more economic security, independence, options and opportunities
- responsibility for reproductive work to be shared with men and the state
- access to increased political power
- increased ability to improve the lives and futures of their children
- opportunities to organise with other women for strength, solidarity and action
- access to development processes that are just and humanistic.

Critical questions for Tool 4

You need to ask yourself these critical questions in order to ensure that women's practical needs and strategic interests are met in the development programme:

- 1 How and to what extent do programme activities and the organisation's policies address the practical needs of women and men?
- 2 How and to what extent do project activities and organisational policies address the strategic interests of the community in general and of women in particular?

Here are two brief case studies to help you explore the concepts of the practical needs and strategic interests of women. Read them, and then complete the activities that follow each one.



Case study 4.3

Production workshops in Colombia

Support in the form of machinery, production and management skills is being provided to a network of women-owned and managed production workshops in a Colombian city. Nine independent groups of 25–35 women, working in small factory locations, are producing footwear and clothing on a contract or outworker basis for large companies that export the finished products. All materials are provided for the production groups.

Although the women enjoy organising their own day-to-day work, orders are neither guaranteed nor regular and there is a constant struggle to ensure a continuous flow of work and income.



Activity 4.4

(about 10 minutes)

Read over the case study above then answer the following questions:

- 1 What practical needs of women are addressed in this project?
- 2 What strategic interests of women are addressed?
- 3 How could this project be changed to better address women's strategic interests?

Write your answers in your learning journal.



Case study 4.4

Milk Cow Revolving Loan Fund in India

Landless women in rural India are given a calf and training in milk production, animal care and feeding, etc. In return for receiving the calf, the women must ensure that the animal is healthy and give its first two offspring back to the 'Revolving Fund'. These calves are then given to other women and so on.



Activity 4.5

(about 10 minutes)

Read over the case study above then answer the following questions.

- 1 What practical needs of women are addressed in the project?
- 2 What strategic interests of women are addressed?
- 3 How could the project be changed to better address the women's strategic interests?

Write your answers in your learning journal.

The two activities should have helped you clarify the difference between practical needs (for example, in these case studies income and food) and strategic interests (for example, in these case studies increased responsibility and more economic security).

Tool 5: Levels of participation

Women have often been ostensibly participants and beneficiaries in development projects without significant improvement in their condition, and without realising any change in their position. Tool 5 asks you to assess women's level of participation in development projects and the effects it has on their welfare.

Participation can happen at several different levels or stages within a project – but it is the nature of the participation that matters. The GAD theory describes several stages of participation. At all these levels, participants might be involved in any of the following ways. They may:

- be passive recipients of assistance, materials or services without being involved in the provision and control of the project in any way
- take action prescribed by others, such as contributing their labour or attending a clinic
- be consulted on their problems and needs without being involved in the analysis of the situation and in seeking options and solutions (an approach that only results in a 'wish list' with no real community responsibility or ownership)
- be empowered to organise themselves to address their needs, plan solutions to problems and take responsibility for development actions.

The GAD approach aims for the last category, the fullest possible participation – at the level of empowerment – for both women and men in all development activities. The concept of different levels of

participation helps you to evaluate the quality of the ways women and men participate in projects, the extent to which this participation can contribute to empowerment and how projects need to be organised to ensure empowerment.

Critical questions for Tool 5

Here are the critical questions you should ask to ensure that women participate in a manner that will empower them.

- 1 What is the nature of women's and men's participation in the programme or project and in the organisation?
- 2 What is the nature of the benefit that women and men will receive?
- 3 To what extent are women active agents in each stage of the programme or project and in policy development and implementation?

The following case study and activity give you an opportunity to reflect on women's participation in development projects.



Case study 4.5

Vegetable co-operative project in Botswana

A village development trust in Botswana started a co-operative community gardening project to provide training and income-earning opportunities for school leavers. Both men and women were involved, and their respective ideas and needs were incorporated into the project design.

From the start, men concentrated on growing vegetables for sale in large communal plots. Many husbands expected their wives to contribute labour to their vegetable plots.

Women chose to start with small plots and produce individually for home consumption. Later, having gained confidence in a new activity without the threat of financial failure, some women branched out into cooperative commercial production. Most of these women were heads of households or had less demanding husbands. They participated in the cooperative ventures more successfully than men.

The agricultural extension workers, who gave essential advice to the co-operatives, were all men. Male vegetable growers were better able to mix and communicate with extension workers and were more successful than the women in lobbying for support and resources. Staff working with the project developed a policy of positive discrimination towards the women's groups, without which it was felt they might have failed.



Activity 4.6

(about 15 minutes)

Use Case study 4.5 above to answer the following questions:

- 1 What is the nature of women's and men's participation in this project?
- 2 What is the nature of the benefits that women and men receive?
- 3 To what extent are women active agents in each of the stages of project and policy development and implementation?
- 4 How might this project have been developed to improve the participation levels of the women?

Write your answers in your learning journal.

The case study and the activity illustrate the need for gender awareness and sensitivity in participation processes and the need to consider issues of empowerment.

GAD tools and youth development work

As you have seen, you can apply the five analytical tools to create a high level of gender awareness when designing and planning implementation of a development project in youth work. These tools will enable you to make the roles to be performed by all involved in the project – boys and girls, men and women – completely transparent.

The whole point of GAD is that it supports equitable development that benefits both women and men, not women only development. You can adapt all the aspects of the GAD framework described here to cater for the needs of young men as well as young women when designing a project. You could use the GAD framework to ensure that:

- the condition and position of both girls and boys are improved
- the practical needs and strategic interests of girls and boys are catered for
- girls and boys are involved in projects as agents of change and not as passive recipients of assistance, services or materials
- development interventions empower girls and boys to organise themselves to address their needs, plan solutions to problems and take responsibility for development activities.

If this is not done at the planning stage, the project that is developed will not address the needs of all the participants.

The following case study describes a project for which it is essential to obtain adequate gender-disaggregated data. Disaggregating data by gender means that the data for men and women are recorded separately to reflect the different experiences and conditions of men and women in the community.



Case study 4.6

Dryland farming in Indonesia

Farmers in this province of Indonesia are finding it difficult to make a living from their upland farms given present agricultural practices and patterns of land use. The pressures of population, shifting cultivation, deforestation and soil erosion have severely reduced soil fertility and the productivity of upland areas.

The objective of this project is to increase, in a sustainable manner, the productive capacity of marginal lands in the province by promoting soil and water conservation techniques.

Well-established contour hedgerow farming is the foundation for other integrated agricultural production activities such as improved cropping systems and livestock management. Extension activities emphasising hedgerow maintenance, experimentation in new species and alley cropping are some of the project activities. These techniques can have a major impact on the physical environment of the project area and on the socio-economic conditions of participating farmers.

By using these techniques, farmers and their families will benefit from improved soil fertility, which will enable them to grow more on their land. The direct, short-term beneficiaries are farmers, including women, who receive guidance and training from project field staff.

The women assist their husbands to prepare the hedgerows and help in planting the crops. They also get abundant, replenishable firewood, which relieves their work of gathering fuel and allows time for other productive activities. Income-generating opportunities are created because the hill slopes are stabilised, natural terraces are created, soil fertility is increased and natural green compost is available.

Source: Files of CARE, Canada.



Activity 4.7

(about 15 minutes, not counting discussion)

Read the case study above, and then answer the following questions in your learning journal. (You might find it useful to do this activity as a group task with your colleagues or fellow students.)

What gender-disaggregated information (i.e. separate data about men and women) about the target community would have been useful in the planning stages of this project?

What information would be necessary in order to assess the impact of this project on women and the extent to which it addresses their basic needs and strategic interests?

Doing this activity will have involved revisiting the areas covered by the five tools. The gender-disaggregated data needed at the planning stage and to assess a project's impact will relate to such things as the division of labour, paid and unpaid, the value put on it, access to and control of resources and benefits, relative positions, whose needs and interests are met and how, different involvement and degree of empowerment in decision-making.

The concerns raised by the GAD framework are important for designing and implementing development initiatives not only for adults, but for youth as well. Gender awareness is important when handling youth projects. Girls, in particular, have been invisible in many development interventions intended for youth. For many development workers, the term 'youth' seems to mean boys or males. You can apply the GAD framework in other modules of this diploma to ensure gender awareness in youth development projects of all types and to make sure there is a gender-sensitive approach when planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating programmes.

We have now come to the end of Unit 4. The summary is followed by the module's second formal assessment. This brings together what you have learned about gender awareness and development. We wish you luck with the task.

Unit summary

In this unit you have covered the following main points:

- For any project or programme to succeed, gender awareness must be created at the design, planning, implementation and evaluation stages.
- There are many tools you can use to create gender awareness. This unit has concentrated on five tools from the GAD approach:
 - the gender division of labour
 - access to and control over resources and benefits
 - the condition and position of men and women in the community and society
 - practical needs and strategic interests of women and men in society
 - analysis of types and levels of participation.
- Each of these tools has a series of critical questions you should ask in relation to proposed projects, to assess their benefit to women and girls.
- If the needs of all participants are not addressed, the project or programme is likely to have a negative impact on some of the participants.

Unit 5, the last in the module, will look at a range of feminist theories and how they relate to your knowledge and experience in youth development work.

Answers to self-help questions

Self-help question 4.1

Everyone's answer will be different, but here is a summary of the key points you should be aware of. You may have thought of others.

You should take gender into account in project planning, implementation and evaluation because:

- if you don't, research shows that women can be locked out of the most useful roles in the development process and its benefits
- there is a risk that women's specific needs will be invisible because these are usually visible only in the private (home) sphere, not the public sphere, in contrast to men
- women often have social psychological needs and goals that are different from men's and they experience the world differently
- women can actually be further disadvantaged as a result of development projects because of the assumption that they cannot perform certain key tasks; they may then be kept out of production, whereas normally they have very productive roles
- women are widely disadvantaged as a social group, and awareness of this fact should be central in project planning
- no matter what the project, the aim should be equality of outcomes for women and men.

Self-help question 4.2

In the case study, women have lost out because by the end they are working harder and earning less than before. They have also lost out because previously they dealt with intermediaries themselves and now have lost this element of control.

Steps to ensure positive outcomes will depend on fuller knowledge of the case. They might include more careful analysis of the areas of activity and control, or more training and support for women to strengthen their power position in running the centre.

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Assignment

First a reminder that your work in this module will be assessed in the following ways:

- 1 Two assignments – 1a at the end of Unit 3 (500 words) and 1b at the end of Unit 4 (1,500 words) (which follows here) – that together are worth 50 per cent of the final mark.
- 2 A review of the learning journal you keep (worth 20 per cent of the final mark). Your institution will inform you when to submit the learning journal for assessment.
- 3 A written examination set by the institution in which you are enrolled for this diploma programme *or* assignment 2 – a 1,500-word report at the end of the module (worth 30 per cent of the final mark).

Note: make sure you discuss the assessment requirements with your tutor so that you are clear about what you are expected to do and when, and any particular requirements in your institution.

Assignment 1b

Here is a long case study that highlights some of the dangers of gender blindness in project planning and implementation. Read it carefully, and then write detailed answers to the following questions. The total length should be no more than 1,500 words.

Questions:

- 1 What productive and reproductive work is done by women and men in this community?
- 2 What different resources and benefits do women and men have access to and control over, prior to and then during the project?
- 3 How appropriate is the design of the project, given women's previous social and economic roles, and why?
- 4 What has the impact of the project been on women and on men? How does this impact relate to project objectives?
- 5 How could the project be changed to ensure participation that is more equitable and beneficial for women and men?
- 6 How might it better address the strategic interests of women and the strategic interests of men?



Case study for assessment task

Community forestry – East Kalimantan, Indonesia

The pilot project area

In February 1983, the village of Biyasan (not its real name) was given approval for a community forestry project, one of several villages in three neighbouring *kecamatans* targeted by government for community forestry programmes. The village, located in an upland area of East Kalimantan near the headwaters of a major river, is made up of 7 hamlets, scattered within walking distance. It covers 1,200 hectares of hilly terrain.

In 1983, Biyasan had a population of 3,843 – 1,680 males and 2,163 females, with an average of 5.9 people per household. Over the previous 15 years, the area had seen considerable population growth and then a decline. Population growth, at 1.6 per cent per year, was low due to migration. Most villagers (600 households) had been in the area for generations. Twelve years ago farmers from outside the region (50 households) were resettled in Biyasan and given small (0.5 ha) plots of land.

Though the soil was stony and shallow in places, there was good seasonal rainfall, and farmers harvested one crop of *sawah* rice each year. They also grew dryland crops. Thirty-eight per cent of the land was in agricultural production, 12 per cent in home gardens, 7 per cent private woodlots, 15 per cent in fallow, and 33 per cent was unproductive due to the river, the slope of the land, previous clear cutting, and poor soil. The main crops in the area included rice, and *palawija* (cassava, corn and peanuts). Tree crops included cashews and coffee, and were primarily cash crops, as were the peanuts.

Both women and men owned and inherited land. As a result of traditional inheritance patterns, men owned 68 per cent of all productive land, women the remaining 32 per cent. The average size of landholding per household was 0.7 hectares, with 6 per cent holding more than 3.5 hectares. Twenty per cent of households were headed by women, and in 10 per cent the men had migrated in search of waged employment.

In addition to using family labour, wealthy farmers employed wage labour at harvest time. Many of them obtained credit for fertilizers and some had access to machinery for weeding and hulling. They were also converting fallow fields to cloves, chocolate and coffee tree crops. Because of poor soil quality, steep slopes and soil erosion, wealthy farmers' fields expanded further and further from the village.

The poorer farmers had had significantly poorer yields in recent years and had not been able to benefit from commercial inputs, but few farmers were landless sharecroppers. For poor farmers, returns on family land were not usually enough to provide for a household, and other income had to be earned.

In nearby timber estates, trees were cut and sawlogs shipped to urban areas. There were problems as a result of widespread cutting of trees. A number of necessary ingredients for natural medicine were becoming scarce. It was harder to find choice trees for wood forest products. Reforestation had provided employment for a number of men and women over the last 10 years, but at the time of the case study, these jobs had decreased because of concession holders' low priority on reforestation. Women's earnings traditionally came from making rattan products and other non-wood forest goods, and trading in the market. During reforestation efforts, women were the main wage labourers in tree nurseries.

Wage labour accounted for 30 per cent of male income (down 10 per cent in 5 years), and 17 per cent of female income (down 15 per cent in 5 years). The drop reflected a decline in local forestry employment, increased mechanisation by wealthy farmers, and land use changes by large landholders – from increasingly unprofitable agriculture to private woodlots – which decreased the need for hired labour.

In the past, farmers had not concerned themselves with planting and maintaining private woodlots, because there appeared to be abundant forests, which could be cut, with or without licences. Their concern was food production. But, clear cutting, the resulting soil and water losses, and a growing need for building material and fuel wood, made private woodlots desirable for those who could afford it. At the time of the case study, no income had been generated from private woodlots.

Division of labour

Local men who had not migrated for work were involved in agriculture, either on family land or as hired labour. Men did field preparation, terrace construction, and ploughing with oxen. They were also involved in animal care and feeding, making rattan furniture and trading. From time to time, men raided the reforested area for building material, or additional space for home gardens. Families planted trees for fencing around their gardens and for soil conservation, but more trees were needed for home construction and other building.

Women managed the households. They were involved in seasonal rice planting, transplanting, hoeing, weeding and harvesting, rice processing and storage, and work in their gardens. Many women worked as unpaid labourers alongside their husbands who were employed by the state forestry company. Some also worked seasonally for wages, picking and drying coffee and tobacco for wealthy farmers.

Year-round, women collected fuel wood and natural medicines, made non-wood forest products from rattan and traded at the market. They collected wood from the piles made when fields were cleared (often with their children), or walked further into the hills. As clearing moved further away from home, women walked greater distances for fuel

wood. Sometimes they collected it from the reforestation area closer to home. As they returned home, they also collected leaves and fruit along the way. Women were active in traditional wedding and funeral activities, and found alternatives to institutional credit by raising money through participation in the local *arisan*.

Girls were involved in household work from an early age. At 7, they helped feed animals, carry water, and gather fuel wood. By age 10, girls were helping plant and harvest rice. Boys were active in feeding and caring for the animals, and helping with their fathers' work. There was a primary school in the village, which both boys and girls attended, but as they got older, girls were needed to help at home for longer hours than boys. Girls, especially those whose mothers worked as labourers or traded in the market, had to drop out of school.

Poverty in the area was a result of the complex relationship between high population density, poor quality soil, inequitable land tenure arrangements, and migration of men. The poorest people tended to be women and their families in single-headed households. Women traditionally did not benefit from credit and extension programmes for farmers as much as men. Women's incomes had declined, and because of a multitude of factors including lack of education, there were few employment opportunities for women.

The project: Integrated Community Forestry

The pilot project in Biyasan was initiated by the Ministry of Forestry in conjunction with Walhi (an environmental organisation). Village involvement was enlisted in the planning stages through a bottom up planning process.

Project objectives

The project objectives were to:

- improve the living standards of rural people, especially the poorest, through cash income or home consumption, encouraging increased village production of fuel wood, fodder, timber, and generation of non-wood forest products
- decrease consumption of fuel wood by testing, manufacturing and distributing improved stoves
- promote rural self-reliance through active participation in forest resource management, including individual woodlots and communal forests
- reduce environmental destruction, through soil conservation, terracing, and protecting water resources
- improve women's role in rural development, and increase their productivity.

Project strategies

The objectives were to be accomplished through the following specific project strategies:

- Re-establish nurseries for seedling production and distribution, establish forest estates for communal use, and set up household woodlots and windbreaks.
- Develop and distribute improved stoves and encourage villagers to use them.
- Increase forestry extension services to improve tree planting and maintenance, and promote better farming methods (including increased forage production within forest estates).
- Encourage more active participation of rural people in the project activities and their management.
- Enhance income-generating possibilities for rural women through the expansion of non-wood processing.

Project assumptions

There were also a number of objectives that were not stated in the project outline but were understood. These were implicit assumptions.

- Men and women would contribute equally to project management.
- Villagers' leadership skills and also farmers' sense of responsibility and participation would be developed.
- Credit was not offered, but incentives would be offered at the discretion of the Village Head.
- The efficiency of women in cooking would be increased and more time could be spent on making rattan mats and baskets.
- The market for non-wood products had potential for expansion.
- More intensive land use would be encouraged (more agroforestry).
- Farmers' incomes would improve, as would living standards from more productive land, with less soil erosion.
- Little social change would occur in the village, except for improved economic positions for all.

Project management structure

The official responsible for the project was the District Head, assisted by Walhi for many of the activities, plus a greening specialist. The project manager was Head of the District Forest Service. Head of Implementation was the sub district forest service staff person, and the implementers were the farmers' groups. The farmers formed groups of 20 to 40 people, each group led by a key farmer and a Walhi community development officer. They served as project contacts for the extension workers, and handled instructions, distribution of materials and incentives. Meetings were held regularly to discuss problems. Extension was done through demonstration plots.

Women were involved with local decision making through the PKK, which was consulted for this project. It was an enthusiastic supporter, since the project fitted into its concerns with village beautification and the home garden movement. A PKK representative was assigned to each farmers' group.

Project activity

After the project was approved, **stage one** began and a survey was conducted. It gathered data on the following aspects of the community:

- An inventory was done of male and female farmer holdings, noting home gardens and agroforestry activity. Species and numbers of trees and plants were listed.
- Fuel wood needs and patterns of collection were surveyed.
- Data was collected on both men's and women's roles and needs in forestry development activity.

Project challenges and problems

Stage two was more difficult. Initially it was hard to enlist farmer support for long-term tree planting. With little land, little time, and few resources – and because forests surrounded the village – poorer farmers did not see tree planting as necessary. The poorer women were too busy to be concerned with beautification, and had little contact with the PKK. Since the forest estate nearby had employed labourers, people felt that it was the state forest company's responsibility to do the work – or at least pay for it. Incentives became important.

The project's nursery-based seedling production, previously wage labour done by women, became a job done by men because the incentive was donation of seedlings for private planting instead of wages. Women were too busy, producing handicrafts and training, to engage in non-remunerative work. The incentive was appropriate to enlist the involvement of men, the dominant landowners, not women.

Those with more land could use fallow and marginal (non-productive) land for tree planting. Because tree maintenance involved low labour and low risk, the larger landowners were more easily convinced to establish woodlots.

Input into choice of seedlings to be grown and planted was open to all. With assistance from the extension workers, the final decision was made at the farmers' group level. Men were concerned about fodder for animals, building materials and fuel wood. Women were interested in fuel wood and in varieties for non-wood processing. Fast growing pine trees were not preferred for fuel or for use in cottage industries, but were thought to be most useful for short-term environmental protection and faster economic returns for sale as building material.

Since the government had further plans for resettlement, some people were uncertain about security of land tenure and whether trees planted as woodlots would remain theirs. It was unclear who would have the use of trees planted for erosion control along the river and in some steeper areas on the hillside.

The lack of female forestry extension workers and the timing of training showed that it had not been considered whether men or women would attend. Providing female extension workers and timing training sessions to suit women became a priority, in order to enable more women to have training in the areas that affected their work in home garden food production and non-wood processing. As gatherers of fuel wood, women's learning about forest maintenance was also seen as important but a low priority because of their busy schedules. Their previous expertise at tree nursery skills was overlooked.

Incentives were given to heads of households for participation in the forestry programme, equal to the value of the tools and materials. Wages for tree planting were borne by the farmers. Establishing nurseries, tree planting and forest maintenance were not waged work. Family members who had time to participate were generally older sons and the male heads of households.

Skills training and information on the improved stoves and their construction was directed at the men, since it had not been specified in the project proposal who should be involved. The timing of the training also meant women would not be able to attend because of work in the rice cycle – i.e. post-harvest processing.

Source: Match International – *Two Halves Make a Whole*.

Unit 5: Creating gender awareness

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Unit introduction

So far in this module, we have seen that in all societies women and men have quite different experiences of what appears to be the same world, in terms of work, access to education, health and social power. In most societies, women have a low status in comparison with men. Relationships between men and women have usually accorded more power to men than to women.

These differences have led to the development of a range of feminist theories that try to explain how and why women have become subordinated. Feminist theories also try to analyse the processes through which women's subordination is maintained from generation to generation, and they suggest strategies to end or at least mitigate inequality between women and men.

As you work through Unit 5, you will explore several of these feminist theories. You will study theories developed in the Western industrialised countries and the developing world, and examine the key differences between them. You will read how theorists have assessed the effectiveness of the suggestions made for changing the situation. Coming at the end of this module, the unit will help you relate theory and practice, applying the ideas to youth development work. It will help you recap on your learning and activities in earlier units of the module.

Unit learning outcomes

When you have worked through this unit, you should be able to:

- explain a range of gender and feminist theories within different political, social and cultural traditions
- relate the theories to your own knowledge and experience
- use what you have learned for gender awareness raising and informal education activities.

What is feminism?

Feminism, which began as a political ideological movement in affluent countries, is a social theoretical perspective as well. The political movement seeks to attain equal rights for women with men – politically, economically and socially. The theoretical perspective seeks to change our traditional definitions of what women's roles should be and how women should be defined.

Feminism has its roots in the reform movements of the 19th century when people increasingly perceived that women were oppressed in an unjust, patriarchal society. The organized feminist movement dates from the First Women's Right's Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. This is known as the first wave of feminism, and was concerned particularly with suffrage – getting women the right to vote. The second wave (1960s to 1980s) was concerned particularly with inequality. The third wave (1990s onwards) is concerned with tackling the perceived failures of the second wave and the backlash against its initiatives. Issues of class, race and sexuality are central to the third wave.

Feminist theories have been developed to understand and explain the nature of women's low status in society. They focus on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. Several different feminist theories have developed that attempt to explain women's subordination, and they have been grouped here under the following three broad approaches:

- theories of difference
- theories of inequality
- theories of gender oppression.

There have also been notable variations in the way women's situations are perceived among groups of women from different political, social and cultural traditions. Feminist theorists tend to fall into the following categories:

- white women in the industrialised Western world
- black women living in industrialised countries
- women living in developing countries.

With so many divergent strands, it is difficult to speak of feminism as a consistent theory. For the purposes of this unit, we will look firstly at the three different approaches to feminist thought listed above. Then we will examine the theories of the three different groups of women identified.

Theories of difference

Have you ever heard a man who is behaving in a way that is not thought manly being told 'You're behaving like a woman'? Have you heard members of your society say 'It is better to trust a young boy than trust a woman'? Or someone saying 'You are as stupid as your mother'? These sorts of statements have been examined by feminist theorists in a bid to analyse why people make them.

The next activity asks you to identify your own examples. At the end of this section, we will ask you to revisit the examples and think about them in relation to your youth development work.



Activity 5.1

(about 10 minutes, not counting discussion)

- What terms of abuse like the ones above are used in your community?
- Note down any similar statements that denigrate or belittle men rather than women.
- What do these statements tell you about the position of women in your community or society?

You may find it useful to discuss these questions with your family, friends or colleagues.

Write your examples in your learning journal.

The feminist theory of difference attempts to analyse the differences between women and men in society in terms of biological and social conditions and institutional socialisation. Girls are socialised differently from boys because of their biological differences, and the resulting inequalities become embedded in society and its relationships.

For example, gender differences are traced essentially to the physical sexual differences between the bodies of men and women. The physical make up of human bodies partly determines the way men and women behave. These physical attributes have also been used to identify the essential role of a woman – because she bears children and consequently tends to rear them – as work in the domestic sphere.

This arrangement responds well to the structure of the wider society. The division of labour by gender allocates women to duties and responsibilities in the private sphere, including those of housewife, mother and home manager. This role structure appears again in the school curriculum, where boys may do welding and carpentry, while girls may be confined to their age-old roles of home manager, with subjects like needlework now glorified as 'home economics'.

Theories of inequality

Many theorists argue that the exploitation of women's labour is located in what is effectively a difference of self-perpetuating social class, embedded in ideology as well as in practice. For example, the fact that many women are ideologically located in the private sphere (the domestic sphere), while most men are ideologically identified as belonging to the public sphere (their jobs), results in a general ideological acceptance that these are justifiable and natural differences of role. Children are consequently socialised to prepare them for gendered adult roles, and work only in those spheres considered ideologically appropriate to their sex. This is most obvious in the way that low paid domestic labour is mainly staffed by women in large metropolitan cities, while jobs in management and control are mainly staffed by men.

It is not uncommon in many communities to hear a woman married to a man who works in the public sphere saying, 'I do not work but my husband goes to work. I just take care of the house and the children.' Duties in the domestic and private sphere are composed of unpaid and unrecognised activities, linked to child rearing, housework and the support of children and adult men. When these tasks are carefully analysed, it is possible to see that some of them are complex and demand extraordinary skill and intelligence. In contrast, the public sphere allocates the rewards of status, power, money, self-esteem and personal fulfilment mainly to men. However, when analysed carefully, many of the jobs they do are routine and conducted at a relatively low skill level.

Jobs also have different status in different societies. For example, in many developing countries, males tend to dominate schooling. In developed societies, however, where teaching does not have so high a status, jobs tend to be dominated by women, particularly for the younger grades.

Feminist theories question the legitimacy of there being certain social duties that can only be performed by men and others that can only be performed by women.



Activity 5.2

(about 10 minutes)

In your learning journal note down examples of jobs that in your society are usually regarded as suitable for men or women only. You can refer back to your answers to Activity 4.1 in which you looked at this issue too.

What do these examples tell you about your society's view of the position of women and men?

Theories of gender oppression

Theories of gender oppression describe women's condition mainly in terms of men using the norms of the social system to enforce their ideological control, and using unacknowledged oppressive tactics against women. In this context, gender oppression is defined as part of the patriarchal system.

For example, in school systems worldwide, there are significantly more boys than girls able to attend school. Though, in the light of what we said in Unit 3 about the way many working class boys are effectively now dropping out of education in metropolitan countries, there is a clear shift of balance in some gender/ class relations. However, when most school students go home, it is more likely that boys will spend time on their homework while the girls may be required to perform domestic work.



Activity 5.3

(about 10 minutes)

Give three examples of gender oppression existing in your community. (Your answers to Activity 2.1 may be relevant here.)

Again, what do these examples tell you about your society's view of the position of men and women?

Write your answers in your learning journal.

Now, here's an activity to bring together all your examples.



Activity 5.4

(about 15 minutes, not counting discussion)

Think of all the examples you have given in the last three activities to illustrate the theories of difference, inequality and gender oppression.

Thinking about your organisation, are there systems in place to combat these behaviours and attitudes? (You may find it helpful to look back at your work on Activity 2.4 where you reviewed your organisation's policies and programmes in relation to the obligations of CEDAW.)

If yes, what are they? Comment on their effectiveness.

If no, what might be your recommendations?

What steps could you take in your own youth work to combat such behaviours or attitudes?

You may find it useful to discuss these questions with fellow-students or colleagues. You could perhaps use them as the basis of a discussion in a seminar.

Theories developed by different groups of women

Women's experiences of their social relationships with men are different depending on what part of the world they live in and what kind of society they belong to. The three broad groups of contemporary feminist theories we will look at next are:

- 1 feminism in the Western industrialised world
- 2 black feminism in the Western industrialised world
- 3 feminism in developing countries.

1 Feminism in the Western industrialised world

This is a heterogeneous body of ideas. Within Western feminism there are many differences of experience, and this has led to the development of different traditions of feminist theory. Western feminism has a long history of fighting oppression and searching for strategies that will free women from this oppression. In other words, it has always been action-orientated.

Here we consider Marxist feminist thought, theories of patriarchy and critiques of theories of patriarchy. At the end of the section there

is a self-help question to help you check your understanding of these theories.

Marxist feminist thought

During the 1960s and 1970s, the major debates in feminism were based around Marxism. The root cause of women's subordination, according to Marxist feminism, is capitalism and the way capitalist systems work: namely through the accumulation and concentration of private property in the hands of a small class that controls the means of production, and a market system for the majority to sell their labour to the minority for wages. As you saw in Unit 2 of this module, this relates to structural conflict theory, which was also discussed more fully in Unit 1 of Module 2 *Young People and Society*.

This system is contradictory because it is powerful at producing wealth from which most people benefit to some extent, but it is characterised by oppressive class relations between those who own the means of production and those who sell their labour. Thus, when the system runs into its frequent difficulties, workers' security and well-being may have to be sacrificed to keep the system running. This is obvious to people in developing countries, which were persuaded to borrow huge amounts of cheap money from the boom in oil prices during the 1970s and then forced to repay it at high levels of interest when money became short again and the price of borrowing rose. It was not the rich leaders of poor societies that suffered from the ensuing structural adjustment, but the poor, particularly wage labourers and poor peasant farmers – and particularly poor women.

For Marxists, the social basis of capitalism is this class relationship between the bourgeois class that owns the wealth and the rest. But there are intermediate layers, each of which is structurally better or worse placed than others to benefit from this structure. Marxists call the basic mass of wage labourers the proletariat, and the layers in between they call the petit-bourgeois middle classes. Each of the layers, from the bourgeois down, benefits from exploiting the labour of the one beneath it.

Marxist feminists identified women as being structurally inferior to men at each level of the class system. As the weakest group in this system, lower class women suffer more than most. Because they tend to be the lowest paid workers, they get squeezed worst in a time of crisis, losing their jobs or working at part-time rates. If they are at home bringing up children, their husband's wages get cut in order to keep the system going, and they are hit badly by that. Capitalism requires this system of exploitation of labour for it to work. It's a successful system, but if we want a classless, non-exploitative society, in which there is no point in exploiting women, then according to Marxist feminists we need a social revolution and the replacement of capitalism by socialism.

Theories of patriarchy

Many radical feminists disagree with the Marxist concept that economic class is the major social divide in capitalist society or that capitalism is the only source of inequality and exploitation.

They see patriarchy or the dominance of the male sex class as the major contributing factor to women's subordination. Many feminist theories, therefore, concentrate on the key analytical concept of patriarchy – the system of male domination. We'll look at some of those theories now: Firestone's theories and historical, materialist and psychoanalytic theories.

Firestone's theories

One of the earliest radical feminist analyses of patriarchy was that of Shulamith Firestone in *The Dialectic of Sex* (1970). She argued that sex class rather than economic class is the most basic social division, and that women's reproductive capacities have always made them vulnerable to male control. As a result, they have been subordinated throughout history in all social structures. She also argued that the imbalance in the division of power between women and men is biologically determined – implying that gender inequality is natural.

She suggested several measures that could contribute towards eliminating inequality between the sexes. In order to end the unfair division of labour between women and men, Firestone suggested a much more general use of cybernetics, in which women's particular gifts would be equal to men's. (Cybernetics is the science of communication and control, especially as applied to human and animal brains compared with machines and electronic devices.) This idea is interesting in light of the fact that the new jobs that have emerged in the post-modern era in metropolitan countries are these sorts of jobs, in communications, information technology and computer-dominated service industries. And where this has happened, it has been paralleled by increasing equality for women in many areas. She also suggested measures such as artificial reproduction to enable both sexes to produce children. These measures, she argued, would eliminate male privilege and end the sex class.

Many feminists have criticised Firestone for her biologism and for suggesting that gender inequality is natural. They have used the term patriarchy to refer to the systematic and often deliberate organisation of male supremacy and female subordination. This concept of patriarchy has been used in different ways to analyse women's oppression. Jackie Stacey (1993) identifies the three ways discussed next in which patriarchy has been used to explain women's oppression.

Historical accounts

In the historical approach, the term patriarchy has been used to identify the historical emergence of systems of male domination in the world. These ideas have been developed by people such as Gerder Lerner (1986), Maria Mies (1986) and Kate Millet (1970). These theorists are interested in tracing systems of male dominance and the origin of female subordination back through history.

In contrast to Firestone's view that gender inequality is natural, Maria Mies argues that patriarchy is a particular form of social inequality between women and men that can be identified developing through a series of specific historical periods. This pattern of male dominance crystallised into a particular structure via periods of social conflict over a long time and has now come to be accepted as natural and normal in ideology. Think of the way the Kabyle of North Africa (Case study 2.4) have managed to fix male control of women by establishing extremely subtle constraints on the way women can dress and move their bodies. That is sophisticated and very detailed and must have been built up, piece by piece, over a long time.

Materialist approaches

In the materialist approach, feminists seek to explain how patriarchy operates as a consequence of the present realities of the relationships between men and women in each society, rather than investigating the question of origins.

Radical feminists like Heidi Hartmann (1979) have debated the role of capitalism in women's oppression. Hartmann refutes the Marxist concept that capitalism, class and private property were responsible for women's subordination, though it may use that subordination for its own ends. She also disputes the Marxist idea that women's subordination would disappear when capitalism and its related 'evils' disappear under socialism. Instead, Hartmann has argued that patriarchy is responsible for the subordination of women in society. Patriarchy, according to her, pervades all social systems, including socialism. Women will only be liberated when patriarchy disappears from society.

Christine Delphy (1984), like Firestone, also argues for the elimination of sex class. Unlike Firestone, however, she regards sex class as the consequence but not the cause of patriarchal domination. Like Hartmann, Delphy challenges Marxist feminist work that looks at the ways in which women's oppression results from class inequality under capitalism. She describes, instead, a model of patriarchy that is independent of capitalism and even works within socialist societies. Her analysis, however, retains the materialism of the Marxist perspective because of her emphasis on the control of women's labour by men and on the ways in which work is organised (the mode of production) as the defining causes of female subordination.

According to Delphy, there are two main modes of production:

- the industrial mode of production
- the family mode of production in which women's labour is exploited by men.

She argues that the main form of women's oppression lies in men's exploitation of women's reproductive and productive activities in the household. Men benefit from women's provision of domestic services and unpaid child rearing within the family, as well as women's production of certain goods for use and exchange. Patriarchal exploitation is therefore seen as the common and main cause of the oppression of women.

Psychoanalytic theories

A third use of the term patriarchy has been found in psychoanalysis. Juliet Mitchell (1974) has argued that psychoanalysis can help explain the deep-rootedness of patriarchy. Rather than seeing patriarchy solely as a set of social structures or institutions that oppress women, psychoanalytic theory analyses the way patriarchy works on a psychological as well as a social level. Mitchell traces the origins of female subordination by using psychoanalysis. In her work, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, she argues that the valuing of male over female activities is something we internalise from an early age through unconscious as well as conscious processes.

You can see this in the different ways women are expected to behave in different societies. For example, in many African communities, a woman should curtsy when greeting a man or kneel when serving him food, so that her head is lower than his.

Critiques of theories of patriarchy

Queer theory, which is a development out of feminism and Gay/Lesbian theory, much influenced by thinkers such as Foucault (1976), has criticised theories of patriarchy as essentialist for depicting women's subordination as universal across time and space and for offering no practical way out of the problems. It argues that human identities are constructed and shaped by the way that they are constituted in language and other symbols. Again think of the symbolism of women's movements among the Kabyle (Case study 2.4) and the way the women are kept in reproductive and productive order by the way those signs are interpreted. If female identity can be constructed like that, it can be deconstructed and reconstructed. It's interesting how the fashion industry has conspired with women in metropolitan countries to reconstruct the modest dress codes of many immigrant Muslim women, and in doing so helped them to challenge their position in the family. Queer theory defines the definition and control of gender as a complex array of social forces and social codes, patterns of individual behaviour and institutional power. It's those that define what is normal and what is abnormal, and they can be challenged and changed.

Within the Western world itself, there has been a lot of criticism of patriarchal theories. Some feminist anthropologists, for instance, have demonstrated that not all women are oppressed or subordinate to men. Carolyn Matthiasson (1974) argues strongly against the attempt to paint a general picture of women's oppression when she says:

"Some recent feminist writers, in their attempts to attack the enemy 'man', emphasise the myth that women are universally oppressed. In their strident efforts to make their point, these writers do womankind a great disservice by creating and perpetuating a false stereotype... The essays in this volume should make it clear that the stereotype of women as universally submissive and oppressed has no basis in fact. Women in many societies share equal rights and prestige with men."

Several articles in the book, which Matthiasson edited, discuss societies in which women are regarded either as equal to or more powerful than men.

Lesbians have also argued against painting a general picture of women's oppression. Male domination, they argue, does not affect them in some respects and their situation is different from that of heterosexual women.

Many questions have, therefore, been asked regarding the extent to which women's subordination is universal, whether women have always had less power in all societies and whether patriarchy takes different forms in different societies.

To help you test your understanding of these different strands of Western feminist thought, have a go at this self-help question.



Self-help question 5.1

(about 10 minutes)

Complete the following statements

- 1 According to Marxist feminists, the main cause of women's subordination is...
- 2 The difference between economic class and sex class is...
- 3 In the historical approach, the term patriarchy describes...
- 4 In the materialist approach, the term patriarchy describes...
- 5 In the psychoanalytic approach, the term patriarchy describes...
- 6 The main critiques of theories of patriarchy argue that...

Compare your answers with those provided at the end of the unit.

2 Black feminism in the Western industrialised world

So far, we have analysed the development of predominantly white feminism in the Western industrialised world. Let's now look at black feminism in the Western industrialised world.

Black feminists living in industrialised countries have complained that Western or white feminism does not adequately cater for the situation in which black women find themselves. Factors other than patriarchy and gender oppression affect them as a category of women. In addition to the subordination that women generally suffer under patriarchy, black women also suffer oppression based on race-class differences.

Black feminists like Hazel Carby (1987) criticise white feminism for emphasising patriarchy as a source of women's oppression. According to Carby:

“The way the gender of black women is constructed differs from the constructions of white femininity, because it is also subject to race.”

This is evident in the number of black women clustered in the worst housing and the lowest paid labour in Britain, France, the USA and other Western industrialised countries. Immigrant groups, particularly of black labourers, suffer worst, partly because they often have fewer language skills relevant to the country. The men in these communities also suffer badly, though in turn they may well be very patriarchal. But this is less of a problem than the exploitative economic relations reinforced by cultural conditions.



Activity 5.5

(about 10 minutes)

What discriminatory factors do you think black women living in industrialised countries face?

How might the factors of race and class contribute to black women's subordination in industrialised societies?

If you were a black woman living in an industrialised country, what discriminatory factors would you experience that you think women from other races would not experience?

Write your answers in your learning journal.

3 Feminism in developing countries

Similar challenges against white feminism have come from women in developing countries who see the need to construct a feminist theory that is relevant to their situation and needs. They have criticised white

feminist theory for focusing on patriarchy only as the cause of women's subordination and the need to fight for equal rights with men. For women in developing countries, gender oppression cannot be the single factor on which feminism rests. It should not be limited to merely achieving equal treatment between women and men. Black women have as much in common in terms of their oppression with black men as they do with white women (Johnson-Odin, 1991).

Here is an extract from the report 'Women and Politics: Reflections from Nairobi', by Amal Jou'beh (1987):

"In Nairobi, the UWWC delegates found that many Western women still tend to look at developing countries in a fragmented, individualistic, "orientalist" way. They focused on some particular abuse of women, such as wife beating or polygamy, and saw this as an essential determinant of women's situation. Palestinian women tried to explain that the context in which such abuses occur – the structural political violence or economic violence – is even more important than the abuses themselves, and that, until this framework is removed, the particular manifestations of women's oppression cannot be overcome... The attempt to impose a Western, non-political concept of "women's issues" is a kind of cultural imperialism, and a political act in itself. It aims at forcing Third World women to accept the status quo and acquiesce to their national subordination."

"Feminism in developing countries should put into focus many factors other than the need for equal treatment with men. In under-developed societies:"

- "it is not just a question of internal distribution of resources, but of their generation and control"
- "it is not just equal opportunity between men and women, but the creation of opportunity itself"
- "it is not just the position of women in society, but the position of the societies in which women in developing countries find themselves."

(Johnson-Odin, 1991).

African women have also gone beyond questions of gender subordination and equal rights with men. Today African feminism, it is argued, must recognise factors such as increasing poverty throughout the African continent, and the whole continent's precarious situation because of the inequities of the current world economic order, as well as inequalities of race, class, tribe, ethnicity and imperialist exploitation. These inequalities tend to affect women and their children more than they affect men. For African women therefore, like black women in other parts of the world, patriarchy is not the only problem facing them. There are other inequalities that are embedded at the micro-economic level, such as ownership of the means of production and supply of labour, that need to be addressed.

Women in developing countries, it is argued, can embrace the concept of gender identity but must reject the ideology of difference based solely on gender. Feminism must be a comprehensive and inclusive ideology that incorporates and transcends gender specificity. The feminist movement in developing countries must struggle against those things that can clearly be shown to oppress women, whether based on race, sex or class, whether they are as a result of imperialism or other factors. The voice of the woman in the developing world needs to be heard in her family, her community, her ethnic group and the wider society. This strength will give her an equal place in the international arena.

Now for the module's final reading, which grounds what you have learned about theoretical approaches in a real-world context.



Read Reading 5 'Winds of Change' by Malcolm Doney, which describes the part women and young people are playing in modern Nigeria.

As you read, make notes about the factors that in your view are bringing change about.

Next, here's an activity relating to feminism in developing countries.



Activity 5.6

What kind of inequalities do women living in developing countries face that may seem more important than issues of gender oppression and equal rights?

If you live in a developing country, draw on your own experience and observation for your answer.

Write your answers in your learning journal.

Working with young people on gender issues

As you come to the end of this module, you have seen that a complex array of social forces and codes, patterns of individual behaviour and institutional power are what define and control gender. They determine what is normal or abnormal. The important thing, though, is that they can be challenged and changed – which is what we hope you will succeed in doing in your youth development work.

We end this module with two important activities that will help you practise and develop the skills you need to intervene in a range of situations and construct informal education programmes in relation to gender issues. They give you a chance to work with both mixed and single sex groups. They will also be relevant to your task for your final assignment.

The first is an awareness raising activity.



Activity 5.7

(at least 60 minutes to devise the role play and write an account of it. Plus the time spent on the role-play itself and the group discussion)

This activity asks you to devise a short role-play designed to be used with a group of young men and women to raise their awareness of issues discussed in this unit, in particular the subordination of women.

The aim of the role-play is to challenge gender-based assumptions about the normal order of things, to raise gender awareness and to help both men and women reassess their attitudes and behaviours.

For example, you might start by asking the group to identify an example of exploitation of women's work in the home, or some similarly specific issue. The role-play might be an argument between a husband and wife over this issue. Assign roles across genders - that is, a male should play the wife and a female should play the husband. If possible, allow several pairs to role-play.

When you have finished the role-play, conduct a group discussion focused on what steps could be taken to lessen or eliminate this kind of subordination of women or gender inequality.

Alternatively you could choose a situation you identified in an earlier unit, such as in Activity 2.1 on gender inequality and inequity. You could also adapt the activity to a single-sex group.

At the end write an account of the role-play and the group discussion in your learning journal.

Finally, here's an activity to help you think about developing informal education programmes on gender issues for the young people you work with.



Activity 5.8

(at least 60 minutes for planning and writing up, plus the time spent actually carrying out the activity.)

Suggest five informal education strategies that can be used with young people to help them to

- 1 investigate a practice discussed in this module that results in oppression, subordination or exploitation (for example, the male control of women's appearance and behaviour, or exploitation of women as low-paid workers)
- 2 challenge the practice.

Options could include surveys, role-plays, drama, information sessions, small-scale research activities, lectures and discussions. (You may find it helpful to refer back to Module 1 *Learning Processes* here, for example, Unit 4 Informal learning or Unit 7 Facilitating.)

	Practice	Education strategy to investigate and challenge
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

Then choose one practice and one education strategy and describe how you would carry out the activity (e.g. outline objectives, learning strategy, resources required, practical arrangements and evaluation method).

If possible, try it out with one of your youth groups. This could be a single-sex or a mixed sex group.

At the end, write up an account of the activity and your evaluation of it in your learning journal.

If you have been able to complete both these activities in full, you will now have had good experience of applying what you have learned in this module to practical situations in your work.

This brings us to the end of Unit 5. We hope you can continue to raise gender awareness among the young people you work with and enable them to challenge and change attitudes and behaviour that result in gender inequality and inequity. We wish you success in the final assignment for this module and in your work on gender and development in the future.

Unit summary

In this unit you have covered the following main points:

- Feminism is a social movement seeking to explain the traditional role of women and change the situation of inequality between men and women.
- There are many feminist theories that have developed to address the problem of women's subordination. They follow different approaches including:
 - theories of difference based on biological and social difference
 - theories of inequality based on systematic inequalities of social class and gender
 - theories of gender oppression based on the idea that men subjugate and oppress women as part of the patriarchal system.
- Feminist theories can also be categorised based on different groups of women, including:
 - Feminism in the Western industrialised world. These theories include: Marxist feminist thought, theories of patriarchy (Firestone's theories, historical, materialist and psychoanalytic theories) and critiques of these theories that recognise patriarchy takes different forms in different societies.
 - Black feminism in the Western industrialised world. Black feminists living in industrialised countries see white feminism as inadequate to their experiences because they suffer discrimination based on race as well as gender.
 - Feminism in developing countries. Women in developing countries see gender oppression as part of a larger exploitation based on race, economic exploitation by the West and other factors.
- Subordination of women is influenced by many factors according to the socio-economic and geographical context.

You concluded the unit with two activities to give you practice in your work on gender issues with young people.

Answers to self-help questions

Self-help question 5.1

- 1 According to Marxist feminists the main cause of women's subordination is capitalism and the way capitalist systems work.
- 2 The difference between economic class and sex class is that economic class refers to the division of society into working class and middle or upper class, which dictates access to power, wealth and political influence in capitalist societies, while sex class refers to the subordinate class position of women in society based on their biological sex.
- 3 In the historical approach, the term patriarchy describes the historical emergence of systems of male domination in the world.
- 4 In the materialist approach, the term patriarchy describes the way the dominance of the male sex class operates as a consequence of the realities of women and men's relationships in each society.
- 5 In the psychoanalytic approach, the term patriarchy describes the valuing of male over female activities as something we internalise from an early age at a psychological as well as a social level.
- 6 The main critiques of theories of patriarchy argue that female subordination is not universal across time and place and that gender identities can be constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed.

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Module summary

This module *Gender and Development* has concentrated on exploring the theory and practice of how to ensure equal outcomes for young women and young men. We have discussed development issues for both men and women and shown how most women are more disadvantaged than men in every sphere of their lives. You have had the opportunity to examine the text of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and to reflect on its impact.

You have learned about a range of development approaches and theories in different schools of feminist thought, and reflected on their application to your work in youth development. We have also used case studies to give these theories a practical focus.

The main aim of the module has been to help you ensure that policy planning and evaluation processes are gender sensitive and that women are empowered to achieve equal rights and opportunities with men through development projects (but also to recognise that what applies to women may also apply to some groups of men). You will be able to apply what you have learned here to your work in other modules of this diploma.

Now that you have completed this module, you should be able to:

- discuss a range of gender and feminist theories and approaches within different political, social and cultural traditions
- give examples of ways in which inequality between men and women manifests itself in the social structure and in social relationships
- explain the role of gender in development
- describe the implications of gender issues for the practice of youth development work
- critically assess current youth services of which you have experience in the light of your learning in this module
- intervene effectively in a range of youth work situations in relation to gender issues
- construct informal education programmes that focus on gender issues
- work with both mixed and single sex groups on gender issues
- make changes in agencies' policies and programmes to achieve equality of outcomes for young women and young men.

Further reading

The following list of books and texts is meant to support your learning throughout this module. We suggest you discuss with your tutor how and where to find some of these publications so that you can read widely from this list to enrich your understanding of the subject matter.

Commonwealth Secretariat (1994) *Women in Business: Training materials for the promotion of self-employment among women*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

Commonwealth Secretariat (1996) *Assessing the Status of Women*, 2nd edition, Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

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- World Bank (1994) *A New Agenda for Women's Health and Nutrition*, The World Bank, Washington, DC.

Assignments

A final reminder that your work in this module will be assessed in the following ways:

- 1 Two assignments – 1a at the end of Unit 3 (500 words) and 1b at the end of Unit 4 (1,500 words) – that together are worth 50 per cent of the final mark.
- 2 A review of the learning journal you keep (worth 20 per cent of the final mark). Your institution will inform you when to submit the learning journal for assessment.
- 3 A written examination set by the institution in which you are enrolled for this diploma programme *or* assignment 2 – a 1,500-word report at the end of the module, described below (worth 30 per cent of the final mark).

Note: make sure you discuss the assessment requirements with your tutor so that you are clear about what you are expected to do and when, and any particular requirements in your institution.

Assignment 2

Depending on the requirements of your institution, this assignment may be a written examination set by your institution or the 1,500-word report described below.

Design a project that can be undertaken with a group of young people to develop their awareness of and insight into gender issues. Write a report of 1,500 words maximum describing the project.

The project should:

- aim at consciousness-raising and educating the group about gender biases and inequality of opportunity in your community or country
- include a description of activities that are likely to result in a measurable change in the knowledge and attitudes of the participants
- include a description of means to measure these attitudinal changes.

You should arrange to discuss this project with your tutor or facilitator before you begin.

Readings

These readings will help you develop your understanding of Module 5 *Gender and Development*. The reading numbers, their titles and author(s) and the unit in which they appear are listed below.

- 1 'School's In', by Malcolm Doney (Unit 1) 173
- 2 The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women 1979 (Unit 2) 177
- 3 'Assessing the Status of Women', an extract from Commonwealth Secretariat, *Assessing the Status of Women: A Guide to Reporting Under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, 2nd Edition, Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 1996 (Unit 2) 190
- 4 'New Perspectives on Gender and Development', abstracts for the IDS Bulletin on *Men, Masculinities and Development: Politics, policies and practice*, 31(2), April 2000 (Unit 3) 230
- 5 'Wind of Change?' by Malcolm Doney (Unit 5) 236

Reading 1: 'School's in'

By Malcolm Doney, Developments – *The International Development Magazine*, Issue 32,
February 2006

They mix a traditional Quranic curriculum with English, Maths, Science and Social Studies – but Nigeria's Islamiyya schools are proving a quiet revolution in bringing education to girls who would otherwise miss out.

Hang a right off one of the teeming thoroughfares of Kano, Nigeria's principal northern city, where a combination of desert dust and two-stroke from the ubiquitous Chinese-manufactured Jincheng motor bikes catches the back of your throat. Then drive through a gap in what remains of the ancient, softly eroded mud-built city wall that has stood for centuries. Turn down a tiny side street, and walk into a small three-sided compound of two-storey concrete buildings. What sounds like chanting – an adult voice, answered by the reedy sound of children repeating – comes faintly from some of the rooms.

We have reached Yakasaid school, a privately funded Islamic primary school. Inside each spartan classroom children crowd the benches looking intently at a teacher who stands, classically, at a large blackboard. The boys are dressed in white, the girls' faces are circled by pink headscarves. One thing is immediately obvious. Girls outnumber boys by roughly two to one.

If this is remarkable in a school anywhere in the developing world, it is particularly so in a predominantly Islamic city in an African country. Yet this phenomenon is repeated in school after Muslim school across the north of Nigeria – a stark aberration which stands against the tide of developmental statistics.

There is a global problem in education – not enough girls are going to school. Around 58 million are missing primary education, let alone secondary schooling. This was recognised when the Millennium Development Goals were set and gender parity was given greater urgency over the other aims and targeted for 2005, as opposed to 2015. A target, all the same, missed by around 75 countries.

The reasons why so many girls don't go to school is well rehearsed: parents think boys are a better investment because they are more likely to get jobs; mothers keep their daughters at home to help with the chores; parents assume girls will simply marry and don't need schooling; girls are vulnerable to attack on the way to and from school.

And, in a largely Muslim culture like that of northern Nigeria, there are additional factors. Muslim parents often believe that the secular education offered in Nigeria's public schools is harmful to their religious traditions, and will corrupt their children. 'People believed going to school was as good as going to hell,' quipped one senior Nigerian development expert, himself a Muslim. In particular they want to bring up their girls to be good religious wives and mothers but, as Dr

Aminata Maiga of UNICEF says, *'people are not convinced that what is taught and the way it is taught is relevant and in harmony with their values'*.

As a result, Muslim parents, especially in conservative, rural areas, boycotted public schools. But they would send their daughters to Quranic schools. Known as Islamiyya schools, these institutions are privately owned, often started by a local religious figure or businessman, and are set up to teach children Arabic and the Quran and, occasionally, Islamic studies – a heritage that goes back as far as the 11th century. Traditionally, few of these schools taught any other subjects, and they were completely beyond the reach of the Ministry of Education.

Their advantages lay in that they were trusted, founded on religious values, usually set in the midst of the community (avoiding long journeys), charged low fees and, at the highest level, teachers or 'ulamas' were well educated in the science of the Quran and Hadith and highly respected.

On the downside, they were often primitively built, overcrowded, had no clean water or sanitation, used untrained teachers and were unaccountable in their curriculum.

But, importantly, parents were prepared to send their girls there. In the wake of the 1999 launch of the Universal Basic Education (UBE) programme and the drive towards the Millennium Development Goals for education, the Nigerian Education Ministry (supported by UNICEF, DFID and USAID) have tried to draw Quranic schools into a wider educational commonwealth.

In return for help with resources and training, Quranic schools are being persuaded to add four core subjects: English, maths, science and social studies (history, geography, health etc) to their Islamic curriculum – with these making up at least 30 per cent of the school's teaching. Those that do so to the required standard are registered with their local board of education and can take their students to the level where they can sit the common entrance exam, which will qualify them to graduate to secondary school.

This 'if you can't beat them, join them' approach recognises that this may be the best way to ensure that girls in northern Nigeria receive an education. Great care is taken to reassure parents and teachers that these additional subjects help form 'modern' rather than 'Western' education. And it is meeting with astonishing success.

'Enrolment in Islamiyya schools in Kano State (the region surrounding the city of Kano) has doubled,' says the region's Director of Schools Services Aminu Tafida. *'There are 741 newly registered schools this year, and the board has received 57 applications in the last month. Every day we get new applications.'* In the vast majority of cases, girls are greatly outnumbering the boys.

The upsurge seems to be due to a number of factors. The country's political liberation in 1999 from years of military rule appears to have

provided an environment where people feel they have more of a stake in the country and where education has more value. Mr Tafida concurs, *'The acceleration began four or five years ago with the new government'*. There is also less suspicion of the dangers of western style education per se, particularly from those parents who have received some education themselves. *'Now they are realising that education doesn't have to change someone's religion,'* says Mr Tafida, and continues, *'You can have the benefits of both a western and a Quranic education. It gives you more choice.'*

Audu Grema, DFID's Nigerian born regional co-ordinator for Northern Nigeria, believes there has also been a modest but significant 'mind shift' in understanding Islam. *'Quranic teachers command a tremendous amount of respect in their communities and they themselves are encouraging parents to give their children a broader education. People have noticed the difference it has made to their children',* he says. *'There is a recognition too that respectability, blessing and standing in society changes for those who've been to school. They make good elders. They have a voice.'* All of which makes sense in a more liberalised Nigeria.

Dr Aminata Maiga, whose brief with UNICEF is girls' education in Nigeria, believes that there is a tendency at present for the four core subjects to be tacked on to the the Quranic curriculum, but is confident that 'over time, schools will develop a version of integration that's more balanced'. Though she adds the rider that *'You can't do it all in one generation'*. Nevertheless, she is also convinced that this integration programme works for Muslim communities in Nigeria. *'Most people are happy with convergence'* she claims, *'It's holistic, it makes families more at ease than a dualistic system which ignores religion.'* It is certainly difficult to ignore the reality on the ground, especially in the northern region of Sokoto, where there has been an even greater take-up than in Kano.

Questions have been asked, however, over just how much equality that gender parity in education can deliver. The principal reason for sending girls to Islamiyya schools was trotted out so often it became almost a cliché, and, in composite form, went something like: *'Parents want their girls to marry and most men want a religious, literate wife who can help teach her children, but who won't cause trouble.'* Hardly development speak.

But Dr Maiga is untroubled by people's motivations for educating girls, pointing at the consequences, intended or otherwise. *'More than 20 years of research in Africa shows that the children of educated mothers live longer',* she says. *'Their kids do better at school. Educated women have less children – no one told them not to. Educated women tend not to get their daughters circumcised. No one tells them, they just understand, it's a consequence.'* And the legacy continues, *'The same way women pass gold onto their daughters, educated women pass on the knowledge and all the social capital... Girls generally being closer to their mothers are never disadvantaged in this regard.'* She tells parents, *'If you want your daughters to be taught*

by a woman teacher and seen by a female doctor, then you'd better send your daughters to school or there won't be any.'

But education in an Islamiyya school isn't just one-way traffic. In Kano, Compass, a USAID supported educational initiative, is focusing on building effective Parent Teacher Associations around these centres of learning. Traditionally parents have left their children's education to teachers and not interfered. But Compass is encouraging PTAs to help support and resource schools and to bolster their children's levels of attainment. At Yakasaid school, they have recently started a mothers' section of the PTA (being an Islamic institution men and women will not meet together).

Hadiza Bashir Yakasai, a teacher at the school says this is now almost 'a school for mothers'. She says, *'we teach them basic English phrases, some basic facts and show them how to help their children to do homework – so they become teachers at home.'* The parents welcome this, adds Baffa M Sani, the school's head teacher. *'They see for themselves that education is important. It gives you independence and choices, and it's a way out of poverty'*, chips in Aminu Baba Ahmad, father of two children at the school.

In their classrooms, the girls in their pink headscarves wriggle and fidget on the benches – all energy and eagerness. The education may be elementary, and the conditions rudimentary. But they are here and they are learning.

Reading 2: 'The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979'

The States Parties to the present Convention,

Noting that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women,

Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, including distinction based on sex,

Noting that the States Parties to the International Covenants on Human Rights have the obligation to ensure the equal right of men and women to enjoy all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights,

Considering the international conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and the specialised agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Concerned, however, that despite these various instruments extensive discrimination against women continues to exist,

Recalling that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity,

Concerned that in situations of poverty women have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment and other needs,

Convinced that the establishment of the new international economic order based on equity and justice will contribute significantly towards the promotion of equality between men and women,

Emphasising that the eradication of *apartheid*, of all forms of racism, racial discrimination, colonialism, neo-colonialism, aggression, foreign occupation and domination and interference in the internal affairs of States is essential to the full enjoyment of the rights of men and women,

Affirming that the strengthening of international peace and security, relaxation of international tension, mutual co-operation among all

States irrespective of their social and economic systems, general and complete disarmament, and in particular nuclear disarmament under strict and effective international control, the affirmation of the principles of justice, equality and mutual benefit in relations among countries and the realisation of the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination and foreign occupation to self-determination and independence, as well as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, will promote social progress and development and as a consequence will contribute to the attainment of full equality between men and women,

Convinced that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields,

Bearing in mind the great contribution of women to the welfare of the family and to the development of society, so far not fully recognised, the social significance of maternity and the role of both parents in the family and in the upbringing of children, and aware that the role of women in procreation should not be a basis for discrimination but that the upbringing of children requires a sharing of responsibility between men and women and society as a whole,

Aware that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality between men and women,

Determined to implement the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and, for that purpose, to adopt the measures required for the elimination of such discrimination in all its forms and manifestations,

Have agreed on the following:

PART I

Article 1

For the purpose of the present Convention, the term “discrimination against women” shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Article 2

States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to the end, undertake:

- a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realisation of this principle;
- b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;
- c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;
- d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;
- e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organisation or enterprise;
- f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;
- g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.

Article 3

States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Article 4

1. Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality or opportunity and treatment have been achieved.
2. Adoption by States Parties of special measures, including those measures contained in the present Convention, aimed at protecting maternity shall not be considered discriminatory.

Article 5

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures:

- a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;
- b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

Article 6

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.

PART II

Article 7

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

- a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
- b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- c) To participate in non-governmental organisations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

Article 8

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organisations.

Article 9

1. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.

2. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children.

PART III

Article 10

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

- a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training;
- b) Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;
- c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;
- d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;
- e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;
- f) The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organisation of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely;
- g) The same opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education;
- h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.

Article 11

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

- a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;
 - b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;
 - c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and recurrent training;
 - d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;
- The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;
- The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction.
2. In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, States Parties shall take appropriate measures:
- a) To prohibit, subject to the imposition of sanctions, dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or of maternity leave and discrimination in dismissals on the basis of marital status;
 - b) To introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances;
 - c) To encourage the provision of the necessary supporting social services to enable parents to combine family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life, in particular through promoting the establishment and development of a network of child-care facilities;
 - d) To provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them.
3. Protective legislation relating to matters covered in this article shall be reviewed periodically in the light of scientific and technological knowledge and shall be revised, repealed or extended as necessary.

Article 12

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, States Parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation.

Article 13

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in other areas of economic and social life in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

- a) The right to family benefits;
- b) The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit;
- c) The right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life.

Article 14

1. States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetised sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of this Convention to women in rural areas.
2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right:
 - a) To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;
 - b) To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling services and family planning;
 - c) To benefit directly from social security programmes;
 - d) To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy, as well as, *inter alia*, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to increase their technical proficiency;
 - e) To organise self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self-employment;
 - f) To participate in all community activities;

- g) To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes;
- h) To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications.

PART IV

Article 15

1. States Parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law.
2. States Parties shall accord to women, in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property and shall treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals.
3. States Parties agree that all contracts and all other private instruments of any kind with a legal effect which is directed at restricting the legal capacity of women shall be deemed null and void.
4. States Parties shall accord to men and women the same rights with regard to law relating to the movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile.

Article 16

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:
 - a) The same right to enter into marriage;
 - b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free will and consent;
 - c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;
 - d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
 - e) The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights;

- f) The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children, or similar institutions where these concepts exist in national legislation; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
 - g) The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation;
 - h) The same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for a valuable consideration.
2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.

PART V

Article 17

1. For the purpose of considering the progress made in the implementation of the present Convention, there shall be established a Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting, at the time of entry into force of the Convention, of eighteen and, after ratification of or accession to the Convention by the thirty-fifth State Party, of twenty-three experts of high moral standing and competence in the field covered by the Convention. The experts shall be elected by States Parties from among their nationals and shall serve in their personal capacity, consideration being given to equitable geographical distribution and to the representation of the different forms of civilisation as well as the principal legal systems.
2. The members of the Committee shall be elected by secret ballot from a list of persons nominated by States Parties. Each State Party may nominate one person from among its own nationals.
3. The initial election shall be held six months after the date of the entry into force of the present Convention. At least three months before the date of each election the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a letter to the States Parties inviting them to submit their nominations within two months. The Secretary-General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all persons thus nominated, indicating the States Parties which have nominated them, and shall submit it to the States Parties.
4. Elections of the members of the Committee shall be held at a meeting of States Parties convened by the Secretary-General at the United Nations Headquarters. At that meeting, for which two

thirds of the States Parties shall constitute a quorum, the persons elected to the Committee shall be those nominees who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives of States Parties present and voting.

5. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years. However, the terms of nine of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years; immediately after the first election the names of these nine members shall be chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.
6. The election of the five additional members of the Committee shall be held in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of this article, following the thirty-fifth ratification or accession. The terms of two of the additional members elect on this occasion shall expire at the end of two years, the names of these two members having been chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.
7. For the filling of casual vacancies, the State Party whose expert has ceased to function as a member of the Committee shall appoint another expert from among its nationals, subject to the approval of the Committee.
8. The members of the Committee shall, with the approval of the General Assembly, receive emoluments from United Nations resources on such terms and conditions as the Assembly may decide, having regard to the importance of the Committee's responsibilities.
9. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the effective performance of the functions of the Committee under the present Convention.

Article 18

1. States Parties undertake to submit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for consideration by the Committee, a report on the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures which they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and on the progress made in this respect:
 - a) Within one year after the entry into force for the State concerned; and
 - b) Thereafter at least every four years and further whenever the Committee so requests.
2. Reports may indicate factors and difficulties affecting the degree of fulfilment of obligations under the present Convention.

Article 19

1. The Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure.
2. The Committee shall elect its officers for a term of two years.

Article 20

1. The Committee shall normally meet for a period of not more than two weeks annually in order to consider the reports submitted in accordance with Article 18 of the present Convention.
2. The meetings of the Committee shall normally be held at United Nations Headquarters or at any other convenient place as determined by the Committee.

Article 21

1. The Committee shall, through the Economic and Social Council, report annually to the General Assembly of the United Nations on its activities and may make suggestions and general recommendations based on the examination of reports and information received from the States Parties. Such suggestions and general recommendations shall be included in the report of the Committee together with comments, if any, from States Parties.
2. The Secretary-General shall transmit the reports of the Committee to the Commission on the Status of Women for its information.

Article 22

The specialised agencies shall be entitled to be represented at the consideration of the implementation of such provisions of the present Convention as fall within the scope of their activities. The Committee may invite the specialised agencies to submit reports on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their activities.

PART VI

Article 23

Nothing in this Convention shall affect any provisions that are more conducive to the achievement of equality between men and women which may be contained:

- a) In the legislation of a State Party, or
- b) In any other international convention, treaty or agreement in force for that State.

Article 24

States Parties undertake to adopt all necessary measures at the national level aimed at achieving the full realisation of the rights recognised in the present Convention.

Article 25

1. The present Convention shall be open for signature by all States.
2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is designated as the depositary of the present Convention.
3. The present Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
4. The present Convention shall be open to accession by all States. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 26

1. A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any State Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
2. The General Assembly of the United Nations shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such a request.

Article 27

1. The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.
2. For each State ratifying the present Convention or acceding to it after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 28

1. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall receive and circulate to all States the text of reservations made by States at the time of ratification or accession.
2. A reservation incompatible with the object and purpose of the present Convention shall not be permitted.
3. Reservations may be withdrawn at any time by notification to this effect addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall then inform all States thereof. Such notification shall take effect on the date on which it is received.

Article 29

1. Any dispute between two or more States Parties concerning the interpretation of application of the present Convention which is not settled by negotiation shall, at the request of one of them, be

submitted to arbitration. If within six months from the date of the request for arbitration the parties are unable to agree on the organisation of the arbitration, any one of those parties may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice by request in conformity with the Statute of the Court.

2. Each State Party may at the time of signature or ratification of this Convention or accession thereto declare that it does not consider itself bound by paragraph 1 of this article. The other States Parties shall not be bound by that paragraph with respect to any State Party which has made such a reservation.
3. Any State Party which has made a reservation in accordance with paragraph 2 of this article may at any time withdraw that reservation by notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 30

The present Convention, the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorised, have signed the present Convention.

Reading 3: 'Assessing the Status of Women'

Extract from Commonwealth Secretariat publication, *Assessing the Status of Women: A Guide to Reporting Under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 1996.

Article 1 – Definition of Discrimination Against Women

For the purposes of the Convention, the term “discrimination against women” means any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Comment

Article 1 provides the definition of discrimination against women which applies to all provisions of the Convention. Unlike earlier treaties, such as the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which refer to discrimination or distinction on the basis of sex, Article 1 establishes that the Convention is concerned with discrimination against women, which it then comprehensively explains.

The Convention defines discriminatory practices to include any differentiation, whether by way of distinction, exclusion or restriction, on the basis of sex, which aims or has the effect of preventing or hampering the enjoyment by women, whether married or unmarried, of their human rights to the same extent as men. It includes intentional and unintentional discrimination and encompasses differential treatment, as well as treatment which impacts differentially and disadvantageously on women when compared to men. Article 1 makes clear that the Convention aims to eliminate discrimination in all public spheres, which include the political, economic, social and civil fields. In light of the fact that discrimination against women is perhaps most entrenched in the private sphere, it also includes discrimination in ‘any other field’ within its reach, thereby encompassing private or domestic differentiation. In General Recommendation 19, the Committee concluded that gender-based violence – violence directed against a woman because she is a woman or which affects women disproportionately, whether perpetrated by public authorities or by any person, organisation or enterprise – falls within the definition of Article 1.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Does the constitution, if there is one, include a guarantee of equality of women with men in the protection and enjoyment of human rights? Does it prohibit discrimination against women on the basis of sex and marital status? If it does, is it implemented in practice? If it does not, what work is being done to amend the constitution? Are there any obstacles to such an amendment? If so, what are they?
2. Are there laws or policy statements that define discrimination against women? What do they say? Do they include in their definition any act which causes, or results in, a difference of the treatment of women in comparison to men? Do they include laws, practices or policies (whether legislative, administrative, customary or traditional) which impair or nullify the recognition of women and their enjoyment or exercise of civil, political, economic, social and cultural or any other rights?
3. Is the legal definition of discrimination sufficiently broad or interpreted broadly enough to be compatible with that contained in the Convention? Does the definition cover practices which although not intending to discriminate, are discriminatory in effect and not reasonable or justifiable?
4. Does the legal definition of discrimination encompass discrimination against women by private institutions and individuals? Does the legal definition of discrimination include discrimination against women in the private or domestic sphere?
5. Does the legal definition of discrimination include gender-based violence against women?

Article 2 – Obligations to Eliminate Discrimination

States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue, by all appropriate means and without delay, a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake:

- a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means the practical realisation of this principle;
- b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;
- c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;

- d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;
- e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organisation or enterprise;
- f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;
- g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.

Comment

Article 2 obligates States Parties to condemn discrimination against women and to eliminate it through constitutional, legal and other appropriate means. The obligations of States Parties to eliminate discrimination against women under Article 2 extend to public authorities and institutions, private persons, organisations and enterprises. States Parties are under a duty to ensure that public and private bodies, as well as individual persons, refrain from and eliminate discrimination against women. A primary requirement of Article 2 is that the principle of equality of women with men must be included in the constitution or other suitable legislation. States must also eliminate the legal bases for discrimination by revising existing civil, penal and labour laws. Obligations imposed by Article 2 go beyond law reform and require States Parties to ensure the practical realisation of the principle of equality of women through legal or other appropriate means.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Are there policies or practices of government and other public institutions that discriminate against women? Are there any laws or administrative or other practices that discriminate against women? Can the areas in which women are discriminated against in practice be identified? What means are used to identify such areas? To what extent do policies or practices of government and other public institutions nullify or impair the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of human rights by women? Are these policies and practices in the process of being repealed or changed?
2. In those States where the Constitution did not include a guarantee of non-discrimination at the time of ratification of the Convention, has the Constitution been amended to add such a guarantee? If not, has the process of amendment to add such a guarantee begun?
3. Has the country passed or amended legislation to deal with discrimination in the specific areas described in the substantive

- articles of the Convention (concerning education, health, employment, etc.)?
4. Have any laws, regulations or policies been promulgated that regulate the conduct of official institutions public authorities and public officials towards women? Do such laws extend to private persons, organisations or enterprises?
 5. Has the country undertaken any studies of the discriminatory implications of its laws?
 6. Has it sought to ensure that laws and policies prohibiting discrimination are effectively enforced through the court system or through other tribunals?
 7. Have any special remedies or avenues of redress been developed to enable women to pursue their rights? If so, how effective have these been? How many cases of discrimination have been brought before the courts or other bodies in the last four years? How were they decided?
 8. Has any special machinery, such as a commission or ombud, been established to promote and protect the rights of women? Has a specific machinery been established to oversee Convention implementation? If so, how do they operate and what has their effect been?
 9. Has the country attempted to address through legislation or other programmes the modification of customs and practices that result in discrimination against women or perpetuate such discrimination? In particular, has the country attempted to address through legislation and other programmes gender-based violence against women?
 10. Are there any sanctions or penalties, such as fines or loss of government contracts, imposed for discrimination against women? If so, what are they? Have they been applied?
 11. What measures if any, have been adopted to advance or improve the situation of women, and to guarantee women fundamental freedoms and equal rights?
 12. Has the country attempted to address through legislation or other programmes the modification of customs and practices that result in discrimination against women or perpetuate such discrimination?
 13. What are the practical obstacles that prevent women from attaining their full development, fundamental freedoms or equal rights?

Article 3 – The Development and Advancement of Women

States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures,

including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Comment

This article obligates States Parties to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, in all fields so as to implement the policies outlined in Article 2 of the Convention. The obligation aims to guarantee women basic human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men, as well as to ensure their full development and advancement.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Do existing laws, practices, and administrative policies ensure the full development and advancement of women? Do women have the same access as men, in law and in fact, to the political process, social services, health and medical care, education, literacy development programmes, employment, ownership of property, and social welfare?
2. Is the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms by women, on a basis of equality with men, guaranteed under the constitution or other relevant laws? What are the practical obstacles that prevent women from attaining their full development, and exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms on an equal basis with men?
3. What measures have been taken to bring about the full development and advancement of women, and to guarantee their exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms?
4. Have any laws been enacted, or policy measures taken, that affect the status of women with regard to political participation and participation in social, economic and cultural life? Have women effectively participated in the formulation of such laws or policies? Are these laws and policies being implemented to the satisfaction of women?

Article 4 – Acceleration of Equality between Men and Women

Adoption by States Parties of temporary measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail, as a consequence, the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved. Adoption by States Parties of special measures, including

those measures contained in the present Convention, aimed at protecting maternity, shall not be considered discriminatory.

Comment

Recognising that even if women enjoy legal equality, they do not necessarily reach a position of equality in fact, Article 4 permits States to employ special measures of affirmative action for as long as inequalities continue to exist. These special measures, which are defined as non-discriminatory by Article 4, are permissible because they accelerate *de facto* equality of women. They are justified on the basis that formal equality is inadequate to redress the factual inequality of women. In addition, special measures employed to protect interests which are specific to women, including maternity, are defined as non-discriminatory.

At its seventh session in 1988, CEDAW, although noting that significant progress had been made in guaranteeing women's legal equality, stressed the need to take steps to promote their *de facto* equality. In its General Recommendation 5, which it adopted at that session, the Committee encouraged States Parties to make more use of temporary special measures such as positive action, preferential treatment or quota systems to advance women's integration into education, the economy, politics and employment. In General Recommendation 8, also adopted at its seventh session, CEDAW suggested that States Parties employ temporary special measures of affirmative action to ensure women equal opportunity to represent their governments internationally.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Is there an official policy aimed at accelerating the *de facto* equality of women? If so, what steps have been taken to implement this policy? Have any laws been enacted to implement such a policy?
2. What positive or temporary special measures, whether in the form of affirmative action, or otherwise, have been adopted to achieve equality between men and women? What are the inequalities that these measures sought to redress? Are there special measures for the protection of pregnancy, maternity, the health and safety of women in the workplace? If so, what are they? Are they effective?
3. How are these special measures enforced? What have their effects been? Is their effect being monitored?
4. Are special measures considered to be non-discriminatory under the law?
5. What enforcement mechanisms have been established? How do they operate?

Article 5 – Sex Roles and Stereotyping

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures:

- a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;
- b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

Comment

Article 5 of the Convention recognises that despite efforts to achieve legal and *de facto* equality for women, true advancement towards equality requires fundamental social and cultural change. Article 5(a) requires States to address social and cultural patterns that lead to discrimination and to stereotyped roles for women and men. It deals with interpersonal relationships between women and men and is concerned to eliminate practices based on ideas of the superiority or inferiority of one sex in relation to the other and sex-based stereotyping.

Recognising that sex-role stereotyping is most apparent in family life, paragraph (b) calls on States to ensure that family education underlines the importance of maternity as a social function and the shared responsibility of men and women in the upbringing of children.

At its sixth session in 1987, CEDAW formulated General Recommendation 3 concerning Article 5. It states that the consideration of reports had shown that owing to socio-cultural factors, stereotyped conceptions of women continue to exist. These perpetuate discrimination based on sex and hinder the implementation of Article 5. CEDAW urged all States Parties to adopt education and public information programs to help eliminate prejudices and current practices that hinder the full operation of the principle of the social equality of women.

Other recommendations of the Committee have addressed Article 5. For example, in General Recommendation 1, CEDAW observed that, in the context of Article 5, 'traditional attitudes under which women are regarded as subordinate or as having stereotyped roles perpetuate widespread practices involving violence or coercion, such as family violence and abuse, forced marriage, dowry death, acid attacks, female circumcision. Such prejudices and practices may justify gender-based violence as a form of protection or control of women.'

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. What cultural and traditional practices, or ways of life, if any, hamper women's advancement in society?
2. What measures have been taken to change social and cultural patterns that lead to stereotyping or reinforcing the idea of the inferiority of women?
3. Does religion or custom impose practices or beliefs that interfere with improving the status of women? If yes, what are they?
4. What roles are men and women expected to play in society and in the family?
5. Are males and females stereotyped in school books or in the media?
6. What efforts are being made to eliminate the stereotyping of men and women? What are the obstacles to eliminating these stereotypes?
7. Who is considered, by law or custom, to be the 'head of the household'?
8. Are there certain kinds of work that are considered as 'men's work' or 'women's work'? What are the percentages of men and women in these kinds of work?
9. What kinds of work are women forbidden to do, either by law or custom?
10. Are girls and boys expected to do different tasks in the home or at school?
11. Who is responsible for the care of the children? Are men and women equally responsible for the care of children? In divorce cases, who is typically given custody of the children and why?
12. Is any provision made for family life education within the country? If so, what is it?
13. How do syllabuses in educational institutions reflect this article of the Convention?
14. Do husbands have the right to chastise their wives? Which law provides for such a right? Are sanctions exercised against men if they chastise their wives?
15. How is violent behaviour between spouses perceived by women and men? Are there any public campaigns to raise awareness about violence against women as a problem? And if there are, do they attempt to change the attitudes of men?
16. Are there public information programmes to educate women about their rights? If so, to what extent do the media contribute to such programmes?

17. In education is use made of materials on how to resolve conflict between men and women in non-violent ways?
18. Where dowry or brideprice is a condition or requirement for a valid marriage as a matter of custom and tradition, how many cases of violence related to marriage payments are reported? Is there legislation against these practices? If legislation does exist, does it provide sanctions against both parties (i.e. both those asking for and those making a marriage payment)?
19. What measures and steps have been taken to conscientise and inform law enforcement officials of the issue of violence against women, particularly within the home?
20. Is there a place for women to go when faced with violence within the family? Are there special law enforcement units to deal with domestic violence?
21. Is there a process to deal with violent and sexually offensive films and magazines?
22. How are the victims of sexual assault treated by law enforcement officers?
23. Are there any special procedures to deal with the sexual abuse of children?

Article 6 – Suppression of the Exploitation of Women

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.

Comment

The Article addresses trafficking and exploitation of prostitution but does not require States to punish women who choose to be prostitutes. Historically, international law has dealt with the exploitation of prostitution through several international instruments concerning traffic in persons and slavery. These include the Slavery Convention 1926 as amended by the Protocol Amending the Slavery Convention 1953, the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery 1956 and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention 1957. In 1949 specific standards relating to prostitution were agreed in the Convention on the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, which outlaws the procurement and enticement of another person for the purposes of prostitution, the exploitation of prostitution of another person and forbids the keeping of brothels. Article 6 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women moves beyond existing international regulation of sexual exploitation, by requiring States not only to pass and implement appropriate

legislation, but to address the root causes of both trafficking and exploitation of prostitution.

In General Recommendation 19, CEDAW draws attention to the fact that in addition to established forms of trafficking there are new forms of sexual exploitation, including sex tourism, the recruitment of domestic labour from developing countries to work in developed countries and organised marriages between women from developing countries and foreign nationals. Article 6 obligates States to confront these practices, as well as established forms of exploitation.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask:

1. Does the country have legislation to prevent traffic in women and girls? If so, is it implemented effectively? What sanctions exist for such traffic?
2. Is prostitution legal? If prostitution is illegal, are both prostitute and client subject to prosecution? In practice, does prosecution take place? What sanctions do prostitutes face? What sanctions do the clients of prostitutes face? Are there specific laws relating to clients of prostitutes? If so, are they enforced? Are prostitutes licensed or regulated in any way? What laws, if any, are there concerning child prostitution?
3. If prostitution is legal, do sanctions exist to protect prostitutes from exploitation?
4. What is the prevailing social attitude towards prostitution?
5. Does the law relating to violence against women, including rape, apply equally to prostitute women? Is it applied equally in practice?
6. What are the laws on traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution?
7. Are patterns of immigration and emigration monitored? Specifically, is there a system in place to monitor whether immigrants or emigrants are predominantly engaged in sex work?
8. Are there laws and policies in place to protect women and young girls from labour agencies which are essentially engaged in trafficking? Are there laws and policies in place relating to marriage bureaux, specifically those involved in arranging marriages with foreign nationals?
9. Is the selling of a woman's sexual services by a third person illegal?
10. Are there any obstacles to eliminating the exploitation of prostitution and traffic in women? If so, what are they?
11. Are there laws in the country to penalise nationals who exploit women and girl children outside the country, such as, for

example, legislation relating to sex tourism? If so, describe their implementation and effect.

Article 7 – Political and Public Life

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

- a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
- b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- c) To participate in non-government organisations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

Comment

Article 7(a) reaffirms the right of women to vote in all elections and to be eligible for election to elected bodies, rights already enshrined in other international instruments including the Convention on the Political Rights of Women 1953 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966. In addition to rights stated in prior instruments, the article explicitly enshrines the right to vote in public referenda.

Article 7(b) also reflects existing standards in international law. However, by providing that States Parties ‘shall ensure’ the right of participation it obligates governments to create the conditions that facilitate women’s participation. This obligation can be met by, for example, including women on lists of government candidates, affirmative action and quotas and elimination of gender restrictions for certain posts.

Article 7(c) contains the only reference in the Convention to non-governmental organisations (NGOs). It establishes the right of women to participate in NGOs and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country and binds States to ensure this right on equal terms with men.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Do women have the right to vote in all elections on equal terms with men? If so, what percentage of women vote as compared to men? Is the right to vote dependent on any property or literacy requirement? If so, do such requirements adversely affect women? For instance, do such requirements exclude women from voting, or do they have a greater effect on women’s ability to vote than on that of men?

2. What percentage of the members of political parties are women? What is the nature of the participation of these women in the work of political parties? What measures have been adopted by political parties to increase women's membership? What percentage of women stand as candidates for publicly elected bodies, locally or nationally? And what proportion of women to men are elected?
3. Are women eligible to be candidates for elected positions on the same terms as men? What percentage of candidates are women? What measures have been adopted by political parties to increase the percentage of women standing as candidates? What measures have been adopted by political parties to increase the number of women office holders? If so, which public offices are currently held by women? Include both appointed and elected positions. Are the holders of such offices representative of women? What percentage of public offices are held by women?
4. Are there any factors that prevent women's political participation? If so, what are they and are they being addressed in any way? What impediments exist which prevent women from running for office in the party or committee structure? For example, finance, provision for children, lack of confidence or general attitudes?
5. What percentage of women participate in elections and public referenda?
6. What measures have been taken to ensure that women participate in the design and implementation of development planning at all levels?
7. What support services exist within the country to enable women to participate in public life?
8. Do women participate in trade unions? Are there any factors that affect their participation in this sector? Have measures been introduced to encourage their participation?
9. Are women discriminated against or subject to human rights violations because of their political activities as members of women's organisations? Are women political prisoners or detainees subject to sexual abuse? If yes, please document and give details.
10. To what extent are women's organisations actively involved in policy-making? Do mechanisms exist to ensure such involvement?

Article 8 – International Representation and Participation

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and, without any discrimination, the

opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organisations.

Comment

Echoing Article 8 of the United Nations Charter, Article 8 of the Convention requires States Parties to take measures to ensure that women have equal opportunities with men to represent their Government internationally, as well as to participate on a basis of equal opportunity in international organisations.

In view of the fact that equal representation of women at the international level is far from realised, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in General Recommendation 8 suggested that States Parties make use of temporary special measures envisioned in Article 4 to achieve this goal.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Do women have the right and the opportunity to represent the Government on an international level and to participate in the work of international organisations on equal terms with men?
2. What percentage of ambassadors are women? What percentage of other representatives to foreign governments or international organisations are women? Where do they serve? Are there instances where women, because of their sex, have been denied their opportunity to represent the country or to participate in the work of international organisations? Please describe.
3. What proportion of women are represented in the foreign service of your country and at what levels? What proportion of experts sent to international meetings are women, and what are their areas of expertise?
4. What percentage of people from the country employed by international organisations are women and in which areas? Is there equal opportunity of women to serve as representatives of their country and as participants in the work of international organisations?
5. Are there any programmes to encourage women to enter the foreign service or to apply for positions in international bureaucracy?

States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.

States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children.

Comment

Article 15 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights guarantees everyone the right to a nationality. Article 9 of the Convention grants women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality and grants them equal rights with respect to the nationality of their children. Article 9 should be read together with Articles 15 and 16 of the Convention which respectively deal with equality of women before the law and within the family. As CEDAW points out in General Recommendation 21, nationality is critical to full participation in society. A woman's nationality may affect her right to vote or stand for public office; it may affect her choice of residence and her access to public services and benefits. In the case of married women, domestic citizenship laws may impose on women the nationality of their husbands, or cause them to lose their nationality on marriage to a foreigner. Article 9 strengthens standards elaborated in the Convention on the Nationality of Married Women, adopted by the General Assembly in 1957. According to the terms of this Convention, neither marriage nor its dissolution, nor the change of nationality of the husband should automatically change that of the wife.

Article 9 should not be understood as compelling a woman to maintain her nationality nor to disadvantage her in any way should she wish to change it.

Article 9 requires women to be granted equal rights with men with regard to the nationality of their children. Therefore citizenship laws under which children automatically acquire the nationality or citizenship of their fathers, but not their mothers, are contrary to this article. In addition, Article 7 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) provides for the right of a child to acquire a nationality.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Do women, whether married or not, have equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality? What social, cultural or economic factors affect a woman's exercise of these rights?
2. Does marriage to a non-citizen, or a change of nationality by the husband, affect a woman's nationality in any way?
3. Is a person's citizenship determined by birth, by parentage, by marriage, or by a combination of these factors? If citizenship is determined by parentage, does a mother's citizenship carry equal weight with that of the father?
4. Do women and men have the same rights with respect to gaining residence and employment status for their spouse in situations where the spouse is a non-national? How is the nationality of a child determined? Do minor children have their own passports? If not, can minor children travel on their mother's passport or only their father's? Is the father's consent required to include children

on their mother's passport? Is the consent of the parents of minor children required prior to their leaving the country? If so, whose consent is required and in what circumstances?

5. Can a woman obtain a passport or travel without the permission of her husband or male guardian?

Article 10 – Education

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

- a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training;
- b) Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;
- c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;
- d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;
- e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;
- f) The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organisation of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely;
- g) The same opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education;
- h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.

Comment

This article requires governments to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in education. It reiterates rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and

the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. With specific respect to the education of women, Article 10 of the Convention maintains that all necessary measures be taken to give equal rights to women and girls in the field of education to enable them to participate fully in the life of their countries.

In order to ensure the equality of men and women in matters of education, Article 10(a) requires the same conditions for men and women with regard to career and vocational guidance, and access to studies and achievement of qualifications or diplomas in all educational institutions in both rural and urban areas. The equality of women shall be ensured specifically in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, and all types of vocational training. Article 10(b) guarantees women the same access as men to curricula, examinations, school premises, teaching staff of similar standard of qualification, and equipment of similar quality.

Article 10(c) seeks to eliminate stereotyped conceptions of the roles of women and men at all levels and in all forms of education. The Convention encourages coeducation and other types of education which help to attain this aim and requires, in particular, the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods that encourage elimination of sex stereotyping. To eradicate sex stereotyping, it may be necessary to redress imbalances between women and men working in educational institutions.

Article 10(d) guarantees women and girls the same opportunities as men and boys with respect to scholarships and other study grants. Article 10(e) obligates States to ensure that women have equal opportunities to participate in continuing education, including literacy programmes. Access to continuing education programmes is important to redress the imbalance between women and men, particularly in areas of new technology. Disadvantaged women, especially immigrant women, who are often isolated, have a particular need for adult education to help them improve the quality of their lives with regard to the double burden of home and paid employment.

Since frequently more girls than boys leave school prematurely, governments should, under Article 10(f), work to reduce drop-out rates for girls and to provide programmes for girls and women who have left school before completing their studies. Attention should especially be paid to meeting the needs of young pregnant students and young mothers to enable them to complete their education. Programmes should also be initiated to encourage these women to enter or re-enter the waged labour force.

Women and girls frequently have unequal opportunities to participate in sports and physical education, and fewer resources are made available to promote activities for them. Article 10(g) seeks to reverse this trend while Article 10(h) entitles women and girls to receive education relating to health and family life. In a provision unique to this Convention, they are granted the right to have access to

information and advice concerning family planning to allow them to decide on the number and spacing of their children. Provision of access to such information would enable girls to participate equally in matters connected with family life.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Have legislative or other measures been taken to ensure equal access to education for men and women? Is there equal access to education in practice?
2. Are girls and boys able to take the same subjects at primary and secondary school and at institutions of higher learning? If so, are girls aware of the options which are available to them? If they are so aware, do they take advantage of these options? If not, why not?
3. What percentage of primary, secondary, and university graduates are female? How do these percentages relate to the percentage of women to men in the country per age cohort?
4. What are the overall literacy rates for males and females? Between ages 15-24? Ages 25-44? Ages 45 and above?
5. In schools that are not co-educational, are the curricula, examinations, teaching staff, school premises and equipment of the same quality for boys and girls? If not, describe the differences. For example, compare student-teacher ratios, subjects taught, per capita expenditures for male and female students.
6. If the educational system places students in different branches or streams or 'tracks' of studies, are girls and boys equally represented in such tracks? Are girls encouraged to pursue traditionally 'male' studies? How?
7. What is the percentage of women graduating in the fields of medicine? Engineering? Law? Sciences? Agriculture? How do these percentages relate to the percentage of women to men in the country?
8. What grants or scholarships are available? Are these grants and scholarships available to women and men equally? Of those grants and scholarships available to both women and men, what number go to women and what number go to men?
9. Are there any grants or scholarships available solely for women and solely for men? What percentage of all available scholarships, awards, or grants are given to women at primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels?
10. How many women are shortlisted for such scholarships and grants as compared to men?
11. What percentage of the students in adult education and literacy programmes are women? What are the comparative numbers of women and men enrolling in these programmes? Are there any

- barriers to women's enrolment? If so, what are they? Is there any particular group of women, for example migrant or indigenous women, particularly affected by such barriers?
12. Are there laws and policies that attempt to keep girls in school until school leaving age? Please describe.
 13. What educational programmes are available for girls and women who have left school before school leaving age and graduation? What are the qualifications and experiences of the teachers in such programmes? Do more men than women take such programmes?
 14. What are the drop-out rates for women at all levels of education? What are the major causes of girls or women discontinuing their education? Are there statistics that show the levels of female student drop-out rates? Are these statistics kept on a comparative basis?
 15. What percentage of all teachers at the primary level are women? At the secondary level? At the university level? Compare the seniority levels of women staff at each level.
 16. What percentage of school principals and heads of departments are women? What percentage of university professors and heads of departments are women? Provide a gender-disaggregated staff profile of the primary, secondary and higher education sectors.
 17. Do women have the same access as men to family life education, including family planning? Is education for family life and family planning included in course syllabi? If so, what is taught?
 18. Do girls have the same opportunities as boys to participate in sports and physical education in schools? Are there any regulations that prohibit participation of women and girls in sports and physical education? Are there any dress regulations that impede the full participation of girls and women in sports? Is it culturally acceptable for women to participate in all sports? Are sports facilities equally available to men and women, boys and girls?
 19. Does sex stereotyping, such as depictions of women as secretaries rather than managers, exist in programmes, curricula, textbooks, etc.? If so, how much? Have measures been introduced to address this stereotyping?
 20. Has research been undertaken into the achievements of girls who attend co-educational schools in comparison to those who attend single sex schools? If so, what is the result of this research?
 21. Is career and vocational guidance available to inform girls of the full range of vocational opportunities? Is information available about these opportunities? Do girls need special encouragement to take up these opportunities? If so, what sort of encouragement is required? Do girls encounter any obstacles in taking up these

opportunities? If so, what are they? Have any measures been introduced to address these obstacles? If so, please describe them.

Article 11 – Employment

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:
 - a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;
 - b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;
 - c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training;
 - d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;
 - e) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;
 - f) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction.
2. In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, States Parties shall take appropriate measures:
 - a) To prohibit, subject to the imposition of sanctions, dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or of maternity leave and discrimination in dismissals on the basis of marital status;
 - b) To introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances;
 - c) To encourage the provision of the necessary supporting social services to enable parents to combine family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life, in particular through promoting the establishment and development of a network of child-care facilities;
 - d) To provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them.

3. Protective legislation relating to matters covered in this article shall be reviewed periodically in the light of scientific and technological knowledge and shall be revised, repealed or extended as necessary.

Comment

Obligating governments to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in employment, Article 11 guarantees women the same employment rights, opportunities, choices and benefits as men. It obligates States to make every effort to remove both direct and indirect discrimination against women. Indirect discrimination consists of subtle and less obvious measures that adversely affect women more than men. Examples include irrelevant requirements of size or height, age, or other considerations which hinder women's equal employment opportunities.

Drawing together standards set in United Nations instruments, as well as those agreed with in the International Labour Organization (ILO), Article 11 affirms the existence of the right to work in international law and elaborates a comprehensive set of obligations of States Parties to ensure the full and effective enjoyment by women of that right. States Parties must guarantee women the same employment rights and opportunities as men, both by dismantling discriminatory employment laws and practices and providing girls and women with the same *de facto* opportunities as men by ensuring that they are educationally and vocationally prepared for a wide range of careers. In recruitment, the same criteria for the employment of men and women must be applied.

Women are guaranteed free choice of profession and employment and are not to be confined to work traditionally associated with women. They are to have equal rights in promotion, job security, all benefits and conditions of service, training and retraining. Women are guaranteed the right to equal remuneration and all work-related benefits. They must receive equal pay for equal work. In addition to equal treatment for work of equal value, the subject of CEDAW's General Recommendation 13, they must be afforded equality of treatment in the valuation of the quality of work. They are to enjoy the right to social security when unemployed, retired or incapable of work. Women are guaranteed the right to paid leave and healthy and safe working conditions.

Specific provisions prohibit any discrimination on the grounds of marital status or maternity. Dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or maternity leave must be prohibited and subject to sanction, as must any discriminatory dismissal on the basis of marital status. States must also introduce measures, including paid maternity leave and maternity breaks without loss of employment status or benefits, to allow parents to combine family life with work and participation in public life. Here States are particularly encouraged to develop child-care programmes. Although prohibiting discrimination on the basis

of women's reproductive function, Article 11 does enshrine their right to have that function safeguarded in the workplace, as well as obligating States Parties to provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them. As women's reproductive function and pregnancy have often been the excuse for discriminatory employment practices, Article 11(3) obliges States Parties to review regularly any protective legislation which might be introduced for these purposes.

In its formulation of general recommendations, CEDAW has devoted considerable attention to the meaning of Article 11. In General Recommendation 13, concerning equal remuneration for work of equal value, it encouraged States Parties to consider gender-neutral job evaluation systems and to encourage the insertion of the principle of equal pay for work of equal value in collective agreements. In both General Recommendations 16 and 17, CEDAW drew attention to the disproportionate participation of women in the unwaged informal sector, most commonly in family and rural contexts. The rights guaranteed in Article 11 are applicable to formal employment and, accordingly, leave such women unprotected and vulnerable. Again, in both General Recommendations 12 and 19, CEDAW drew attention to violence against women in the workplace, including sexual harassment, perpetrated by male co-workers and superiors. These general recommendations indicate that the elimination of discrimination in the workplace includes the obligation to eliminate workplace violence by means of appropriate legal and practical measures.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Are there any distinctions in recruitment and employment practices between women and men? If so what are they?
2. What provisions exist to eliminate discrimination against women in employment? Are these provisions enforced? How?
3. What legislative or other measures have been taken to promote equal employment opportunities for women and men?
4. What percentage of the total waged work force is women? Of the total waged workforce between ages 15-24? Ages 25-44? Ages 45 and older?
5. Of the women in the waged labour force, what percentage are part-time workers? What percentage are full-time workers? What percentage of part-time and full-time workers overall are women?
6. Are there industries in which women perform piecework or outwork in their homes? Are there regulations which affect such work? Are such workers entitled to benefits, for example, sick leave, holiday pay? What is the level of wage for such work compared with other employment?

7. Are there professions that, by law or custom, tend to be filled predominantly by women? What are they? Are there professions that, by law or custom, tend to be filled predominantly by men? If so, what are they?
8. Does the Government ensure that opportunities exist for women in occupations which are not traditionally pursued by women?
9. Are women encouraged to take up apprenticeships in fields not usually pursued by women?
10. Are women entitled by law to receive equal pay for equal work or work of the same value as that performed by men? What percentage of men's wages do women receive? What means are available to challenge discrimination in pay? Are there any obstacles that impede implementation of pay equity laws? If so, what are they? If pay equity provisions exist, how is quality of work evaluated? Does this evaluation lead to equality of treatment?
11. What work-related benefits are available to workers generally? Do women receive equal benefits such as holiday pay, sick leave, job training, disability and old age benefits?
12. Is work done by women in the home counted as part of the work done in the labour force and included in national statistics (e.g. calculation of GDP/GNP)? Is unpaid agricultural work counted as part of the country's gross national product? Does unpaid work in the home and agriculture count towards eligibility for retirement and other work-related benefits?
13. What is the mandatory retirement age for men and for women? What is the usual voluntary retirement age for men and for women? Do men and women contribute the same amounts towards their pensions?
14. If the country has social security legislation, are all women covered by such legislation? If not, which groups are excluded and for what reason? Do wives benefit from pension plans held by their husbands and vice versa?
15. Is employment security affected by pregnancy? If so, how? Does the country have provisions to ensure that women who are pregnant or on maternity leave are not subject to dismissal? If so what sanctions, if any, are provided for such dismissal? How frequently are these sanctions invoked?
16. What provision is made for maternity leave? Does the country have a system of maternity leave with pay? If so, by whom is it paid, and how effective is it? Is it enforced? What penalties exist for violations? Have studies been undertaken to determine its use and effectiveness?
17. Is there provision for parental leave? If there is, can it be shared between parents? If it is available, what percentage of men take it? If parental leave provisions exist, what effect does taking

- parental leave have on the accrual of work-related benefits and seniority and promotion?
18. Is dismissal of women on the grounds of maternity leave or marital status prohibited by law or policy? Is it done in practice?
 19. If the country has provision for paid leave, is such leave equally available to men and women?
 20. Is there provision for flexible working patterns, such as job-sharing or permanent part-time employment, to allow women or men to combine employment with family responsibilities? If so, do women and men take advantage of these opportunities equally? If not, who takes advantage of these opportunities? If there is an opportunity for flexible work, what effect does working in this way have on the accrual of work-related benefits and seniority and promotion?
 21. Does marital status affect job security?
 22. What health and safety laws and regulations does the country have? Do legal provisions exist to provide women with special protection during pregnancy in types of work proven to be harmful to them? What sort of work is regarded as being particularly harmful?
 23. Are there particular forms of work, for example night work, underground and mine work or work in particular industries that restrict women's participation? If so, on what basis are women restricted from participating? What effect do such restrictions have on women's economic opportunities? If provisions exist to protect the health and safety of women at work, are they subject to regular review in the light of scientific and technical advances?
 24. Does the country have a network of child-care facilities? If so, does it meet existing needs? What types of child-care are available for working women? Does the government support, financially or otherwise, child-care? If child-care services exist, are they staffed by trained personnel?
 25. Are there any legal measures regulating the establishment and function of such facilities where they exist? If so, what are they?
 26. What percentage of employers provide child-care? What percentage of children 0-3 are in child-care? Ages 3-6?
 27. How are school-age children cared for when parents work longer than the school day?
 28. Are nursing breaks for breastfeeding mothers required by law? In practice, are they provided? In practice, do women take advantage of them?
 29. What is the extent of unionisation of the labour force? What percentage of women are members of unions overall? What is the level of unionisation in areas of the labour market dominated by women?

30. Has the country introduced measures to address sexual harassment and violence against women in the workplace? If so, please describe them and their effect.

Article 12 – Equality in Access to Health Care

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health services, including those relating to family planning.
2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, States Parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation.

Comment

Article 12 recognises that the unequal status of women hampers their equal access to adequate health care. Accordingly, the article obligates States Parties to ensure that women have access to health care on an equal basis with men. States Parties are required to remove all legal and social barriers that obstruct access to health care for all women, including those whose access is impeded by factors such as disability, illiteracy or where they live.

The International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights both enshrine the basic right of couples to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children, but Article 12 of the Convention is the first human rights treaty to make specific mention of access to family planning. States Parties must ensure that women have access to family planning services on a basis of equality with men. Access entails not only the availability of services, but also information and education relating to such services. Thus, States must ensure that information and education relating to family planning is available to both women and men. Any laws or policies that restrict women's access to family planning, such as those which require the consent of the woman's husband or near male relative, would run counter to this article, as would any health sector practice which required such consent.

Paragraph 2 of Article 12 recognises the particular needs of women for health services during pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period. States are required to provide appropriate health services, free if necessary, as well as ensuring that pregnant and lactating women are provided with adequate nutrition.

The scope and application of Article 12 has been the focus of a number of CEDAW's general recommendations. General Recommendation 14 calls on States Parties to eradicate the practice of female circumcision by, *inter alia*, health policy strategies which draw upon the role of traditional birth attendants. In General

Recommendation 19, the Committee noted that gender-based violence puts women's health at risk and specifically described traditional practices harmful to health of women, including dietary restrictions for pregnant women, son-preference and female circumcision to be forms of discrimination.

Discrimination against women in national AIDS strategies was the subject of General Recommendation 15. Here CEDAW recommended that States Parties intensify efforts to raise public awareness of the risk of HIV and AIDS, particularly in women and children. States were asked to ensure that programmes to combat AIDS give special attention to the rights and needs of women and children and take into account the particular vulnerability of women to HIV infection resulting from their reproductive role and their subordinate position. States were also asked to ensure that women actively participate as primary health care workers and to take measures to enhance their role as care providers, health workers and educators in the prevention of HIV infection.

The importance of Article 12 to gender equality and the empowerment of women was reaffirmed in 1994 by the International Conference on Population and Development, its Programme of Action underscoring the importance of reproductive rights, sexual and reproductive health and family planning for individual, national and international welfare.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. What measures have been taken to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care?
2. Do women have the same access as men to health care services?
3. Is medical care for women during pregnancy and in the post-natal period free of charge?
4. Does the State seek to ensure that women receive adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation? If so, in what ways?
5. What health facilities and personnel are available for women? This could include hospitals, clinics, health posts, and other facilities as well as physicians, nurses, auxiliary health personnel, family planning workers, and community agents. Are there any health facilities and personnel dedicated to the health needs of women?
6. What are major causes of female mortality and morbidity?
7. What is the maternal mortality rate?
8. What are the infant and child mortality rates for boys and for girls? What are the major causes of infant and child mortality and morbidity for girls? What are the major causes of infant and child mortality and morbidity for boys?
9. What is the average life expectancy for men and women?

10. What are the crude birth rates and crude death rates for men and women?
11. What percentage of women receive pre-natal care?
12. What is the average number of live births per woman?
13. What is the unmet need for contraception?
14. What is the prevalence of contraception, by method?
15. What legal or cultural obstacles are there to women receiving health care services, including family planning?
16. How many women work in the health sector? In what areas of the health sector do they work? At what level of seniority in these areas do they work?
17. Does the country have traditional health workers? If so, what do they do? How many traditional health workers are women?
18. Is the husband's authorisation required, either by law or in practice, before a married woman can receive health services including family planning?
19. Does the State have any laws or policies that require use of family planning measures? If so, are there any consequences, such as financial penalties, where these laws or policies are not complied with?
20. Is abortion legal? If so, under what circumstances? Is the cost of abortion covered under national medical insurance or social security? Can poor women receive free or subsidised abortions? If abortion is legal, how available are services in practice?
21. Is pre-natal foetal testing available? If so, what is the incidence of abortion following pre-natal testing? If there is incidence of abortion following pre-natal testing, what are the major reasons for such abortions?
22. Does the State have any laws or policies requiring abortion? If there are such laws or policies, are the wishes of the mother taken into consideration when determining whether an abortion should take place?
23. If abortion is not legal, is it performed anyway? What statistics are available for death and/or illness due to or related to abortion? What provisions are made for care of women with incomplete abortions?
24. Is elective sterilisation available? If so, what is the incidence of elective sterilisation for women? For men?
25. Does the State have any laws or policies requiring sterilisation? What sanctions exist for failure to comply with these laws or policies?
26. Is female genital mutilation or circumcision practised? If yes, under what circumstances? Is it legal?

27. Do any groups in the country perpetuate practices (for example, dietary restrictions for pregnant women) that might be harmful to women's health? If so, what measures have been introduced to eradicate such practices?
28. What measures have been introduced in the country to increase public awareness of the risk and effects of sexually transmitted diseases, particularly, HIV/AIDS? Have any of these measures been aimed specifically at women and girls?
29. Have any programmes been introduced to combat sexually transmitted diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS? If so, are any of these programmes dedicated to women and girls? Do any of these programmes pay particular attention to women's reproductive role and female subordination as factors that make women and girls vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases, particularly, HIV/AIDS?
30. What measures have been introduced to ensure the participation of women as health care workers in the context of HIV/AIDS?

Article 13 – Social and Economic Benefits

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in other areas of economic and social life in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

- a) The right to family benefits;
- b) The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit;
- c) The right to participate in recreational activities, sports and in all aspects of cultural life.

Comment

Article 13 obligates States to eliminate economic discrimination against women and to ensure that women have equal rights to participate in recreational and cultural life. This requires the State not only to eliminate discrimination by government, but also to take appropriate steps to ensure that no private actor, such as an employer or financial institution, discriminates.

Women are to be accorded equal rights to benefits that accrue to the family. Such benefits could be social, economic or financial and include family allowances, insurance provision, housing subsidies, child-care and financial or tax credits. They are to have equal rights to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of credit. Differential credit standards cannot be applied to women, nor can women be required to acquire the consent of male relatives for credit.

Article 13(c) articulates women's rights to recreational activities, sports and cultural life. It entitles them to take part in sports,

recreational and cultural activities and obligates States to take measures so that women have real equality of access in these areas. States must take steps to remove legal or social obstacles that affect their participation in these contexts. They must also ensure that the principle of equality of opportunity underpins funding, grants and other forms of support.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Does the country have a system of family benefits? If so, what are they?
2. If family benefits exist, who qualifies for them? Do women have a right to such family benefits?
3. Do married women, in their own right or as parents, have access to family benefits such as: children's allowances, housing allowances, public housing, health insurance or coverage, or other government subsidies or allowances? Do unmarried and married women have the same access to these benefits?
4. How are the various benefits paid? Are they paid directly or through the tax system as credits or deductions with respect to taxes?
5. Who actually receives the benefits? For example, if the payment is direct, is it paid to the primary care giver or to the family unit?
6. How do people qualify for bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit (i) from Government (ii) from private institutions?
7. Do the qualifying requirements affect women and men equally? Do women, particularly married women, have access to loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit? If not, what are the constraints? Do they need the consent of their husbands or another male to obtain credit?
8. Is there any mechanism by which women who consider they have been unfairly treated can complain?
9. What legal, social, economic or cultural barriers, prevent women's participation in recreational activities, sports or any aspect of cultural life?

Article 14 – Rural Women

1. States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which they play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetised sectors of the economy and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of this Convention to women in rural areas.
2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure,

on the basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right:

- a) To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;
- b) To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning;
- c) To benefit directly from social security programmes;
- d) To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy, as well as, inter alia, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to increase their technical proficiency;
- e) To organise self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self-employment;
- f) To participate in all community activities;
- g) To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes;
- h) To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications.

Comment

Rural women frequently play a significant role in the economic survival of their families and communities. Frequently, however, rural women receive little or no recognition for their efforts, and they are often denied access to the results of their work or the benefits of the development process. Article 14 seeks to redress this by obligating States Parties to ensure the benefits of the Convention to rural women and to eliminate discrimination against them, thus allowing them to participate in and benefit from rural development.

Article 14 obligates States to ensure that rural women participate in development planning and implementation. Development projects should meet women's expectations as well as their special development needs and requirements. Rural women are to be ensured access to adequate health care facilities and family planning information, counselling and services, and they are to benefit directly from social security programmes. Rural women's rights to education and training and, particularly, functional literacy are underscored, as is their right to equal access to economic opportunities through employment, self-employment, credit and loans, specifically related to agriculture. They are to be granted access to marketing facilities and technology and to be granted equal treatment in land reform and resettlement schemes. Beyond this to combat the isolation rural

women often suffer, States are obligated to ensure women the right to enjoy adequate living conditions – housing, sanitation, electricity, water supply, transport and communications.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Are rural women aware of their rights under the Convention? What measures are being, or have been taken, to make women in rural areas aware of their rights?
2. In rural areas, are married, widowed, divorced, non-married and childless women treated differently from each other?
3. What percentage of agricultural work in rural areas is done by women? What type of work is generally done by rural women (including cooking, cleaning, water carrying, child-care, marketing, etc.)?
4. Do rural women participate in developing economic and agricultural policies? Is their contribution taken into account in computing the Gross National Product?
5. Are rural women represented in government and on bodies and commissions involved with development planning? If so, what is their representation and input?
6. What special programmes, if any, have been developed to meet the needs of rural women? Does the national budget set aside a specific amount for programmes to benefit rural women? If so, what are they?
7. Is there a national policy with regard to the provision of family planning services for women in rural areas? If so, what is it? To what extent are family planning programmes designed to reach both women and men?
8. How does the availability of health services, including family planning, in rural areas compare to that in urban areas? What obstacles hinder or prevent women from receiving family planning services and counselling in rural areas?
9. What measures and follow-up facilities are made available to ensure safe contraception for rural women?
10. How does the mortality rate of rural women compare to that of urban women? The maternal mortality rate? Life expectancy? Nutritional status? Percentage receiving pre-natal care? Family planning services?
11. What are the infant mortality rates in rural compared to urban areas?
12. Do rural women have access to social security programmes? Are any specifically directed to rural women? How do they qualify for coverage?

13. Are training and education available for rural women locally? If such training exists, are there statistics indicating how many rural women participate?
14. What percentage of rural girls and women are enrolled in primary, secondary and university level education? How do these percentages compare with urban enrolment?
15. What percentage of rural women ages 15–24 are illiterate? Ages 25–44? How do these percentages compare with corresponding percentages for urban women?
16. Do any self-help groups or co-operatives exist for women in rural areas? Does the state recognise the right of rural women to organise self-help groups and to participate in co-operatives and other economic or development programmes as individuals? If not, what obstacles hinder their establishment?
17. If such groups exist, do they organise to allow women to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self-employment? If not, what is their function?
18. Does the country have any marketing facilities? If so, do they pay attention to the needs of rural women? Can women use rural marketing facilities to sell their goods? What percentage of these facilities are used by women?
19. Are agricultural extension services designed to reach women directly? What percentage of agricultural credit and loans in rural areas are actually given to women?
20. Can women hold title to land? Does women's title to land derive from their husbands or fathers or brothers or uncles or nephews?
21. Has the country undertaken any land or agrarian reform? If so, how has this affected rural women's title to land?
22. What specific provisions exist to ensure adequate living conditions for rural women?
23. Are there special provisions relating to housing, sanitation electricity and water supply which take into account the needs of rural women?
24. Are there special provisions relating to transport and communications which take into account the needs of rural women?
25. When reform of sanitation, electricity, water supply, transport and communication is considered, are the special needs of rural women taken into account? Are rural women involved in the planning and decision-making process?
26. In what community activities do rural women participate? Are there any religious or cultural traditions that keep women from participating?

Article 15 – Equality Before the Law and in Civil Matters

1. States Parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law.
2. States Parties shall accord to women, in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. They shall in particular give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property and treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals.
3. States Parties agree that all contracts and all other private instruments of any kind with a legal effect which is directed at restricting the legal capacity of women shall be deemed null and void.
4. States Parties shall accord to men and women the same rights with regard to the law relating to the movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile.

Comment

Article 15 obligates States Parties to ensure women's legal autonomy by guaranteeing them equality with men before the law. Women are also to be guaranteed equal legal capacity with men in civil matters and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. Areas of legal capacity, including that relating to contracts, property and litigation, where women have been traditionally granted less status than men, are specifically highlighted. Accordingly, any law that limits the capacity of a woman to conclude contracts, limits her right to own and deal with property or restricts her capacity to represent her interests in courts or tribunals must be repealed or amended, and States Parties must take positive steps to eliminate any practices of this nature.

CEDAW's General Recommendation 21, concerning equality in marriage and family relations, explains the importance of the rights guaranteed to women in Article 15. Restrictions on women's contractual capacity, access to credit and capacity with respect to property seriously limit their ability to provide for themselves and their dependants. Restrictions relating to litigation, including lack of access to legal advice, lack of legal capacity or unequal testimonial and evidentiary status in the courtroom, deny women their rights to equality with men and, again, restrict their ability to provide for themselves and their dependants.

States Parties under Article 15 are not confined to amending legislation and taking positive steps to ensure that women have full equality in civil law, but extend to rendering null and void any private agreement that limits women's legal and civil capacity.

Article 15(4) requires equality in the law relating to movement of persons, choice of residence and domicile. As CEDAW made clear in

General Recommendation 21, any restrictions on a woman's right to choose a domicile on the same basis as a man may limit her access to the courts in the country in which she lives and prevent her from entering and leaving a country freely and in her own right and, hence, contravene Article 15. Further, any legislation entrenching the concept of the married woman's dependent domicile or the husband's right to choose the family residence will be considered discriminatory under this article, as would any custom or practice perpetuating these concepts.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Are women formally treated equally with men under the law with respect to their legal capacity to conclude contracts and administer property? Are there any laws that provide for this? If so, what do they say? If not, when will such laws be passed?
2. Do women have the right to make contracts, including those relating to credit, real estate and other property, as well as other commercial transactions, in their own name? Can women obtain health care, e.g. contraceptives, without their husband's permission?
3. Do women have the same rights as men to administer property? Can women be executors or administrators of estates?
4. Do women have the right to administer property without interference or consent by a male, regardless of whether they acquire it during marriage, bring it into marriage or are unmarried? If not, why not?
5. Has the country given effect to the obligations in Article 15(3), which requires that all contracts and other instruments aimed at restricting women's legal capacity be deemed null and void? Such contracts and instruments include marriage contracts that diminish women's legal capacity and commercial contracts in which women give up rights to negotiate on their own.
6. Are women treated equally in courts? Can women sue and be sued in their own name? Can women take their place in the legal system on an equal basis with men? Is the testimony of a woman equal in weight to the testimony of a man? Are women lawyers entitled to represent clients before courts and tribunals? Are women entitled to serve as jurors or on other citizen panels? Can they serve in the judiciary, in civil, customary and religious courts? Do they?
7. Do women have equal access to legal services? Can they get free legal help if they are unable to pay for it? If legal aid is available, is it provided equally to women and men? If so, do women know about it and take advantage of it? If not, why not?

8. Are women given similar damages awards as men in comparable circumstances? Are women and men sentenced similarly in comparable circumstances?
9. Has any research been carried out regarding judicial reasoning and judicial practices that have a differential impact on women and men?
10. Are there legal concepts, such as special defences, which apply to women and not men?
11. Are women and men accorded the same legal rights of freedom of movement and choice of residence? Do women have the right to choose the place where they live? Do traditions or customs restrict women from exercising this right?
12. Does marriage limit a woman's right to choose her residence?
13. Is a woman's domicile dependent on that of her father or her husband? Under what circumstances does she retain her domicile of origin?
14. Do migrant women who live and work temporarily in other countries have the same rights as men to have their spouses, partners and children join them?

Article 16 – Equality in Marriage and Family Law

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:
 - a) The same right to enter into marriage;
 - b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;
 - c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;
 - d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
 - e) The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights;
 - f) The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children or similar institutions where these concepts exist in national legislation; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;

- g) The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation;
 - h) The same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for valuable consideration.
2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.

Comment

Article 16 addresses discrimination against women in the private spheres of marriage and the family. It is perhaps in these spheres that women's unequal status with men is seen most sharply. Many States maintain discriminatory laws, while even in those in which legal equality in these spheres exist, the roles women play which are not shared by men are regarded as inferior. Women's unequal status in marriage and the family is frequently based on traditional customary and religious attitudes that confine women to particular roles. These attitudes are deeply entrenched and resistant to change. Indeed, many States Parties have entered reservations to Article 16, thereby declaring that they are unprepared to remove discrimination in this context.

The meaning of Article 16 and the scope of the obligations it creates have been explained in detail by CEDAW in its General Recommendation 21 – equality in marriage and family relations. Whatever form the family takes – and CEDAW acknowledges that the form and concept of the family can vary widely – the treatment of women in the family both in law and in practice must accord with the principles of equality and justice for all peoples set out in Article 2 of the Convention.

The scope of obligations imposed by Article 16, as explained by CEDAW, is comprehensive. States Parties are obligated to prohibit and take steps to discourage polygamy and ensure the women are entitled to choose when, if and whom they shall marry by, *inter alia*, discouraging forced marriages and remarriages. Child marriages and betrothals are to be the focus of specific action, with States obligated to deem such marriages and betrothals of no legal effect. A minimum age for marriage – which CEDAW suggests should be 18 for both women and men – should be legislated and enforced and States should make registration of marriage compulsory.

States must ensure that women have the same rights and responsibilities as men during marriage and at its dissolution, whether by divorce or death. Parents of children, whether born within or outside wedlock, are to be guaranteed equal status: women must thus

be accorded equal rights with men with respect to their children, through legal concepts such as guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption, and men must share equal responsibility, including care and financial support, in relation to children.

The equal status of women and men during marriage established by Article 16 encompasses equal reproductive choice and the right to have access to the means to exercise this choice. Coercive practices such as forced pregnancies, abortions and sterilisations are precluded by this article, while at the same time it obligates States to create a climate in which informed choice is available. Equal status in marriage also presupposes equal rights to choose a profession or employment, as well as the family name. Any law or custom that obligates a woman to change her name on marriage or at its dissolution denies her equal status in marriage and family life.

Equal status in marriage extends to equal access and capacity in property matters. As CEDAW explains in General Recommendation 21, equal access and capacity in these matters requires the removal of any discrimination in property division on divorce or death and the acknowledgement of the right of wives and *de facto* wives to half the marital property, irrespective of whether they contributed financially to its acquisition.

Domestic violence is not explicitly addressed in Article 16, but the obligations under this article and violence against women were explored by CEDAW in General Recommendation 19. CEDAW described family violence as one of the most insidious forms of violence against women and noted that it takes many forms, including battering, rape and mental violence. CEDAW recommended the introduction of specific protective laws to address family violence, the establishment of protective and support services for women and gender-sensitive training of judicial and law enforcement officers. In General Recommendation 21, CEDAW urged States Parties to comply with General Recommendation 19 so women in both public and family life will be free of gender-based violence.

Accountability and Implementation: Questions to Ask

1. Are family relations governed by civil law, religious laws, customary laws, or a combination of these? Please explain. Are women treated equally with men under these laws?
2. What types or forms of family exist under civil, religious and customary laws? Are they marriages, unions, partnerships or other kinds of cohabitation. Are they recognised by the State?
3. Do women have the same freedom to choose a spouse as men? Does the country ensure that all marriages are entered into with the free and full consent of the woman? In what ways?

4. Do men and women have the same rights and responsibilities during marriage? If not, how do these differ, both in law, in practice and in traditional legal systems?
5. Is polygamy (one man having more than one wife) permitted by law? If so, which law? Is it done in practice? What percentage of marriages are polygamous?
6. In polygamous marriages, what are the rights and responsibilities of husbands towards wives and wives towards husbands?
7. What are the rights and responsibilities of men and women who live together as husband and wife without legal marriage towards each other and towards their children?
8. Do women have the same rights as men to choose a profession and occupation? Are these rights affected by marriage? If so, are they aware of these rights? Do they exercise these rights?
9. Do women have the same rights as men to own, acquire, manage and dispose of property? If the husband is declared bankrupt, how are the rights of the wife affected?
10. Do married women have an equal voice with their husbands in the management and disposal of property acquired during marriage? Does disposal of property require the consent of the other spouse?
11. Is divorce available to men and women on the same grounds? Does divorce by 'renunciation' occur either in law or practice? Are divorces registered?
12. On dissolution of marriage, what are the rights of the wife with respect to property? Are these the same as the rights of the husband?
13. What are the legal obligations to pay maintenance to a divorced husband or wife? Do women have rights to maintenance on divorce? If so, are such rights enforced?
14. How is property divided after divorce? Is a woman's work in the home, or her unpaid agricultural labour, counted as a contribution towards the value of the property? Is this work reflected in the division of property on divorce?
15. What rights do those who live together as husband and wife without legal marriage have with respect to property during the relationship and on its breakdown? Do such partners have a right to maintenance during the relationship and on its breakdown?
16. What is the law and practice relating to the abuse of wives and *de facto* wives?
17. Do women have the right to decide freely the number and spacing of their children? Do they have access, without having to ask anyone's permission, to information and services for family planning? In practice, do family planning providers provide

- information and treatment to women without the knowledge or consent of their husbands?
18. Is there a national policy concerning family planning? If so, what is it? Does it encompass access to family planning information, education and services? Are there any specific legislative provisions that affect the provision of family planning information, education and services?
 19. Are there any factors which obstruct women's exercise of their rights to family planning, information and services? If so, what are they? Are any measures being taken to address these factors?
 20. Do women have the same rights as men, regardless of their marital status, to make decisions about the upbringing of their children?
 21. Do women have the right to retain their own name on marriage? If so, what percentage of women retain their own name on marriage? Describe the law relating to the selection of family name. If the law requires the selection of one family name, do women have equal rights with men to nominate their name as the family name? Can they add their name to the family name? If they can nominate their name as the family name or add their name to the family name, what is the percentage of women who do this? Do women have rights with respect to the choice of the family name of their children? If so, do they know them and exercise them?
 22. Do women have the same rights to custody of their children as men? Are those rights, if they exist, affected by the marital status of the woman?
 23. Who is the natural guardian of the child? Do women have the same rights as men in matters of guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children?
 24. On divorce or relationship breakdown who usually acquires custody of the children? After death of a husband? Do the practical results in custody matters differ from the law as written?
 25. Are fathers of children required to pay child support? Are child support orders enforced?
 26. Do single parents have the right to appropriate child support from the other parent? Is this right enforceable? How?
 27. What are the rights of surrogate mothers, including mothers of children born by virtue of artificial means?
 28. What is the age of majority? Is it set by legislation? Is it different for males and females?
 29. Do provisions exist which set a minimum age for marriage for males and females? How are they enforced? What is the minimum age of marriage? Is it the same for males and females? Are there exceptions to this minimum age? What are the grounds

- for such exceptions? What is the mean age at marriage for females? For males?
30. Is child marriage a matter of custom in particular areas or among particular groups? Is it legally recognised? If it exists, how does it affect women's choice in marriage?
 31. Is the betrothal of children prohibited? If the country has traditionally accepted child betrothals or marriages, has legislation been introduced to restrict this practice? If so, has such legislation affected traditional customs concerning the betrothal of children?
 32. Is there a legislative provision setting the minimum legal age of consent to sexual intercourse? Is the age different for men and women? Does sexual intercourse below this age result in criminal penalty? If there is a minimum legal age for sexual intercourse, does it correspond with the minimum age of marriage?
 33. Is the registration of marriages and divorces required by law? Are there procedures for the registration of marriage? If so, what are they and are they enforced?
 34. Is information disseminated about laws on minimum age of marriage, consent to marriage and registration of marriage?
 35. Is it customary or legal to pay a brideprice or dowry? If so, what effect does this have on marriage? In States Parties with dual or plural legal systems, what is the position of statutory law and its interpretation, and of customary or religious law, on brideprice or dowry? How does brideprice or dowry affect the equality of women? If laws have been introduced to regulate the practises of dowry or brideprice have they been enforced? What has been the effect of such laws?
 36. What are the rules regarding inheritance? Are they beneficial to women? If so, do women make use of them?
 37. Legally and in practice, what are the rights and obligations of widows? In what way, if any, do they differ from the rights and obligations of widowers? Are widows required to perform any rite of purification on the death of their husbands? If so, do widowers have to perform the same rites? What is the social status of widows? Is this status different from that of widowers?
 38. Do widows and daughters of a deceased man have a legal right to inherit land and other property if there is no will? If they have such a right, is it equal to that of widowers and sons? Can a widow or daughter receive property under a will? If so, is there any legal or customary constraint on a testator bequeathing the same share of property to widows and daughters as to widowers and sons?
 39. Is the levirate (widows having to marry the deceased husband's brother) practised by any group in the country?

40. What percentage of households are headed by a female? What percentage of poor households are headed by a female?

Reading 4: 'New perspectives on gender and development'

This reading consists of the abstracts for the issue of the IDS Bulletin on *Men, masculinities and development: Politics, policies and practice*, 31(2), April 2000, www.ids.ac.uk/bookshop/bulletin

From 'woman-blind' to 'man-kind': should men have more space in gender and development?

Sylvia Chant

This article considers a series of conceptual, practical and strategic reasons why gender and development policy and planning might benefit from incorporating men to a greater degree than has been the case thus far. The article is divided into three main sections. The first sketches in some of the background to the emergence of interest in 'men in GAD'. The second outlines some of the main problems associated with the exclusion of men from gender planning at institutional and grassroots levels. The third identifies how a more active and overt incorporation of men as gendered and engendering beings in gender policy and planning has the potential of expanding the scope of gender and development interventions, and of furthering struggles to achieve greater and more sustained equality between men and women.

Missing men? reflections on men, masculinities and gender in GAD

Andrea Cornwall

This article explores the implications of missing men for gender and development. Men, in all their diversity, are largely missing from representations of 'gender issues' and 'gender relations' in GAD. Mainstream development purveys its own set of stereotypical images of men, serving equally to miss the variety of men who occupy other, more marginal, positions in households and communities. Men remain residual and are often missing from institutionalised efforts to tackle gender inequity. Portrayed and engaged with only in relation to women, men are presumed to be powerful and are represented as problematic obstacles to equitable development. Men's experiences of powerlessness remain outside the frame of GAD, so threatening is the idea of marginal man. Amidst widespread agreement that changing men, as well as women, is crucial if GAD is to make a difference, new strategies are needed. This article suggests that rather than simply 'bringing men in', the issues raised by reflecting on men, masculinities and gender in GAD require a more radical questioning of the analytical categories used in GAD, and a revised politics of engagement.

The spectacle of men fighting

Alan Greig

The meaning of male violence should be a central concern of gender and development (GAD) discourse and practice. Explanations of the nature, and limits, of men's responsibility for such violence increasingly centre on their socialisation into a masculine identity. By counter-posing the 'individual' and the 'social', attention becomes fixed on identity as the surface that connects these two realities on which is inscribed the masculinity of men. The task of responding to the spectacle of men fighting then appears to be one of re-inscribing a new non-violent masculine identity. This paper argues that GAD practitioners should be wary of this kind of politics of identity. Focusing on identification as relation, rather than identity as boundary, clarifies the violent politics of difference at the heart of masculinity. Addressing violence means approaching a new politics of difference. This is a politics of alliance and coalition, a transgressing of sectoral and institutional boundaries in recognition of the common bases of oppression and their plural manifestations in women's and men's lives. GAD can address the politics of identification(s) by approaching questions of responsibility for and complicity in male violence as personal-communal issues. Depending on what they choose to fight for, the spectacle of men fighting can be a sight, and site, of real political potency.

'Did the earth move?' The hazards of bringing men and masculinities into gender and development

Sarah C. White

This article offers a critical review of the new 'masculinities' literature in the light of the continuing dominance of patriarchal relations in society and development institutions. It argues that this necessarily challenges accepted understandings of sex/gender in GAD, representing both risk and opportunity. 'Masculinity' is at present a highly ambiguous, multi-purpose term, which needs to be more sharply defined if it is to be of analytical use, particularly in cross-cultural contexts. The identification of the study of masculinity with the study of men needs to be broken. Bringing men in must not mean replacing a focus on women with a focus on men, but a genuinely integrated and relational approach. This should include locating gender within broader dimensions of power and social difference, and recognising its symbolic as well as material aspects.

Which men, why now? Reflections on men and development

Ruth Pearson

This article interrogates the impulses behind the current interest in men and masculinities within a gender and development framework. It argues that the women and development agenda, which was propelled onto the development cooperation stage in the 1970s, was inspired by Second Wave feminism and the anti-imperialist and civil rights movements of that era. However, the men and masculinities agenda does not have a parallel political origin or passion. Whilst feminists and gender analysis are committed to extending the gender agenda to men as well as women, and take a range of positions from male exclusion to male co-option, there is a striking silence from main (male)-stream development experts.

Those men who are involved are largely from outside the development cooperation field, but include many who are involved with challenging both politically and academically dominant theories and positionalities of men and masculinities in developing countries and in development institutions and international social science. But the involvement of men from Scandinavian mainstream development agencies also suggests that it is the position of men in particular societies and their relationship with the state and the labour markets, as much as the policy and political relevance of men and masculinities in development practice, which is the key to extending this agenda.

Changing women and avoiding men: gender stereotypes and reproductive health programmes

Margaret E. Greene

Health care researchers have documented that in many settings male social prerogatives powerfully condition women's relationship to health care systems. Particularly in the area of reproductive health care, the decision-making privileges enjoyed by men fundamentally affect women's health status. Yet population policy and reproductive health programming has been slow to respond to this insight. Unrecognised or unacknowledged assumptions about women's 'natural' responsibility for child-bearing and child-rearing, coupled with an acceptance of the rights of men to make family health care decisions have impeded policy responses to these research findings. By accepting these static characterisations of men rather than assuming that gender relations are dynamic and that men are as capable of change as women, research and programmes have often implicitly accepted men's power and women's subordination. Effective reproductive health care programming needs to recruit men's support and participation in creative ways.

Analysing gender roles in community natural resource management: negotiation, lifecourses and social inclusion

Frances Cleaver

This article considers the absence of convincing analyses of gender roles in thinking about community-based natural resource management. It suggests that policies and approaches are inadequately gendered and particularly omit to recognise the relational nature of gender. Such approaches are further criticised for promoting women's development to the neglect of men, for perpetuating normative generalisations about men and women and for an excessive focus on public manifestations of gendered participation and decision making. This results in policies which overlook the changing and negotiated nature of gender roles, the intersection of productive and reproductive concerns in gendered decision making and the costs to women and men of inclusion in and exclusion from public life. This article draws on examples of gendered decision-making and negotiation over the management of land, livestock and water in Zimbabwe. It argues for a more sophisticated conceptualisation of the roles of men and women which takes account of their capacities as individual agents as well as the different structural constraints operating on them. The article suggests areas where further analysis is urgently required.

Making sense of male experience: the case of academic underachievement in the English-speaking Caribbean

Mark Figueroa

During the twentieth century, gender achievement in education has undergone a major transformation in the English-speaking Caribbean. Males are now the underachievers on global indicators, especially at the higher levels of the system. Yet males still overachieve in many fields where they have traditionally dominated. Although females' achievement in formerly male-dominated areas gets a lot of attention, the failure of males to make any headway in fields traditionally dominated by females has been ignored. The current situation is best understood as differential gender achievement connected to an underlying historic male privileging rather than male underachievement due to some form of male marginalisation. This proposition is explored drawing on a wide range of Caribbean research. A dynamic analysis is presented on how socio-economic change has impacted on academic achievement through factors operating at the level of the household and community, in school and at the workplace. Implications for policy are also discussed indicating the different approach adopted by the competing perspectives on gender and educational achievement.

Alternative masculinities in South Asia: an exploration through films for schools

Ranjan Poudyal

Masculinity and its impact on gender relations and the institutionalisation of power exercised by men have been critically commented upon by activists and academics working on issues related to gender relations. The failure of the early 'developmentalist' approach to population control programmes, the increase in violence against women, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic has pushed to the fore, amongst other issues, the question of male sexuality and male culture. The Save the Children (UK) South and Central Asia Regional Office and UNICEF Regional office for South Asia is proposing to make a series of films on masculinities, which deconstructs and reconstructs patriarchy within South Asia. The film-making project involves the production of films on masculinities by male film makers from India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan, within their own countries. This film-making project, is intended to increase and extend the impact of SCF's and UNICEF's country programmes in tackling the problems of increasing violence against girls. The intent is to try and explore the broad patterns of masculinities without ignoring the particularities of each category of men (in terms of class, caste, sexual preference, etc). The way men negotiate between duties and dreams, dominance and love, anxiety and pleasure, power and insecurity are the kernels around which the stories are to be constructed.

Why men? A pilot study of existing attitudes among Sida's staff towards male participation in the promotion of gender equality in development

Author Ulf Färnsveden and Anders Rönquist

There is today a call for a broader view on gender relations and there are also some signs that men are becoming increasingly involved in the promotion of gender equality. An important principle of Sida's policy for working to promote equality between women and men is the need for a gender approach, ie. a focus on both women and men and the relationships between them rather than an exclusive focus on women. To what extent is this stated objective reflected in the attitudes and practices of Sida employees towards male participation in gender work? Although we believe that the threats and risks with having more men in GAD have to be taken into serious consideration, our findings suggest support among colleagues for our own belief that male participation is indeed positive for the strengthening of equal rights and opportunities. There seems to be a general belief that gender equality concerns everyone, men as well as women. Our respondents have stated that men must be participating actively if real changes in gender relations are to be brought about. Finally, it was our impression from our talks with Sida's employees

that Sida's staff felt that the organisation's work with promoting gender equality would be further reinforced by active male participation.

Addressing men and masculinities in GAD

Caren Levy, Nadia Taher and Claudy Vouhé

The GAD approach in both concept and practice has been inconsistent in its treatment of men and masculinities. In their work on mainstreaming gender in policy and planning, the authors have tried to confront these inconsistencies in a number of ways. This article reviews the way men and masculinities have been addressed in GAD, drawing primarily on the Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London's academic, training and advisory work in this field. This article is structured around four main areas. The first places the DPU's approach in the wider WID/GAD debates of the 1990s, and discusses the rationale for incorporating men and masculinities into a transformative view of GAD. The next section discusses the ways in which men and masculinities have been incorporated into the concepts and tools which make up the DPU's gender mainstreaming methodology. Taking the example of training, the third section focuses on men and masculinities through the experience of working with women and men as trainees and trainers. In conclusion, the authors summarise their view of the dangers and positive reasons for the incorporation of men and masculinities into gender mainstreaming methodologies.

Reading 5: 'Winds of change?'

By Malcolm Doney, Developments - The International Development Magazine,
Issue 32, April 2006

There is a 'new breeze' of reform blowing through Nigeria as women and young people work to rid the country of its reputation for misrule and corruption.

In the flyblown, dirt-floored bar of a brothel on the outskirts of Abuja, Nigeria's capital, a young sex worker stands holding a sign against her vest. Ada is all defiance, a stance reflected by the directness of the sign itself, which reads, 'no condom, no sex'.

She is one of three sex workers in the brothel who have been selected by her fellows to educate them about sexual health. As part of a programme called 'Make We Talk' (a dialect phrase) developed by Nigerian NGO the Society for Family Health (SFH), Ada is one of a number of 'peer facilitators', trained to spread the message of sexual and reproductive health and HIV/AIDS reduction among high risk groups.

With the support of the brothel owner, the women here have agreed a 'no compromise' line. Men will bring them gifts, try to get them drunk or offer them drugs to get them to have unprotected sex, but, says Ada, *'We tell them, I'm not your girlfriend, I'm not your wife. You can't do just as you please'*.

There is something emblematic both about Ada's stand and her willingness to talk about it. It reflects a dissatisfaction with the status quo, a restlessness for change and a desire for public debate that is abroad in Nigeria, not least among women and young people.

They are not alone. The world's eyes are on Nigeria. It is Africa's most populous country with over 130 million people. One in five Africans is Nigerian. It is the continent's second largest economy, yet with 75 million people living in poverty, only India and China have more poor people. It is one of the most ethnically diverse and complex countries in the continent with 350 distinct languages, and that's languages, not dialects. Its civilisations stretch back to the first millennium. Divided into 36 states, each fiercely independent, the country has its own north-south divide with the North primarily Moslem and the South Christian. And then there's the country's international reputation. After more than 40 years of military rule, Nigeria is a byword for corruption, regularly listed by watchdog Transparency International as among the world's worst offenders. The notorious 'advance fee' email scams have further tarnished its global image.

'The Nigerian government has the huge task of holding together a vast country of diverse and complex communities,' says Finance Minister Mrs Ngozi Okonjo one of the country's fiercest drivers of change. *'The challenges facing the government are like challenges facing the European*

Union or the US. Most crucial of these is to make significant progress towards eradicating poverty.

President Olusegun Obasanjo, the country's first internationally recognized elected head, enjoys a reputation as someone who is leading the country in the right direction. He, with the support of Mrs Okonjo, has been instrumental in bringing about some of the best recent news for Nigeria – the Paris Club of creditor nations wiping out \$18 billion (60 per cent) off the country's international debt in 2006, the government has pledged to spend at least \$750 million on alleviating poverty – money that would previously have serviced the debt. This would recruit 120,000 teachers and put 3.5 million children in school.

So the question everyone is asking is, '*Can Nigeria deliver?*' The answer from the Nigerian government and particularly from its caucus of powerful, no-nonsense women is a confident, '*Yes*'. There is clearly a reforming spirit in the country, what Ngozi Okonjo calls 'a new breeze'.

Powerful evidence for this can be seen in the number of women in positions of influence. Mrs Okonjo is herself a force of nature, educated at Harvard, MIT and a former Vice President of the World Bank, under whose guidance Nigeria's economy grew last year by 6 per cent and inflation dropped. A vigorous campaigner against corruption, she says, '*We own up to the fact that we have had decades of misrule in Nigeria,*' and adds, '*We must fight this corruption head on*'. She believes women can play a distinctive part in this: '*This has been recognised in Nigeria where many women are being put at the head of very important agencies at the forefront of this fight.*' One such woman is the formidable Dora Akunyili, head of the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), and scourge of Nigeria's drug counterfeiters. Fake pharmaceutical drugs have flooded the Nigerian market, since criminals found the trade to be more profitable and lower risk than running guns or cocaine.

A survey conducted by the World Health Organization found that more than half the drugs on sale, to hospitals as well as to the public, were counterfeit or substandard. On Professor Akunyili's watch (she was awarded the International Service Human Rights Award in December 2005) the volume of fake pharmaceuticals has been cut by half. She has nearly paid for this with her life, with at least one assassination attempt.

She lost her younger sister to a combination of fake insulin and antibiotics. She uses teams of women to combat drug counterfeiters because she believes 'women are less easily compromised'.

'*Men find it hard to resist money,*' she says. '*It's less easy to bribe women.*' In which case, it is just as well that there are now more than two dozen women in key government positions. And women are civil society organisers, according to Nkoyo Toyo, the executive director of the Lagos-based Gender and Development Action (GADA).

“There’s absolutely nothing you can think of that women will not organise around. If you said for example “Women Traders” there is an association, “Women in Fishing”. You’ll find them, they are organised. “Women Farmers”, “Women in the Church”, “Women in Islam” ... there is nothing they won’t organise.”

This is where the energy lies, she maintains. Energy that sees women carrying goods from Lagos across the whole of the West African coast, a lot of energy, doing informal trade and business and moving goods from all over.

“If you look at trucks you’ll find women hanging on those trucks carrying their goods from one end of Nigeria to the other.”

Ngozi Okonjo concurs, pointing out that not only are women *‘the backbone of the rural economy, accounting for 70 per cent of food production,’* they are also *‘the brains and bodies behind many successful micro, mini and medium enterprises from food processing and marketing to small scale manufacturing. And even to sophisticated financial services.’*

Nigeria may be fortunate in its present generation of female leaders, but where will the next generation, of whatever gender, come from? Ndidi Okonoko Nwuneli, founded LEAP Africa (Leadership Accountability Effectiveness Professionalism) to ‘inspire, empower and equip a new cadre of African leaders’. LEAP does this by identifying potential young leaders involved in youth work, business and social service – and putting them together in groups. Here, as part of a training programme, they stir one another up to develop a commitment to integrity, transparency and service. Mrs Okonko Nwuneli says this last value is vital in a country where status and greed have characterised leadership in the past.

‘Many people think leadership is a position, but it is an act of serving.’ She wants the graduates of LEAP to show qualities of *‘moral courage’*, which she defines as being willing *‘to take a stand on an issue in spite of the consequences’*.

This was certainly evident at one round table discussion with a number of LEAP’s young turks. The ‘new breeze’ the Finance Minister talks about can be felt here too, closer to the ground and in the next generation. Confident, vocal and hungry for reform, they are impatient with the tradition of respect for eldership and power which they feel has made Nigerians too docile, allowing them to be dictated to by tyrants.

‘African leaders never used to release power because they thought they were kings,’ says Dayo, 23, a campaigner for youth employment. *‘Kings don’t leave, they die on the throne. But in a democracy we know that a family doesn’t have to rule the whole country forever. Now, we need other ideas from other cultures; there has to be friction, debate, asking questions, respectful disagreement.’*

This internet generation is hungry for information and hungry for change. It can see how others view Nigeria and want none of it. *'We've gone out, travelled, seen things. What we've seen elsewhere is not happening around here. People who have this information believe they can create new things. This generation has the capability to change and to challenge.'*

Alexander, a youth worker, recounts a story typical of Nigerian life, when his taxi driver stopped at a police checkpoint, and handed over a 20 nira note.

'I couldn't bear it,' says Alexander. 'I asked the policeman to return the money and for the driver to produce his papers, which he did. He had no need to bribe the policeman because his particulars were in order. The policeman didn't even ask for the papers and the driver never thought to produce them. It's quicker to pay.'

'This is a risky strategy,' says Despan, a young government information officer. 'There is always a price for what you do, and if you are cultivating integrity you have to pay the price first. The price is usually rejection and cynicism, and people call you names because of what you believe in. But it is worth persisting', he says, because, 'if you are able to withstand this you get honoured at the end, by these same people.'

Despan continues, *'You have to effect the change where you are. It doesn't have to be a big change. It could just be that this year I'm not going to throw out trash in the street. And if I see anybody do it I will pick it up after him. I won't say anything I'll just do it.'* *'But the moment you start it,' adds Alexander, 'you'll see more people embracing it.'*

Health Reform Foundation of Nigeria (HERFON) developed by a group of reform minded Nigerians, is another organization which believes sustainable change must be Nigerian-led. Recognising that would-be reformers need support and experience, they have founded Change Agents, now DFID-funded, which sponsors study tours abroad (usually to other African countries), giving Nigerians the know-how to act as catalysts for health sector reform.

Dr Ben Anyene, one of the 90 people to have been on a tour and now on HERFON's executive, says the programme has already made a difference.

"Change agents were behind the drafting of Nigeria's National Health Policy. They also developed the blueprint for the country's Primary Health Care policy and are currently involved in a review of the National Health Insurance System. They are silent drivers within the system, building capacity and showing change is possible."

He is optimistic about the future. *'There's an expression in my language that says: "Things cannot continue being bad". The world must one day get better. But with energy, passion and enthusiasm things will change a lot faster.'*

But if relatively well-educated young people believe that they can effect change, what is happening in less advantaged communities? For them, communication and education seem to be key. The 'Make We Talk' programme of SFH is encouraging people to talk about personal, intimate issues they would never raise before. It does much of this simply by providing forums where people can gather and talk. And its success appears to piggyback on a new openness to conversation in Nigeria.

'People have always talked and argued in Nigeria,' says SFH staffer John Ocholi 'They love to talk, but they've been inhibited in the past.'

His colleague Asabe Sambo agrees, *'They held back, they felt stifled, but the atmosphere is different now.'* *'Now people want to talk,' adds John, 'They actively look for opportunities to express themselves. They want to be heard.'*

And dialogue and openness at grass roots level bring change. A union boss at a busy roadside transport hub had given the Make We Talk programme his blessing on his site and observed the change it brought. *'There's more co-operation now,' he said. 'This helps provide a forum for other problems and grievances. When you work together and talk together you can find solutions.'*

'Posters can only tell you so much,' says Mary, another of the sex workers. 'It only really stops being theory and makes sense when someone tells you face to face. Knowing what we know now makes us feel better.'

Nigeria is talking fit to bust. It's infectious, but it's a benign virus according to Abdul, a young investigative reporter. *'We are restless for change. But not violent change, we want real tangible change that will spread from one person to another. I want people to see Nigeria as someone who is down on his luck and suffering from bad PR but who deep within is a person of good heart who should be given a chance.'*