

Data and indicators for monitoring progress

The previous chapters have discussed the seven strategic priorities that need to be addressed to accelerate progress toward Millennium Development Goal 3. This chapter suggests indicators to use in monitoring progress on these strategic priorities at country and international levels. These indicators are intended to supplement, or in some cases to substitute for, the indicators chosen by the UN expert group to assess progress during 1990–2015, the period when the Millennium Development Targets are expected to be met.¹

The task force has not recommended adoption of new international or country-level targets for the seven strategic priorities. However, countries may wish to set their own quantifiable, time-bound targets for establishing national or subnational progress on each of the seven strategic priorities. Examples of such targets to be achieved by 2015 are universal access to sexual and reproductive health services through the primary healthcare system, ensuring the same rate of progress or faster among the poor and other marginalized groups (strategic priority 2) and a 30 percent share of seats for women in national parliaments (strategic priority 6).

For the indicators discussed below to become operational, national governments and the international system need to improve the quality and frequency with which sex-disaggregated data are collected. Considerable improvements have been made in gender statistics over the last decade. Data users know much more today about differences in women's and men's situations. Furthermore, users of data are asking more questions and demanding high-quality statistics. Yet, cross-country data are still lacking on many topics that are important for assessing inequalities between women and men within and across countries. The conclusion to this chapter suggests key areas for improving current data gathering efforts.

The task force suggests 12 indicators for monitoring progress toward Goal 3

Indicators for the seven strategic priorities

The Millennium Development Goals include four indicators for tracking progress toward Goal 3:

- Ratio of girls to boys enrolled in primary, secondary, and tertiary education.
- Ratio of literate females to males among 15- to 24-year-olds.
- Share of women in wage employment in the nonagricultural sector.
- Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments.

These indicators are inadequate for tracking all seven strategic priorities for Goal 3. They also suffer from several technical shortcomings.² The ratio of girls to boys in school does not provide information on what proportion of boys or girls of school age are enrolled, or any insights into student learning outcomes. Literacy is not a simple concept with a single universally accepted meaning, and different countries measure it differently. Additionally, the quality of the literacy data is suspect. The female share of paid, nonagricultural employment measures only the share of women relative to that of men in this category of work but not the differential barriers to entry into paid employment or the terms of work itself, such as workplace conditions, benefits or job security, and earnings. It also ignores the agricultural sector, which employs a high proportion of poor women. Finally, the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments does not measure women's decisionmaking power within these bodies, and it ignores women's participation at the local and regional level altogether.

To address these limitations, the task force suggests 12 indicators for countries and international organizations to use in monitoring progress toward Goal 3 (box 10.1). In choosing these indicators, the task force considered several criteria—simplicity, reliability, comparability, sustainability, timeliness, policy relevance, and affordability (Braveman 1998).

None of the proposed indicators measures the quality of equality, the process that brings it about, or the nature of the outcomes. Achieving numerical balance (parity) is clearly important in a world where even this goal has yet to be attained. However necessary, by itself parity is not a sufficient condition for achieving the greater goal of gender equality. Unless indicators are also developed for measuring the quality of change, too much weight may be placed on mere parity of outcomes as opposed to the quality of these outcomes and how they are achieved.³

Strategic priority 1: strengthen opportunities for postprimary education for girls

Because of limitations with the two indicators for measuring progress toward gender equality in education, the task force recommends two changes. First, the enrollment indicator should be changed from the ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary, or tertiary education to the ratio of either gross or net

Box 10.1
Proposed
indicators for
tracking progress
toward strategic
priorities for
Goal 3

Education

- The ratio of female to male gross enrollment rates in primary, secondary, and tertiary education.
- The ratio of female to male completion rates in primary, secondary, and tertiary education.

Sexual and reproductive health and rights

- Proportion of contraceptive demand satisfied.
- Adolescent fertility rate.

Infrastructure

- Hours per day (or year) women and men spend fetching water and collecting fuel.

Property rights

- Land ownership by male, female, or jointly held.
- Housing title, disaggregated by male, female, or jointly held.

Employment

- Share of women in employment, both wage and self-employment, by type.
- Gender gaps in earnings in wage and self-employment.

Participation in national parliaments and local government bodies

- Percentage of seats held by women in national parliament.
- Percentage of seats held by women in local government bodies.

Violence against women

- Prevalence of domestic violence.

female enrollment rates to gross or net male enrollment rates in primary, secondary, and tertiary education.⁴ Sex-specific enrollment rates give the number of girls and boys enrolled in a given level of education relative to the population of the age group that should be enrolled at that level. This ratio of the sex-specific enrollment rates permits tracking whether shrinking gender gaps are being achieved through increases in girls' enrollment rates or through decreases in boys' enrollment rates.

The second recommended change is to replace the literacy ratio with the ratio of girls' to boys' completion rates at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. The completion rate captures the total number of students successfully completing, or graduating from, the last year of a given education cycle in a given year, expressed as a proportion of the total number of children of graduation age in the population (UNESCO 2004). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Bank's Human Development Network have data on sex-disaggregated completion rates in primary school.⁵ However, secondary completion rates are not being tracked or reported regularly by countries, so there are no comprehensive cross-country data for this indicator. The data that are available for secondary completion rates come primarily from developed countries and a few middle-income developing countries.⁶ The task force recommends the collection of data on secondary school completion in developing countries, using UNESCO's International Standard Classification of Education 1997 (ISCED-97) for education cycles.

The task force recommends two additional sexual and reproductive health and rights indicators

The task force does not recommend the use of literacy data until the quality of the data can be improved. The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) has already developed an alternative literacy assessment method, the Literacy Assessment and Monitoring Programme (LAMP), which uses assessments of individuals' skills to measure literacy across a range of levels. LAMP is now being piloted in several countries. The task force recommends that additional resources be made available to UIS to consolidate improvements in the LAMP survey and implement it in 50 more countries by 2010 and in all developing countries by 2015.

Strategic priority 2: guarantee sexual and reproductive health and rights

Several indicators for Goals 5 and 6 measure aspects of women's reproductive health: the maternal mortality ratio, the proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel, HIV prevalence among 15- to 24-year-old pregnant women, and the contraceptive prevalence rate. These are useful indicators, but they do not assess women's and adolescents' ability to act on their reproductive preferences. The task force therefore recommends two additional sexual and reproductive health and rights indicators. One, the proportion of contraceptive demand satisfied, captures the central connection between women's control over their reproductive preferences and their decisionmaking ability.

The proportion of contraceptive demand satisfied is the contraceptive prevalence rate as a proportion of the sum of the contraceptive prevalence rate and the unmet need for family planning (Bernstein 2004).⁷ It thus measures the proportion of all women of reproductive age whose demand for contraception is actually satisfied (which the more common unmet need measures does not). The United Nations Population Division (UNPD) and ORC-Macro's Demographic and Health Surveys include the data needed to compute this indicator for 75 developing countries and for two time periods, 1990–95 and 1996–2002. The usefulness of this indicator has been established by Bernstein (2004). However, further work is needed to synchronize UNPD and ORC-Macro surveys to produce data for a larger sample of countries and to popularize the use of this indicator. The task force recommends supporting such an effort.

The second indicator, the adolescent fertility rate, gives insight into the reproductive behavior of an important target population for meeting the sexual and reproductive health and rights strategic priority. Childbearing among girls ages 15–19 is of special concern because births to teenagers are more likely to be unintended and premature and are associated with greater risks of complications during delivery and higher levels of maternal and child mortality. This indicator refers to births per 1,000 women ages 15–19.⁸ Most countries now report fertility statistics by age. In 2000 the UN Database had adolescent fertility statistics for 107 countries.⁹ This enables regular monitoring of this indicator for a large number of countries.

The task force recommends expanding the collection of time-use data

Strategic priority 3: invest in infrastructure to reduce women's and girls' time burdens

Chapter 5 recommends investments in infrastructure to reduce women's and girls' time burdens. The indicator proposed by the task force to measure women's and girls' time burdens as a result of the lack of infrastructure is hours per day (or year) women (girls) and men (boys) spend fetching water and collecting fuel. Unlike the other indicators recommended in this chapter, this indicator is intended only for country-level monitoring, not as a global indicator because of the geographic specificity of infrastructure deficits.

There is not enough systematic collection of time-use data within countries to permit the development of an indicator to track progress across countries. To do tracking, new questions on time use would have to be incorporated into regularly repeated household surveys or small area surveys. Several countries and institutions such as the World Bank sponsor national or subnational surveys that include time-use modules to capture the division of labor within households. For instance, the World Bank's Living Standards Measurement Study surveys include time-use and infrastructure questions in selected country surveys. The task force recommends expanding the collection of time-use data, with periodic updates, in a representative sample of developing countries where infrastructure deficits are large.

Strategic priority 4: guarantee women's and girls' property and inheritance rights

As noted in chapter 6, sex-disaggregated data on the distribution of land and housing ownership are patchy. Very few agricultural censuses ask for the legal landowner in the household or keep records on ownership of land by sex. In Africa and Asia most of the information on the distribution of land ownership by sex comes from scattered household surveys. Some of the Living Standards Measurement Study surveys have included questions on land ownership, but the frequency is low and the questions have been included in surveys for only a few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. National agricultural surveys in some Latin American countries also collect information that can be used to calculate the distribution of landowners by sex (Deere and Leon 2003). The task force recommends that a lead agency from among the UN statistical agencies be designated to develop and lead a global effort to standardize data collection and indicator development on this issue.

Data on housing titles are also scarce. UN-HABITAT has a Global Campaign for Secure Tenure, which emphasizes the importance of women's rights to tenure security. It recommends collecting data on the percentage of female- and male-headed households in different tenure categories (owned, rental, communal property, government-owned). Within countries a coordinated effort is needed to gather such data from government and private agencies that register sales and

The task force recommends two additional indicators reflecting women's status in employment

transfers of land and housing. The task force recommends that UN-HABITAT be given the resources and authority to lead such an effort.

Strategic priority 5: eliminate gender inequality in employment

In place of the female share of paid nonagricultural employment, the task force recommends two additional indicators reflecting women's status in employment: the share of women in wage employment and self-employment by type (which subsumes the current indicator), and gender gaps in earnings in wage employment and self-employment.

The share of women in wage employment and self-employment by type combines several indicators into a composite indicator. It shows women employed in different types of employment (agricultural employment, nonagricultural formal and informal wage employment, and nonagricultural formal and informal self-employment) as a percentage of total female employment (appendix 5).

Some of the data required for this indicator are available in International Labour Organization (ILO) databases, and the remainder can be obtained as part of regular ILO data collection exercises. In addition, some special data collection will be necessary to consolidate data that are currently available at the national level but not at the international level. These data collection and consolidation activities will require additional resources. For instance, the ILO has laid the groundwork for a comprehensive program to develop sex-disaggregated data on informal employment. It has assisted a number of countries, including India, Mexico, and South Africa, in collecting these data and has developed guidelines for defining informal employment, compiling available data, and developing methodological materials. The International Conference of Labour Statisticians has endorsed these guidelines (Chen, Sebstad, and O'Connell 1999). International donors should now support the ILO Bureau of Statistics in working with a critical mass of countries to implement these guidelines.

The development of data for the second indicator on sex differentials in earnings from employment is at an earlier stage.¹⁰ Work is required to develop and test questions in countries and prepare methodological guidelines before any large-scale data collection effort can be undertaken. The task force recommends that donors support the ILO in working with countries to collect and standardize statistics on sex differences in earnings from employment.

Strategic priority 6: increase women's representation in political bodies

The United Nations recommends tracking women's share of seats in national parliaments. Data for this indicator are collected for 182 countries by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Recently, United Cities and Local Governments, an organization supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, has begun to collect data on the proportions of female local elected representatives, councilors, and mayors in 54 countries. They plan to construct a global data-

Improving countries' capacity to enhance the coverage, quality, and frequency of collection of sex-disaggregated data remains a priority

base on women in local government. As this data collection effort is scaled up, the task force recommends that countries and the international system use the information to complement the data on women's parliamentary representation.

Strategic priority 7: combat violence against women

The task force recommends that the prevalence of domestic violence be used to track progress toward ending violence against women. The prevalence rate is expressed as a percentage of women ages 15–49 who report experiencing physical violence in the past year at the hands of an intimate partner.

Several international agencies have undertaken substantial work to collect data for this indicator. The Demographic and Health Survey now includes a module on intimate partner violence that has been used in 12 nationally representative household surveys. The WHO has worked with partners in eight countries to collect data on the dimensions, health consequences, and the risk and protective factors of violence against women.¹¹ It is currently collaborating with the Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean, the European Women's Lobby, and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control to strengthen data collection on this issue. The task force recommends providing additional resources to the WHO to consolidate the methodological lessons from these efforts.

Recommendations for data gathering and strengthening statistical systems

Data are a critical tool for accountability. A lack of sex-disaggregated data impedes efforts to address the seven strategic priorities and to monitor progress in implementing them. Work to prepare new indicators on gender equality and women's empowerment is well under way. Such efforts are supported by key recommendations of international conferences on women, as well as by other international mandates of the past two decades. Improving countries' capacity to enhance the coverage, quality, and frequency of collection of sex-disaggregated data remains a priority, however.

The development of new statistical series requires a lengthy process of discussion between producers and users of statistics, pilot work and testing, and review of this experience. Country statistical agencies need an infusion of resources to strengthen their capacity and efforts to do all that is necessary to collect and prepare sex-disaggregated data. Work at the country level also requires technical support from key international statistical agencies to develop methodological guidelines and undertake new data collection efforts. Substantial funding is required to coordinate these activities within the appropriate international and regional organizations.

The world conferences on women—all of which recognized the importance of improving statistics on women—provided new momentum for gathering statistics on women, resulting in the highly regarded outputs, the Women's Indicators and Statistics Database (WISTAT) series, and *Trends in the World's*

Women, based on WISTAT. The task force recommends the continuation of WISTAT and *Trends in the World's Women*, which should continue to be published quinquennially.

From the early 1980s the UN Statistics Division included the post of focal point on statistics on women. Having a focal point in the UN statistical system to bring together the various gender indicators at the international level continues to be important, especially given the need to coordinate the development of statistics on gender that relate to each of the Millennium Development Goals, as well as to assist countries with the production of national reports.

The financial costs of interventions to achieve gender equality

Because gender inequality is multidimensional and multisectoral, the financial costs of efforts to reduce it are difficult to calculate. Apart from a recent effort piloted by the UN Millennium Project, there have been few comprehensive attempts nationally or globally to estimate these costs. In the late 1990s many governments developed plans to implement the recommendations of the Beijing Program for Action, but few were backed by adequate resources. Yet knowing the resource requirements for implementing gender plans of action is critical. Recognizing this as a serious problem, women's organizations around the world called for tools and methodologies that can be used in discussions with governments and other agencies to identify the financing requirements for interventions to reduce gender bias and empower women.

This chapter reviews the evidence from previous attempts to estimate the cost of attaining gender equality in education and of interventions to achieve good reproductive health. It then describes the methodology developed by the UN Millennium Project to estimate the costs of gender-related interventions to achieve the strategic priorities described in this report and gender-related interventions within each of the other Millennium Development Goals.

Financing interventions to achieve gender equality in education and to provide reproductive health services

Several studies have estimated the financing requirements to achieve gender equality in education and health. The World Bank (2001a), for instance, estimates that achieving gender equality in primary education through universal enrollment would require an increase of slightly more than 3 percent a year in public spending on primary education in South Asia and the Middle East and North Africa, but as much as 30 percent a year in Sub-Saharan Africa.¹ The costs to achieve universal primary enrollment for girls only would be 2 percent

**Implementing
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in South Asia and the Middle East and North Africa and 20 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa. The World Bank report notes that ensuring equity in secondary education would add to these costs, but the total would still be affordable for the majority of countries that are currently off-track for achieving that target.

From a review of estimates of the financing necessary to achieve universal access to sexual and reproductive health services, the Alan Guttmacher Institute (AGI) and United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) developed a new methodology for estimating the costs of providing family planning services. They estimated these costs at \$11 billion a year (in 2003 dollars)—\$7.1 billion to provide modern contraceptive services to current users and \$3.9 billion to address unmet need. These estimates are higher than some others because they include labor, overhead and capital, as well as contraceptive supplies (AGI/UNFPA 2004).

The UN Millennium Project needs assessment

Implementing the strategic priorities outlined in this report will require substantial investments at national and subnational levels. Many countries have found that, although gender-responsive legislation and policies are an important first step, implementing these policies requires significant financial, infrastructure, and human resources. National planning exercises rarely estimate these resource needs.

Such estimates are important for several reasons:

- Translating the Millennium Development Goal on gender equality and women's empowerment into operational targets for planning and programming. Millennium Development Goal needs assessments provide a framework for deriving operational targets and linking them to intermediate objectives. By including a detailed needs assessment, governments commit themselves to specific targets and outcomes, which are relatively easy to track.
- Strengthening coherence between planning and budget processes. Estimates of the resources needed to meet the gender Goal can be included in any national poverty reduction strategy, ensuring the allocation of sufficient resources for gender-related priorities. Today, most poverty reduction strategies discuss at least a few gender issues, but budget funds are rarely allocated for implementation. Tracking performance and holding governments accountable for implementing gender strategies and plans are therefore difficult. Government strategies need to fully incorporate gender targets and goals, and adequate budget funds need to be allocated to meet them.
- Supporting the national policy dialogue and negotiations with development partners. By quantifying the needs, governments can estimate the type and scale of investments required to meet the Goal. Such resource

A gender needs assessment can enable countries to identify constraints and plan systematically to remove them

estimates are a powerful advocacy tool for women's groups and other civil society organizations in national-level dialogue on specific actions needed to achieve gender equality. Gender-sensitive policies and laws often fail to be implemented because of lack of information and dialogue on the resources needed to implement them. A comprehensive and transparent assessment of the necessary resources will make national dialogue possible.

- Improving understanding of absorptive capacity and of how low-income countries can increase this capacity. Limited human resources, managerial skills, monitoring and evaluation systems, and infrastructure may constrain a country's ability to implement gender plans. These constraints can be substantially relaxed through investments in human resources, management systems, administrative capacity, and infrastructure. A gender needs assessment can enable countries to identify such constraints and plan systematically to remove them.

Detailed investment models derived from a Millennium Development Goals needs assessment provide clear targets that can form the basis for a monitoring and accountability framework for tracking country progress toward the gender Goal.

Needs assessment methodology and caveats

The UN Millennium Project has developed a detailed methodology for quantifying the human, financial, and infrastructure resources needed to meet the Millennium Development Goals (box 11.1). In collaboration with the UN Millennium Project Secretariat, Task Force 3 on Education and Gender Equality adapted this general needs assessment methodology for estimating the financing requirements for the gender-related interventions recommended in this report.

There are several important caveats about this methodology. First, the needs assessment includes only some of the actions necessary to meet the Goal of gender equality and empowerment of women. Adequate resources alone will not achieve gender equality. Most strategies require a mix of investments and changes in legislation, political and administrative rules, social attitudes, and norms. The needs assessment, therefore, should be seen as a minimal but necessary set of actions to meet the Goal of gender equality.

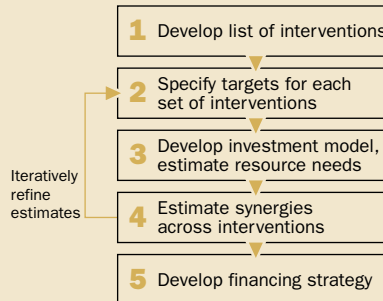
Second, a gender needs assessment is possible only at the country level and meaningful only as part of a national poverty reduction strategy in which all stakeholders participate. The interventions to be costed need to be locally identified, based on nationally determined targets.

Third, gender needs assessments should be carried out in conjunction with similar exercises for related areas such as education, health, transport and energy infrastructure, water and sanitation, agriculture, nutrition, urban development, and environment. Such simultaneous estimation of needs is

Box 11.1
The five steps of
the UN Millennium
Project needs
assessment
methodology

Source: Sachs and others 2004.

The needs assessment methodology developed by the UN Millennium Project for quantifying the resources needed to achieve the Millennium Development Goals consists of five basic steps:



1. *Develop a list of interventions.* A set of basic interventions based on best available evidence or identified through country consultations is developed for each area of analysis.
2. *Specify targets for each set of interventions.* Concrete targets are identified for each set of interventions. These can be based on the Millennium Development Goals and on other internationally or nationally agreed-on targets. Where there is no consensus on targets, targets and key parameters should be obtained through consultative processes within the country or derived analytically.
3. *Develop an investment model and estimate resource requirements.* Using the country-specific intervention lists and targets, countries project the gradual scaling up of investments and resources required to meet the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.
4. *Estimate synergies across interventions.* Potential cost savings resulting from synergies across interventions are calculated.
5. *Develop a financing strategy.* A national financing strategy is developed, with the source of funds identified (household out of pocket expenditures, domestic government resources, and external finance).

important to ensure that the total resource estimates capture all gender-related interventions and strategies.

Finally, any assessment of needs has to be an iterative process that is refined on the basis of experience. To be credible, the analysis needs the inputs of all key stakeholders, including government officials at national, regional, and local levels, members of women's and other civil society organizations, and donors.

The UN Millennium Project approach to assessing the needs for gender-related interventions considers gender-related interventions to meet the Millennium Development Goals other than Goal 3 and specific interventions to meet Goal 3. Each track is discussed below.

Gender interventions for Millennium Development Goals other than Goal 3

Gender-specific interventions in agriculture, education, health, nutrition, rural development, urban development, water and sanitation, environment, trade, and science and technology are needed to reduce gender inequality and

empower women. For example, in agriculture a special effort is needed to recruit and train women extension workers to ensure that national extension services reach female farmers as well as they do male farmers. In education, enrolling and retaining girls in school may require subsidies and special facilities such as separate toilets for girls. In urban development, land or housing titling projects to improve the lives of male and female slum dwellers would need to ensure that women have equal access to secure tenure. In rural development poverty reduction interventions should include the provision of clean cooking fuels, electricity, and water and sanitation supply within the household or nearby to reduce the time women and girls spend on firewood and water collection.

The needs assessment for specific sectors include actions to address three of the seven strategic priorities for achieving gender equality and empowering women. Postprimary education for girls is costed within the education needs assessment methodology, the provision of sexual and reproductive health services is costed within the health sector needs assessment methodology, and infrastructure to reduce women's time burdens is costed within the infrastructure needs assessment methodology.

Additional specific interventions to meet Goal 3

The second track involves estimating the resources for additional specific interventions to meet Goal 3 because additional actions are needed that are not restricted to any particular sector. Examples of specific interventions for Goal 3 that are not costed in any other Millennium Development Goals needs assessment methodology include:

Strategic priority 2: guarantee sexual and reproductive health and rights²

- Providing education for increased awareness of sexual and reproductive health and rights through mass media and community-based programs.
- Providing comprehensive sexuality education in schools and community programs.

Strategic priority 5: reduce gender inequality in employment

- Promoting access to work through vocational training programs and school-to-work transition programs for adolescent girls.
- Providing care services (for children, the elderly, the disabled, and the sick) to allow women to work.

Strategic priority 6: increase women's political representation

- Providing training to women candidates in elections at the local, regional, and national level.
- Providing training to female elected representatives at the local, regional, and national level.

Strategic priority 7: combat violence against women

- Preventing violence against women through education, media campaigns, hotlines, and neighborhood support groups.

- Protecting women from violence through police training and provide medical services, counseling, and emergency housing or short-term shelters to victims of violence.
- Providing legal redress to ensure that perpetrators of violence against women are punished.

Systemic issues

- Strengthening the capacity of governments to deliver the interventions identified above.
- Strengthening national women's machineries through increased budgetary allocations and staffing of ministries of women's affairs and gender focal points in other ministries.
- Instituting sensitization programs to train judges, bureaucrats, land registration officers, and police officers.
- Investing in legal aid services to help women claim their rights and access the interventions identified above.
- Improving registration systems for issuing identification documents to women in settings where that is applicable.
- Investing in data collection and monitoring activities to track gender outcomes.

This list is not exhaustive, and the details will vary by country depending on the specific context and needs. It can be used by women's groups and governments as a starting point to identify actions to achieve the strategic priorities not costed in the other Millennium Development Goals needs assessments.

An illustrative national needs assessment

What resources are needed to implement a comprehensive gender strategy in a low-income country? Tajikistan's UN Millennium Development Goals Needs Assessment Team, in collaboration with the government's Working Group on Gender and with support from the UN Millennium Project, is conducting a gender needs assessment for Tajikistan.³ The preliminary results will be reviewed and revised through several rounds of consultation with local stakeholders before being finalized and adopted by the government in its long-term Millennium Development Goals plan and short-term Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP).

The gender needs assessment was undertaken in conjunction with needs assessments for universal primary and expanded secondary education, universal primary health care coverage and treatment of major diseases, and water and sanitation services.⁴ The strategic priorities for promoting postprimary education for girls, guaranteeing sexual and reproductive health and rights, and investing in infrastructure to reduce time burdens of women and girls are partially embedded in each of these needs assessments. Preliminary estimates suggest that the costs for 2005–15 of universal primary and expanded secondary education in Tajikistan would be roughly \$20 per capita annually. The

costs of setting up a primary health care system (for child health and maternal health, major infectious diseases, and sexual and reproductive health) would average roughly \$29 per capita annually.⁵ The costs of water and sanitation provision would average roughly \$9.50 per capita annually.

For the additional specific interventions to meet Goal 3, the analysis covers most of the interventions discussed above.⁶ Coverage targets were set by the UN Millennium Development Goals Needs Assessment Team, in consultation with the government, based on available data and experience in the country.⁷ Preliminary results suggest that the cost of gender-specific interventions (training and awareness campaigns, interventions to combat violence against women, and systematic interventions to improve the women's ministry capacities) will average \$1.30 per capita annually for 2005–15 (table 11.1), with costs peaking at \$2.00 per capita in 2015.⁸ Most of these costs will be for programs to combat violence against women; these represent 76 percent of the costs of the gender-specific interventions in table 11.2.

Table 11.1
Estimated summary costs for promoting gender equality in Tajikistan, 2005–15

Source: UN Millennium Project 2004c.

Item	2005	2010	2015	2005–15
Total cost (US\$ millions)	5.2	10.0	16.5	112.1
Capital costs	3.4	3.4	4.6	38.3
Recurrent costs	1.3	4.8	8.6	53.6
<i>Share of GDP (percent)</i>				<i>Average</i>
Total cost	.003	.001	.004	.003
Capital costs	.002	.001	.001	.001
Recurrent costs	.001	.002	.002	.002
<i>Per capita (US\$)</i>				<i>Average</i>
Total cost	0.80	1.30	2.00	1.30
Capital costs	0.50	0.40	0.50	0.50
Recurrent costs	0.20	0.60	1.00	0.60

Table 11.2
Estimated costs for promoting gender equality in Tajikistan by main activities, 2005–15

US\$ millions

Source: UN Millennium Project 2004c.

Item	2005	2010	2015	2005–15
Total cost	5.20	10.00	16.50	112.10
Increasing awareness of sexual and reproductive health issues	0.39	1.44	2.70	16.28
Helping the transition of girls to work	0.15	0.39	0.42	3.81
Encouraging political participation	0.05	0.07	0.12	0.48
Ending violence against women	4.17	7.44	12.25	84.31
Resolving systemic issues	0.18	0.16	0.25	1.87
General administrative costs	0.25	0.47	0.79	5.34

**The in-country
consultative
process is
critical for
identifying
appropriate
interventions**

In absolute numbers the cost of selected additional interventions to meet Goal 3 in Tajikistan is \$10.56 million each year, for a total of \$112 million for 2005–15. This amounts to approximately 0.003 percent of GDP over this period. To put this amount into context, debt-servicing payments alone in Tajikistan accounted for about 4 percent of GDP in 2001. It is important, though, to note again that this number is not the total cost of achieving gender equality and women's empowerment but only the cost of additional specific interventions to meet Goal 3. For a complete estimate of the costs to meet Goal 3, these specific costs must be combined with the costs of appropriate interventions to reach women and girls in each of the other Millennium Development Goals.

The Tajikistan gender needs assessment exercise shows how such an analysis can take place at the country level, in consultation with local stakeholders, to understand the resource requirements for addressing the challenge of gender equality. It demonstrates the resources that are needed to achieve gender equality. But more important, the in-country consultative process is critical for identifying appropriate interventions and validating the assumptions of the model. In the end, it is only through such a process that resources can be appropriately mobilized for gender equality interventions.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that it is possible to estimate the resources needed for investments in gender equality. The estimates need to cover strong investments in building the capacity of women's ministries, data collection and monitoring, and training and sensitization programs. Estimates represent an illustrative set of actions that complement gender interventions in education, health, infrastructure, and other sectors. Such resource estimates, which must be done at the country level, can form the foundation for gender-responsive poverty reduction processes as well as financing mechanisms such as the medium-term expenditure framework and annual national budgets.

Making it happen

Although no country has successfully addressed all seven strategic priorities, some countries have shown that significant progress can be made to empower women and reduce gender disadvantage. This chapter reflects on what it takes to achieve significant progress. It identifies the ingredients necessary for large-scale transformation, assesses the experience of five countries that are attempting significant institutional reform, and closes with recommendations for addressing gender inequality in MDG-based country poverty reduction processes.

This report has described seven strategic priorities and a series of practical actions for each to bring about gender equality and empower women. Various countries, communities, and institutions have implemented different combinations of these actions and shown good results. The problem is not a lack of practical ways to address gender inequality but rather a lack of change on a large and deep enough scale to bring about a transformation in the way societies conceive of and organize men's and women's roles, responsibilities, and control over resources. Essential for that kind of transformation are:

- Political commitment by and mobilization of a large group of change agents at different levels within countries and in international institutions.
- Technical capacity to implement change.
- Institutional structures and processes to support the transformation, including structures that enable women to successfully claim their rights.
- Adequate financial resources.
- Accountability and monitoring systems.

Commitment and mobilization of change agents

For transformation to occur within countries, there must be a critical mass of change agents committed to the vision of a gender-equitable society described

**Gender
mainstreaming
is both a
technical and
political process
requiring shifts
in organizational
culture**

in chapter 1. These change agents include leaders at all levels of government who control critical levers for change—financial and technical resources—and set the priorities for actions affecting the lives of many. To be true to the vision, government leaders must work with civil society institutions, especially organizations that represent women’s interests. Where progress has been made, as in South Africa, it has been with the strong and consistent support of government leaders who used the levers available to them to bring about necessary changes, along with the efforts of a vibrant and independent women’s movement.

At the international level there must also be a critical mass of change agents in the institutions that provide support to national governments and civil society organizations for implementing the changes necessary for a gender-equitable society.

Technical capacity to implement change

Achieving gender equality and empowering women requires technical expertise and knowledge of how to mainstream gender concerns into development policies and programs. At the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women the international community endorsed gender mainstreaming as a key institutional response for promoting gender equality and empowering women. Gender mainstreaming was defined by the UN Economic and Social Council in 1997 as:

the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (ECOSOC 1997).

This definition makes clear that gender mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a means to the goal of gender equality. It is both a technical and political process requiring shifts in organizational culture and ways of thinking and in the structures and resource allocations of organizations (Oxaal and Baden 1997). As a technical tool mainstreaming can be effective only if supported by a strong political and legal mandate. At the country level legal instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and others provide such a mandate. All UN agencies have a mandate from the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Commission on the Status of Women to promote gender equality in their own policies and programs and to support governments in doing the same.

Gender mainstreaming is often compromised by a lack of conceptual clarity about the meaning of gender. As noted in chapter 2, gender is a social construct

**Gender analysis
involves
gathering and
examining
information on
what women
and men do and
how they relate
to each other**

that defines and differentiates the roles, rights, responsibilities, and obligations of women and men in a context of unequal power relationships. Yet, the term *gender* is often still equated with *women* and gender mainstreaming is seen solely as increasing the focus on women. Because of this confusion, managers often misinterpret gender mainstreaming to mean creating a balanced male-female representation in an institution's staff or in program beneficiaries.

Gender is also often equated with sex and thus seen as a biological rather than a social attribute. For instance, biological differences make the transmission of HIV much more likely from an infected man to a woman than from an infected woman to a man. Only recently, however, has it been understood that gender norms and differences, and the power imbalance they create between women and men, contribute to both women's and men's vulnerability to infection (box 12.1).

Another conceptual confusion is the assumption that certain policy areas, such as infrastructure development or macroeconomic policy, are gender neutral. This makes efforts to incorporate gender perspectives into these areas very difficult. As chapter 5 shows, infrastructure investments are not gender neutral. And a growing body of evidence shows that gender inequality affects macroeconomic outcomes, including growth, and that macroeconomic policy has gender-differentiated impacts (Çağatay and Ozler 1995; Grown, Elson, and Çağatay 2000).

The different types of conceptual confusion described above can be clarified through gender analysis and gender training. Gender analysis involves gathering and examining information on what women and men do and how they relate to each other. There is a large body of literature on gender analysis that can be applied to diagnose and rectify inequalities within societal institutions. Gender training builds capacity to use the information from gender analysis in policies and program development and implementation. To be effective, training must be tailored to different sectors and to the types of work

Box 12.1
**Gender norms
contribute to
vulnerability
to HIV/AIDS**

Source: Rao Gupta 2000.

Women's economic vulnerability makes it more likely that they will be forced to sell sex for economic survival, less likely that they will be able to negotiate protection against sexually transmitted infections with a male sexual partner, and less likely that they will be able to leave a relationship that they perceive to be risky—all of which combine with biological vulnerability to increase rates of HIV/AIDS among women worldwide. Similarly, gender norms for masculinity that expect men to be sexually adventurous and to dominate women increase men's, particularly young men's, vulnerability to HIV infection by pressuring them to engage in risky and sometimes violent sex with multiple partners. Thus, gender norms also affect men's vulnerability to infection but in very different ways from those affecting women. Understanding these differences in vulnerability and the underlying gender-related reasons for them is critical in addressing the root causes of ill health and disease and to successfully intervene to mitigate negative impacts.

**Women's
organizations
are key agents
in bringing about
institutional
transformation**

done by different groups of professionals in the units of government or international agencies that set policies and allocate resources.

An unfortunate consequence of training a broad range of professionals is the elimination or downgrading of specialized gender units and professionals. Because mainstreaming requires a shift of responsibility for promoting gender equality to all personnel, especially managers, gender specialists are considered redundant. In fact, the reverse is true: the need for specialist support often increases with gender mainstreaming. A former gender equality director in Canada offered the following metaphor to counteract the argument that since her agency had mainstreamed gender equality it needed fewer gender advisors:

We need to liken the need for gender equality expertise to the need for technical expertise in information technology. Twenty years ago, every department in our organization might have one computer for 20 people. At that time, there would be one technical person for the whole organization that would attend to any computer glitches. Now, twenty years later, everyone has a computer on their desks. Computers have been “mainstreamed.” Does that mean we no longer need the one or two technical people who were there before? Just the opposite! We now need technical departments with different types of expertise. We need those who can attend to immediate problems and those who are doing the long-range, strategic thinking about the path that technology will take and what kinds of skills and policies the organization will need to maximize use. So it should be for gender equality expertise (Rivington 2004).

Institutional structures and processes

Institutional transformation—fundamental change in the rules that specify how resources are allocated and how tasks, responsibilities, and values are assigned in society—is the third ingredient essential for achieving gender equality and women’s empowerment on a large scale (Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1996; Kelleher 2002). Women’s organizations are key agents in bringing about institutional transformation nationally and internationally because they articulate women’s priorities and organize and advocate for change. In India women’s organizations transformed political institutions at the local level, successfully lobbying for two constitutional amendments in 1992 that required that at least a third of the seats in *panchayats* (local governing councils) be reserved for women. In Brazil civil society networks led the transformation of state and municipal health institutions to prioritize cervical cancer prevention, establish abortion services, and implement other aspects of the International Conference of Population and Development’s Programme of Action.

At the international level global and regional women’s movements actively mobilized throughout the 1990s to put gender equality and women’s empowerment on the agendas of major UN conferences, transforming international

Through legislation, regulatory reform, and the expansion and strengthening of public services, governments can rectify the deep-seated gender biases inherent in their own institutions

norms on women's roles and rights. The international women's movement succeeded in having women's rights fully recognized as human rights in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action that resulted from the 1993 Second UN Conference on Human Rights.

Government agencies also play key roles in institutional transformation to create an enabling national environment for gender equality. Through legislation, regulatory reform, and the expansion and strengthening of public services, governments can rectify the deep-seated gender biases inherent in their own institutions and establish structures and processes that enable women to claim their rights, such as women-friendly law enforcement systems. To advance such institutional change, a central unit or ministry needs a mandate to ensure that gender equality and women's empowerment are addressed across all ministries and departments.

At the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing governments agreed that national women's machineries should be the institutional entity to support and build capacity to mainstream gender equality across all development planning and implementation processes. They are defined by the UN as "a single body or complex organized system of bodies, often under different authorities, but recognized by the government as the institution dealing with the promotion of the status of women." In most countries, the national women's machineries typically include a ministry of women's affairs and gender units or focal points in other line ministries, as well as task forces or high level advisory groups.

The location, structure, and size of national women's machineries and gender units influence their ability to promote gender equality in policies and programs. Although there is no one blueprint for the structure and placement of a gender unit or focal point, several generic requirements must be met. The unit should be structurally and functionally located in finance and planning ministries so that it can influence resource allocation decisions.¹ In addition, the primary responsibility of staff in the central gender unit should be to advise and support the efforts of others, who in turn must be mandated to incorporate gender into their work. If the national women's machinery is to promote gender equality across several other ministries, it needs to be appropriately staffed and have a policy rather than an operational mandate. Crucially, as Goetz (1995) points out, staff need to have financial skills to ensure that policy commitments are followed through in national and ministerial budgets.

To remain relevant, national women's machineries must have legitimacy and credibility with women's organizations and NGOs representing women's interests. They must create structures for consulting with and responding to the concerns of women's organizations, ranging from informal discussions or public hearings to seats for NGO representatives on government committees. A system of formal representation is likely to exclude small and lesser known organizations. Therefore, in settings where women's organizations are diverse,

Adequate financial resources need to be allocated to enable direct interventions by governmental and nongovernmental organizations, build capacity, collect data, and evaluate outcomes

public hearings combined with informal consultations may be more effective. Such direct links between national women's machineries and their constituency, women's organizations, can also help to maintain accountability.

International agencies require similar changes to those of national governments to bring about institutional transformation. This is particularly important given the interdependency between donors and low-income country governments. International institutions often set the parameters for the resource envelope and policy change that are possible at the country level.

Adequate financial resources

Even if all the other ingredients described here are in place, they cannot be effective without adequate resources. Adequate financial resources need to be allocated to enable direct interventions by governmental and nongovernmental organizations, build capacity, collect data, and evaluate outcomes. Rarely are sufficient funds allocated for these purposes.

Efforts to promote gender equality may be underfunded because separating the costs of gender interventions from the overall costs of a sectoral intervention is challenging. However, as seen in chapter 11, methodologies have been developed for estimating such costs. Another reason for underfunding is that the expenditures are perceived to be additional to the core investment and to achieve only a marginal return when in fact they are essential for maximizing the return on the core investment. In resource-constrained settings this perception is particularly wasteful. A third reason is that gender equality is viewed as a cross-cutting issue. Because cross-cutting issues are supposed to be everyone's business, they tend to become no one's responsibility and so typically receive lower priority in budgetary allocations than sector-specific issues.

What can be done to ensure that the required resources will be available and committed? To increase the availability of resources, changes are needed in the international system, including debt cancellation for highly indebted poor countries, dramatically scaled up and better quality development assistance, and trade reform that levels the playing field for developing countries. Domestic resource mobilization is also important for generating the resources to achieve gender equality.

Accountability and monitoring systems

Accountability and monitoring systems are needed nationally and internationally to ensure that fundamental change is broad-based and lasting. At the country level the needed systems include a strong legal framework and enforcement mechanisms within and outside government and a strong women's movement and open processes that enable women's groups to inform and influence government policies and resource allocations.²

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) provides a powerful legal mechanism for stakeholders at

The reporting obligation established in CEDAW creates the conditions for enabling women to fully enjoy their rights

the country level to hold their governments accountable for meeting Goal 3. The reporting obligation established in the convention, supported by the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (the body of 23 experts that monitors implementation of the convention) and of civil society organizations, creates the conditions for enabling women to fully enjoy their rights. Frequently, this reporting process has created partnerships among government, NGOs, and UN agencies to work together to achieve the goals of the convention.

Good practices exist in many countries for reporting on actions to eliminate discrimination against women and for following up on CEDAW reports and their recommendations. In the Netherlands the government is required to report to Parliament every four years on implementation of the convention before the state party's report is submitted to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and the concluding comments of the committee are also presented to the Parliament. Uruguay's Parliament organizes a session to follow up on the committee's recommendations and calls on members of the government to discuss them. Mexico and Sweden convene seminars or special meetings to discuss the committee's concluding comments. Many state parties publish their reports, together with the committee's comments, to give wide publicity to the convention and its implementation.

With the entry into force of the Optional Protocol to the Convention in December 2000, the mandate of the committee was expanded to complaints by or on behalf of individuals or groups of individuals who claim that their rights under the convention have been violated. As of November 2004, 76 states were signatories to the Optional Protocol. The Optional Protocol is the most visible means for women to seek redress at the international level when domestic judicial systems are faulty and discriminatory laws against women still exist. The Optional Protocol strengthens national mechanisms for ensuring women's full enjoyment of their rights by providing a path to relief for individual grievances and by improving understanding of the obligations imposed by the convention.

The convention has had a positive impact in countries throughout the world. It has led to the strengthening of constitutional provisions in many countries guaranteeing equality between women and men and providing a constitutional basis for the protection of women's human rights. The revised Brazilian Constitution includes extensive guarantees reflecting the convention, and the South African Constitution contains strong provisions guaranteeing women's equality.

National courts have also used the convention as a basis for decisionmaking. The Botswana Court of Appeal drew on international treaties, including the convention, to uphold a challenge to the nationality law which prevented Botswanan women married to non-Botswanan nationals to pass on their nationality to their children. The Supreme Court of Nepal referenced the convention in ordering the government to introduce a bill to remedy discriminatory

Women's and civil society organizations have taken the lead in holding governments and international agencies accountable for implementing commitments to gender equality

inheritance laws, which entitled a son to a share of his father's property at birth, but entitled a daughter to a share only when she reached the age of 35 and was unmarried. The Supreme Court of Canada also drew on the convention and the committee's general recommendation 19 on violence against women in a case of alleged sexual assault.

Women's organizations and civil society organizations have taken the lead in holding governments and international agencies accountable for implementing their commitments to gender equality and women's empowerment. Indeed, much of the progress made to date has resulted from the political efforts and the mobilization of such organizations. To do this work well, they need data, resources, and mechanisms for regular consultations. Gender audits are a monitoring tool that can help government agencies and NGOs assess what is being done within institutions to promote gender equality and identify the gaps and challenges that need to be addressed.

In interactions with countries the international system needs to support these components of a well functioning country-level accountability and monitoring system. Simultaneously, the United Nations and other international institutions, including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and regional development banks, must ensure that mechanisms are in place for holding themselves accountable for implementing international mandates and commitments to gender equality, and that external watchdog agencies, particularly international women's organizations, have sufficient input in policy formulation, implementation, and resource allocation.

Country case studies

The experience of several countries illustrates the complicated process involved in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. This section describes the efforts of Cambodia, Chile, Rwanda, and South Africa to improve women's status and reduce gender inequality (boxes 12.2–12.5). These countries are attempting significant institutional reform, catalyzed by strong and dynamic advocacy by women's organizations and other actors such as donors and other civil society movements.³ These countries have made varying progress on the seven strategic priorities identified by the task force although it is difficult to attribute changes to specific government actions.

Each of the four countries has been affected in its recent past by significant internal turmoil and conflict. In each case women's organizations and other powerful change agents in government have seized the opportunity to remedy societal inequalities. Although peace-building and postconflict periods by definition provide new opportunities for societal restructuring, such restructuring can occur in nonconflict settings if some combination of the five elements described at the beginning of this chapter (change agents with a vision, institutional structures and processes, technical capacity, financial resources, and accountability mechanisms) are in place.

Box 12.2
Cambodia: the
changing role of
the Ministry of
Women's Affairs

Source: UNIFEM and others 2004.

More than 30 years of war and civil violence have left a devastating mark on Cambodia's women and men. War widows and other women head more than a quarter of Cambodian households, which are among the poorest in the country.

The 1993 Constitution guarantees gender equality in marriage, family, employment, and political life. Laws promoting women's empowerment have also been passed. The 1997 Labor Code eliminates discrimination against women and the exploitation of women in the work place. The Marriage and Family Law allows divorce and provides for equal property rights in marriage. The government modified a restrictive national law on abortion, making it legal through the first trimester.

The government implements its gender policies mainly through the Ministry of Women's and Veteran's Affairs. Initially the ministry used a direct project implementation approach, but over the past few years its role has evolved into a facilitator for mobilizing political and financial support for a broader range of policies addressing the needs of women. Following the elections in July 2004 the veterans' portfolio was removed from the ministry, and it was restructured to focus only on women's affairs. It has since developed a new Five-Year Strategic Plan and made organizational changes to implement it. In 2004 the ministry had 183 staff at the central level and 735 in provincial and communal departments. That makes it two-thirds the size of the only other cross-sectoral ministry in the government, the Ministry of Environment.

The government recently established a Technical Working Group on Gender, chaired by the minister of women's affairs with members from other line ministries, donors, and NGOs. Members of the working group also serve as gender focal points on other sectoral technical working groups, creating a potentially powerful mechanism for gender mainstreaming.

Gender equality indicators for Cambodia, 1990 and 2000

Indicator	1990	2000
<i>Education</i>		
Girls' to boys' gross enrollment ratio, primary	—	0.88
Girls' to boys' completion rate, primary	—	0.80
Girls' to boys' gross enrollment ratio, secondary	0.43	0.57
<i>Sexual and reproductive rights and health</i>		
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births)	900	450
Fertility rate	5.56	3.8
Women as a share of those living with HIV/AIDS ^a (percent)	50	30
<i>Political and economic opportunity</i>		
Share of women-held seats in national parliament (percent)	—	11.45 ^b
Share of women in nonagricultural wage employment (percent)	40.6	53.2 ^c

— Not available.

a. Data are for 1997 and 2003.

b. Data are for 2003.

c. Data are for 2002.

Source: UNESCO 2004; UN 2004a, 2004b; World Bank 2004f; UNAIDS 2004; IPU 2004.

Women's share of nonagricultural employment is among the highest in the region. Cambodia's health indicators are improving. Maternal mortality and fertility rates have dropped significantly (see table). Cambodia, with the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rate in Asia, has succeeded in reducing the national prevalence rate among adults from 3.9 percent in 1997 to 2.8 percent in 2004. The share of women among those infected with HIV/AIDS has dropped noticeably since 1997.

Box 12.2**Cambodia: the changing role of the Ministry of Women's Affairs***(continued)*

There has been a reported increase in gender-based violence and in the number of women and children being trafficked into neighboring countries. Law enforcement in these areas is extremely weak. In response to this, Cambodia has added an additional target to Millennium Development Goal 3, to eliminate all forms of violence against women.

Women's participation in Parliament is low. Although a quota of 30 percent of seats for women was proposed prior to the 2002 election of commune councils, it was rejected, and women constituted only 8.5 percent of elected councilors.

Before the war women and men had equal access to land through inheritance and acquisition. In the postwar period, despite a new land law guaranteeing joint titling, women have become more vulnerable to market forces, debt, and landlessness.

Box 12.3**Chile: the influence of women's organizations**

Source: Baldez 1997; UN 1979; JICA 1999; GTZ 2004.

Following the end of military rule in Chile in 1990, many women's organizations expressed disappointment that the transition to democracy was not accompanied by a radical change in state policy toward women. In response, the new government established the National Office for Women's Affairs (SERNAM) in 1991 as a branch of the National Planning and Cooperation Ministry. SERNAM's mission is to advance equality of opportunity between men and women. The head of SERNAM has ministerial rank, and today SERNAM is among the largest women's agencies in Latin America.

During the 1990s SERNAM organized efforts for legislative and legal reform aimed at improving women's status in labor markets, alleviating female poverty, and enhancing women's health and education. In 1994 SERNAM developed and implemented the National Plan for Equal Opportunities for Women, which acknowledged the role of government institutions in sustaining women's subordination. Since then, a series of laws on domestic violence, women's rights at work, and sexual abuse have been passed. SERNAM also introduced nationwide programs targeting low-income female-headed households to improve their access to employment; a program targeting parents, teachers, and adolescents in secondary school to reduce teenage pregnancy; and a program providing child-care during the harvest season for female seasonal workers in the agro-export sector. In May 2004, after a long struggle, the government passed a law legalizing civil divorce.

Despite these efforts, women in Chile are still disadvantaged in many ways. Women's representation in political office remains low. Unsafe abortion is the second leading cause of maternal mortality, and the law prohibits abortion under any circumstances. Women lack property rights in marriage. Despite two laws that toughened the punishment for domestic violence and sexual abuse, and extensive information campaigns, violence against women continues to be a major problem in Chile.

In 2001 SERNAM introduced gender impact analysis of public policies in the budget process. Working with the Finance Ministry, SERNAM has helped establish new administrative rules for analyzing programs for the impact on women and men and on girls and boys. Gender is one of six areas on which all ministries and public services report annually to the Budget Department.

Chile has a long history of political action by women's organizations. Women's organizations have had enormous impact on SERNAM's policy objectives and program priorities at critical junctures and were instrumental in shaping the National Plan for Equal Opportunities as well as Chile's platform at the Beijing Conference on Women in 1995.

Box 12.3
Chile: the influence of women's organizations
(continued)

Gender equality indicators for Chile, 1990 and 2000

Indicator	1990	2000
<i>Education</i>		
Girls' to boys' gross enrollment ratio, primary	0.98	0.98
Girls' to boys' completion rate, primary	1.05	1.02
Girls' to boys' gross enrollment ratio, secondary	1.08	1.02
<i>Sexual and reproductive rights and health</i>		
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births)	65	31
Adolescent fertility rate	66	66 ^a
Fertility rate	2.8	2.2
Women as a share of those living with HIV/AIDS ^b (percent)	18	33.5
<i>Political and economic opportunity</i>		
Share of women-held seats in national parliament (percent)	—	8.3 ^c
Share of women-held seats at local level—mayors (percent)		12.7
Share of women in nonagricultural wage employment (percent)	36.2	36.5 ^d

— Not available

a. Data are for 1996.

b. Data are for 1997 and 2003.

c. Data are for 2003.

d. Data are for 2002.

Source: UNESCO 2004; UN 2004a, 2004b; WISTAT 1999; World Bank 2004e, 2004f; UNAIDS 2004; IPU 2004; United Cities and Local Governments 2004.

In 1990 Chile had already achieved parity in both primary and secondary enrollments (see table). From 1990 to 2000 maternal mortality fell from 65 to 31 per 100,000 births and the fertility rate declined from 2.8 to 2.2. However, in the late 1990s the share of women among those infected with HIV/AIDS nearly doubled, from 18 percent in 1997 to 33.5 percent in 2003.

Box 12.4
Rwanda: a national commitment to gender equality

Source: Zuckerman 2001, 2002a; Zuckerman and Garrett 2003; Diop-Tine 2002.

The genocide and civil war in Rwanda in 1994 caused major trauma to the country's economy and social fabric. During the conflict women were systematically raped, murdered, and disfigured. Today, women constitute 54 percent of the Rwandan population, and 34 percent of households are headed by women.

Since the genocide the country as a whole has committed itself to gender equality, and women have played a pivotal role in political and economic reconstruction. The country is in the process of restructuring its social, political, and economic institutions. It adopted a new Constitution, which guarantees equal rights for women. Parliament has begun to repeal laws that are biased against women, including legislation prohibiting women from inheriting property. Rape is now considered a first-degree crime in local courts (previously it was considered a third-degree crime) and was prosecuted as a genocidal act under the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

Rwandan women are also assuming roles as community leaders, entrepreneurs, and elected officials. In the multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections in 2003, women gained 49 percent of the seats in the lower house and 30 percent of the seats in the upper house, up from 17 percent in 1990. Rwanda has also created local women's councils elected by women only and a government ministry for women to ensure that policies are gender equitable.

Box 12.4**Rwanda: a national
commitment to
gender equality***(continued)*

The Ministry for Gender and Women in Development and women's organizations actively participated to mainstream gender concerns in the country's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. External evaluations note that Rwanda's Poverty Reduction Strategy is one of the best on gender equality issues. Budgetary expenditures prioritize activities that address gender inequalities, and all sector expenditures incorporate Ministry of Gender inputs.

Women's organizations have been critical in creating an enabling environment for promoting women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming in the aftermath of the genocide. Through organizing, networking, and lobbying together, women's organizations have helped to bring about the changes described above. At the national level, Collectif ProFemmes/Twese Hamwe brings together more than 40 women's organizations that promote a culture of peace and remembrance, protect widows and the displaced, promote the legal rights of widows and children, and fight violence against women and girls. At the local level, with the support of national and international development partners, women's organizations are implementing a range of economic development activities.

Gender equality indicators for Rwanda, 1990 and 2000

Indicator	1990	2000
<i>Education</i>		
Girls' to boys' gross enrollment ratio, primary	0.98	0.99
Girls' to boys' completion rate, primary	1.07	0.92
Girls' to boys' gross enrollment ratio, secondary	0.76	0.98
<i>Sexual and reproductive rights and health</i>		
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births)	1,300	950 ^a
Unmet need for contraception	38.8	35.6
Fertility rate	7.1	5.7
Women as a share of those living with HIV/AIDS ^b (percent)	48.6	56.5
Births attended by skilled health staff	25.8	31.3 ^c
<i>Political and economic opportunity</i>		
Share of women-held seats in national parliament (percent)	17	39.4 ^a
Share of women in labor force (percent)	49	49 ^a

a. Data are for 2003.

b. Data are for 1997 and 2003.

c. Data are for 2001.

Source: UNESCO 2004; UN 2004a; World Bank 2004b, 2004f; UNAIDS 2004; ORC-Macro 2004; IPU 2004.

Despite enormous economic development challenges, Rwanda's gender indicators are above regional averages (see table). Although the absolute rates of secondary education are very low for both boys and girls, the gender gap at this level has closed rapidly between 1990 and 2000, and the country is on its way to achieve gender parity in both primary and secondary education in 2005.

The country's fertility rate has been declining steadily. Births attended by skilled health staff have increased, and the unmet need for contraception has declined for both adolescents and adult women.

Box 12.5
South Africa:
mainstreaming
gender concerns

Source: Baden 1999; Khan 2003; Unterhalter and others 2004; GTZ 2004.

The postapartheid government of South Africa made gender equality one of the priorities of the reconstruction process. South Africa's constitution now guarantees equality between women and men and provides for affirmative action to address gender inequalities in public life. The Constitution takes precedence over customary law when the equality clause and customary law conflict.

Several new laws have been introduced and existing laws revised to make them more gender-sensitive. The Public Service Act of 1994 and the Labor Relations Act of 1995 removed discriminatory practices in public services and labor markets. Abortion was legalized in 1996. The government also passed a law in 1993 criminalizing rape within marriage.

Gender concerns are fully mainstreamed into the government apparatus. South Africa does not have a separate ministry of women's affairs, but the Commission on Gender Equality, provided for in the Constitution, monitors and evaluates government and the private sector on gender, informs the public, and makes recommendations on laws and policies. The Office on the Status of Women is responsible for developing national gender policy, promoting affirmative action in government, supporting government bodies to integrate gender in all policies and programs, and organizing gender training. Its power, however, is limited because it is not directly involved in national policy, and many departments see gender equality only in terms of personnel and internal workings.

In 1995 South Africa was one of the first countries to pioneer analysis of the national budget from a gender perspective. The Women's Budget Initiative was a collaborative venture of women parliamentarians and women's organizations to make the case for real-locating expenditures and revenues to more adequately respond to the needs of women. Of the many tools used for monitoring gender mainstreaming, this one has caught the imagination of women's movements worldwide.

Women's organizations were very active in the antiapartheid movement and that activism helped to bring about a number of the constitutional and legal changes described above. Women's organizations lobbied strongly for legalizing abortion and protecting women against violence. They have also fought for women's land rights and for prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS. However, the migration of many women's activists into government after 1994 weakened women's organizations, particularly in rural areas, limiting their ability to maximize the opportunities created by the national gender machinery.

Cambodia, Rwanda, and South Africa have all made significant progress in the last decade in closing gender gaps in primary and secondary education and improving key aspects of women's sexual and reproductive rights and health. However, despite improvements in maternal mortality and decreases in unmet need for contraception, women in South Africa, Rwanda, and Cambodia have been hit hard by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Among the four countries Chile stands alone in opposing women's reproductive rights. On women's political participation Rwanda and South Africa have achieved high levels of representation of women at the national and local levels. Chile and Rwanda have taken strong legal measures to address violence against women, and Cambodia has added elimination of violence against women as an additional Millennium Development target.

Box 12.5
South Africa:
mainstreaming
gender concerns
(continued)

Gender equality indicators for South Africa, 1990 and 2000

Indicator	1990	2000
<i>Education</i>		
Girls' to boys' gross enrollment ratio, primary	0.98	0.95
Girls' to boys' completion rate, primary	1.12	1.02
Girls' to boys' gross enrollment ratio, secondary	1.16	1.09
<i>Sexual and reproductive rights and health</i>		
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births)	340 ^a	230
Unmet need for contraception		15
Fertility rate	3.3	2.8
Women as a share of those living with HIV/AIDS (percent)	50	56.9
<i>Political and economic opportunity</i>		
Share of women-held seats in national parliament (percent)	2.8	30.7 ^c
Share of women in labor force (percent)	37	38 ^c

a. Data are for 1995.

b. Data are for 1997 and 2003.

c. Data are for 2003.

Source: UNESCO 2004; UN 2004a, 2004b; World Bank 2004c, 2004f; UNAIDS 2004; IPU 2004; ORC-Macro 2004.

Over the last decade, South Africa has made significant progress toward closing gender gaps in some sectors. Women now constitute 31 percent of parliamentarians (see table). Maternal mortality has been reduced, and the fertility rate has declined. However, HIV/AIDS is a major health problem for South African women. In 2003 women constituted more than half of those infected with HIV/AIDS, and the majority of new infections occur among adolescent girls.

Although the official indicators for primary and secondary education have not registered much improvement over 10 years, the government has taken steps to improve the quality of education. The Gender Equity Task Team has revised the curricula with attention to gender issues and has prepared a guide to educate teachers on gender issues. The incidence of sexual violence in schools remains a problem, however.

No country has adequately addressed women's poverty and economic opportunity—their participation in labor markets or asset ownership and control—although Cambodia and Rwanda have made commitments to securing women's rights to land and housing, Chile has implemented a poverty alleviation program targeting low-income female-headed households to improve their access to employment, although the results have been mixed, and Cambodia has reformed its labor code to eliminate discrimination against women.

In each of the four countries the conditions have been created for fostering large-scale societal transformation. Each country has a critical mass of change agents within government and civil society with a vision of gender equality and women's empowerment. In Rwanda and South Africa government leaders have worked in alliance with civil society leaders, while in Chile

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the pressure of an independent women's movement forced change within government.

Institutional structures and processes are being transformed through constitutional change, legal reform, and the formation of new governmental organizations. Cambodia, Rwanda, and South Africa have all made commitments to gender equality a key component of their constitutions. All four countries have implemented major legal and legislative reforms to advance equality between women and men. And in all four countries a national women's machinery has been put in place, supported by political leaders, with strong mandates for achieving gender equality. South Africa also established a Gender Equality Commission, which serves as a monitoring mechanism and reports to the president's office.

It is difficult to establish whether adequate technical resources exist in these countries for implementing their commitments to gender equality. However, as the four case studies show, the multilayered responses (legislative, policy, and project) to gender inequality suggest that technical capacity is not lacking.

Similarly, it is hard to know whether the gender equality machinery has adequate financial resources to do its work, an area where information is sorely lacking. The limited information from Cambodia suggests that gender equality is underresourced relative to the other cross-sectoral ministry. Yet, the advent of gender-budget initiatives, especially in Chile, Rwanda, and South Africa holds the promise of such information becoming available and useful to gender equality advocates within and outside government.

Finally, in terms of monitoring and accountability, each country has women's movements that can hold governments to their promises. Gender budget initiatives are an important monitoring and accountability mechanism. Each country is a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, but it is not clear whether the associated monitoring mechanism truly serves to hold governments accountable for bringing about the changes required to meet the convention's provisions.⁴

Gender mainstreaming in MDG-based country policy processes

Poverty reduction strategies in low-income countries are the mechanism for influencing development policies and plans and ensuring that actions to address the Millennium Development Goals are implemented. Thus, a critical entry-point for promoting gender equality and women's empowerment at the country level is the poverty reduction strategy process.

Gender has been mainstreamed unevenly across donor-initiated Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (Zuckerman and Garrett 2003). Whitehead's (2003) review in four countries found that gender issues appear in fragmented fashion—addressed very little or not at all in policy sections of the documents. Despite guidelines in the World Bank Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Sourcebook to treat gender as a cross-cutting issue, two of the four cases

A gender-aware public spending plan must include sex-disaggregated and gender-sensitive measures for inputs, outputs, and outcomes

Whitehead reviews do not do so. Perhaps partly in response to the Millennium Development Goals, the most consistently mentioned policy areas for women are health and education.

A core recommendation of the UN Millennium Project's (2005a) *Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals* is that every developing country restructure its short-term poverty reduction strategy in the context of a 10-year Millennium Development Goals (MDG) framework. This offers the opportunity to apply the lessons from past poverty reduction strategy processes so that the new MDG-based poverty reduction strategies succeed in fully mainstreaming gender and empowering women.

The UN Millennium Project suggests a five-step approach to designing an MDG-based poverty reduction strategy (UN Millennium Project 2005a). Gender considerations should be an integral component of each step.

First, as noted in chapter 10, the data that countries use to diagnose the nature and dynamics of poverty must be disaggregated by sex. Surveys will need to collect individual as well as household-level data to understand the gender-differentiated causes, dynamics, and consequences of poverty. Large-scale survey efforts already under way (such as the World Bank's Living Standards Measurement Study and ORC-Macro's Demographic and Health Surveys) provide an opportunity to collect information on sources and uses of income by different household members, to incorporate time allocation modules, and to use more participatory poverty appraisals. This will help to remedy one of the most glaring deficiencies in data on women's lives—the lack of information on female poverty—and will increase the efficiency of investments and programs to reduce poverty by ensuring that they are appropriately designed and targeted.

Second, in undertaking a systematic needs assessment to evaluate policies, governance structures, and public investments, countries should use the tools and methodologies described earlier in this chapter. Gender analysis will ensure that the needs assessment reflects the differentiated needs of male and female citizens, but that must occur through a consultative process that allows for the full participation of women's organizations. Moreover, the gender needs assessment described in chapter 11 will indicate the level of financial resources necessary to meet those needs.

Third, in converting the needs assessment into a detailed three-year MDG-based poverty reduction strategy in the context of a medium-term expenditure framework, both the plan for public spending and services and the financing strategy should be based on a gender analysis of public expenditure and revenue. As the case studies illustrate, gender budget analysis initiatives can illuminate the costs of public services and monitor the allocation of expenditure differentially for women and men. A gender-aware public spending plan must include sex-disaggregated and gender-sensitive measures for inputs, outputs, and outcomes. It must also make gender equality an explicit indicator of performance.

The next 10 years provide a new window of opportunity to take action on a global scale to achieve gender equality and empower women

And it must incorporate into the budget framework new dimensions of costs and expenditures that are not typically included, such as the unpaid care of children, the elderly and sick, provided by women (Sharp 2003).

Finally, the public sector management strategy for implementation of the three-year poverty reduction strategy and the 10-year framework, with its focus on transparency, accountability, and results-based management, should include processes that allow stakeholders committed to gender equality to participate in meaningful ways. For example, women's organizations and other civil society groups that promote gender equality must be given full information and be able to participate in formal feedback mechanisms through which accountability can be exercised.

Conclusion

Much of what has been covered in this chapter has been known for several decades. But it has been difficult to translate this knowledge into development policy and practice at the scale required to bring about a fundamental transformation in the distribution of power, opportunity, and outcomes for both women and men. The next 10 years provide a new window of opportunity to take action on a global scale to achieve gender equality and empower women as part of meeting all the Millennium Development Goals. Governments and international organizations can provide an enabling environment to make this possible. Women's organizations need the space and resources to bring about the societal transformations that remove the constraints, fulfill the potential, and guarantee the rights of women in all countries. The recommendations in this chapter can pave the way toward that future.