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AFRICAN WOMEN'S REPORT 2000

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:
THE NEED FOR DATA
TO INFORM POLICY DEBATE

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Foreword

The African Women's Report for 2000 addresses the importance of generating comprehensive and up-to-date data on women in reducing gender inequalities. The data show the current status of women in Africa, in view of globalisation and technological development in information and communication that Africa cannot afford to ignore. The new millennium rekindles hope for Africa's emergence from decades of crises to a renaissance that not only places her in the ranks progressive of nations around the globe but also promises that Africa is the continent of the future. Africa is entering an important period of its history, with the resurgence of democracy and economic recovery. Both these processes require mobilisation of all its energy. To participate in this collective endeavour, ACW has initiated a process for optimising its tools for collecting and dissemination of information on African women.

Performing the role of co-ordinating and promoting gender equality in the region, ECA has to-date facilitated the creation of structures and increased awareness at various levels with the intention of advancing the role and status of women in Africa. The focus has been on establishing a baseline for monitoring and evaluating the progress African countries are making in implementing the Beijing and Dakar Platforms for Action (PFA). The report is a follow up on country brochures and the CD-ROM on the status of women, launched respectively at the Fortieth Anniversary Conference on African Women and Economic Development held in Addis Ababa in 1998 and at the Beijing +5 conference held in New York in June 2000. It is expected that the report will serve as a convenient and reliable tool for access, analysis and dissemination of essential data on the status of women in Africa.

The report contends that there can be no successful African development policy or genuine economic recovery without pursuing a strategy to bridge the existing information gap and providing regular gender disaggregated data (GDD) to inform development policy-makers. No meaningful assessment of progress made since Beijing can be carried out without statistical evidence and this report hopes to serve as an assessment tool in that regard. Comprehensive, accurate, up-to-date, timely and reliable data are central to effective policy formulation, design, development and implementation of programmes and projects for the advancement of women. The absence of data in general and of gender disaggregated statistics in particular poses great problems in utilising available data for meaningful policy decision-making or design, and for development and implementation of programmes and projects that serve to hasten the achievement of gender equality.

The report argues for greater recognition of women's contribution to economic growth and development in Africa. The unpaid work performed by 70 per cent of the labour force in Africa (mainly women, particularly in agriculture, energy, transport, food processing and provision, and social reproduction) remains unaccounted for. The policy processes required are to collect and analyse gender sensitive data and record them correctly for dissemination and use in planning and budget allocations. Such data should enhance the recognition and promotion of women's contribution to economic growth and development in Africa.

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April 2001

Introduction

This year's report, on the status of African women indicates the need for African countries to accelerate the provision of current and accurate data necessary for the development of gender sensitive policies and programmes. The report argues that without gender sensitive statistics, national policies and programmes cannot comprehensively mainstream gender concerns, either with regard to national development plans or in monitoring and evaluating the implementation of Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action. Indeed, the report contends that successful African development is seriously hampered by lack of accurate and up-to-date statistics, compounded by inadequate pursuit of strategies to enhance the collection of gender disaggregated data (GDD). The important relationship between reliable statistics and long-term socio-economic development is well established, as is the fact that effective planning and equitable resource allocation are contingent on gender sensitive statistics and analyses. To address the ramifications of a lack of sex segregated statistics in developing gender responsive policies and programmes to reduce gender inequalities, the report is divided into four parts namely: Gender Imbalances in Education, Women's Participation in Economy, and Women in Power and Decision-making and Conclusions.

The chapter on education shows that data in the education sector are primarily concerned with the issue of enrolment ratios. Comprehensive and timely statistics to inform on such critical issues as the observed higher rates of attrition and repetition among female students are limited in scope and timeliness. Data are also limited in scope and timeliness regarding the fact that female students tend to drop out at a higher rate than boys with each successive stage in the educational process; translating into gross under-representation of female students in African higher education.

Once in higher education, women preponderate in social sciences, humanities and the teaching profession. It is unclear why female students shun science and science related disciplines known to provide better career opportunities, and financial remuneration. Policies and programmes to increase access to education, especially at the first level, need to be informed by GDD that address the myriad of socio-cultural and economic constraints, as well as that which provides information on countries that have significantly lowered the gender gaps in education. Why are some countries able to reduce gender gaps in education at a faster rate than others? What is the vision that leads to the development of gender responsive policies and programmes?

On Women's economic participation, the report indicates that women's contributions are largely unrecognised and unremunerated. A significant proportion of women's economic contribution does not feature in the Systems of National Accounts (SNA). To reflect women's contribution in SNA requires a redefinition of the concept of work, devoid of Western notions of domesticity and a better understanding of the dynamics of household economics that is decisively African. Lack of GDD about women's contribution to national economies, exacerbated by perceptions of households as headed exclusively by males and supposedly the sole breadwinners, have culminated in women being excluded from accessing critical resources. In agriculture, for example, national policies are not gender responsive about the fact that African women dominate food production, in addition to contributing to their husbands' cash-cropping activities. Women lack access to land, credit, fertilisers, and training, among other factors. Also, little is known about women's participation in urban and rural informal sectors beyond the fact that they dominate the lower end of the informal sector, provide critical unpaid family labour, work extremely long hours and are constantly harassed by a hostile policy environment. The report indicates the importance of generating gender sensitive information that is not exclusively based on census or sample surveys. Census or sample survey enumeration procedures are not equipped to capture entirely, or indeed significantly, the multiplicity of women's roles and their contributions to national economies. Data are also needed on women's attempts at accessing senior level managerial positions. Limited data

indicate that they face problems of glass ceiling, and once they are appointed to senior management positions, they face problems in seeking promotion.

Access to power and decision-making remains one of the most difficult areas for women. For example, the latest statistics indicate that the proportion of parliamentarians who are female in Africa is 11.5 per cent. In government the under-representation is even more pronounced. Many factors, including the burden of women's multiple roles, traditional notions about the role of women in society, and financial constraints coalesce to exclude women from power and decision-making structures. Some countries have instituted quotas and affirmative actions in attempts to adhere to international commitments to increase women's participation, but these are few and far in between. GDD are needed to indicate what kinds of policies are required to increase women's participation in decision making at all levels. Despite the problems associated with quotas and affirmative actions, these systems are critical in increasing women's participation. The report also argues for more information on women who have been able to access power despite male resistance, and the most critical factors keeping women from power and decision-making, and policies to overcome the obstacles.

The report concludes by stating that, the development of comprehensive data on women is hampered by a number of factors. One, national statistics and resource allocations are gender-blind. Two, data for promoting gender sensitivity in policy formulation and implementation with regard to women's access to power and decision-making are seriously limited. Three, there are significant gender disparities in access to resources: in some countries, for example, the percentage of female population enrolled in school is about half that of males. Four, Women's poor representation in political decision-making persists and the percentage of women in the higher echelons of economic decision-making (administrators and managers) is depressingly low.

Executive Summary

The African Women's Report 2000 focuses on the status of women in Africa in three key areas: women in education, economic empowerment, and in power and decision-making structures. The report aims at strengthening gender analysis and for establishing a baseline for monitoring and evaluating the progress African countries have made in implementing some aspects of the Beijing and Dakar Platforms for Action (PFAs). The report contends that gender sensitive statistics are essential tools for continuous integration of gender concerns into policies, plans and programmes. Gender desegregated data (GDD) identify disparities where they exist, and point to the implications of significant differences. Generation and dissemination of gender sensitive data for planning and evaluation are imperative for the effective implementation of gender-responsive policies and programmes for advancing development, peace and equality.

The available data show gaps in the coverage of important topics, in promptness and in regard to country coverage. The gaps clearly affect data interpretation on the prevailing status of women. Gender gaps and gender disparities in socio-economic indicators arise from gender inequality in policy decision making, planning and programme implementation. The lack of data in some critical areas is therefore of major concern.

Reducing Gender imbalances in Education

Education is a prerequisite for almost every facet of human development: It is critical for accessing and appreciating a whole range of rights, needs and entitlements. Illiteracy hinders men and women from assimilating information that impact on their lives in fundamental ways. Education facilitates appointments to policy and decision making positions, thus enhancing equality in power sharing.

There are serious disparities in access to essential resources and services such as education. In some countries such as Niger and Mali, the percentage of female population enrolled in school is about half (or much less than) that of males, while in Botswana and South Africa, females are 84.0 and 91.5 per cent of male enrolment. The level of education attainment does not match the level of appointments of women and men in decision-making positions; indicating the importance of countries monitoring the consequences of gender policies and practices and making appropriate adjustments, informed and guided by gender sensitive data.

The percentage of the school-going population currently in school is a good indicator of the country's educational planning for the present and the future. Ideally every country should aim at achieving 100 per cent school enrolment and attendance but available data show that this is far from the case in many African countries. However, there are data indicating that there has been positive progress made in access to basic education. In some cases, enrolments have more than doubled and in other cases tripled in the last 3 decades. Positive trends are reported for example in: Algeria, Egypt and Tunisia. The report points to positive correlation between higher enrolment ratios at the primary level and women's access to higher education. For this reason and many other compelling factors, including lower fertility levels, reduced maternal and child mortality rates, healthier families, greater overall economic productivity etc., free, universal and compulsory education at the primary level is thought to be imperative.

The report makes a case for gender sensitive statistics to inform strategies aimed at reducing women's relative exclusion from science and science related subjects especially: mathematics, computer sciences and information technology. Quota systems and affirmative action, backed by scholarship schemes for deserving female students, increased role models and a more women friendly university environment, are some of the strategies that might increase women's enrolment in science and science related fields. Greater participation of African women in these fields leads to their greater integration into the global economy.

The report argues that reducing gender gaps in education should go beyond enrolment ratios. For example, we need GDD to explain why there is a progressive decline of female enrolment ratios from one level to the next. In some African communities declining enrolment ratios for boys are being reported. GDD should offer an explanation for this phenomenon. GDD on policies to reduce gender gaps in education should indicate the extent to which those responsible for formulating and implementing gender sensitive policies for educational planning, are themselves gender sensitive.

Women's Economic Participation

The data on the Economic Activity of Women show that as a percentage of the adult labour force for most countries, women are well represented in the formal sector where they represent between 30 to 50 per cent of the workforce. However, the share of earned income varies from 19 per cent (for Algeria) to 42 per cent (for Malawi) because women remain at the lower echelons of the workforce. In about one third of the countries, female representation of Administrators and Managers stands at below 10 per cent. On the issue of promotion and movement on occupational ladders, women face daunting problems. Unfortunately, adequate data are only available for less than half of the countries and this information is not broken down into low, intermediate, and senior level management.

For both women and men, the formal sector represents only a fraction of the economic activity. Recording only data from the formal sector means missing data on the economic activities of the African majority, mainly the poor. For example, the activities of the market women of the West African countries remain unrecorded, as do the activities of the vibrant informal sector in the rest of Africa. Similarly, the reproductive work of women is neither recognised nor recorded while men's work is for the most part accounted for in the productive sector. Women contribute to development not only through remunerated work but also through unremunerated domestic and community work. This is also frequently neither measured in quantitative terms nor valued in national accounts. The full data on the type, extent and distribution of this unremunerated work will contribute to a better sharing of responsibilities.

Limited educational opportunities seriously constrain women's participation in managerial positions at all levels of the economy. Data indicate that once recruited at the managerial level, women face daunting problems in relation to mobility and career development. Consequently, women are mostly found at the lower end of the managerial cadre.

The report indicates that an overwhelming majority of African women are to be found mostly in the urban and rural informal sectors and in the agricultural sector. Despite the dominance of women in these sectors, there is little GDD to guide policies or strategies to improve either their working conditions or their lives.

Data indicate that women face universal constraints in accessing and controlling land. Outdated land tenure systems continue to be a major obstacle to women's participation in the agricultural sector despite their dominance in food production. Also, both in the informal sector and in agriculture, women face severe problems of exclusion from credit facilities, despite strong evidence indicating that women rarely default on their loans. Lack of collateral and the micro nature of their business make it difficult for them to obtain credit.

Good quality data are important in enhancing our understanding of the actual situation of women regarding poverty, especially in relation to households headed by women. Policy decision-makers, programmers and project managers require gender sensitive data to effectively recognise, value and reward women's contribution to economic growth and development. Countries must ensure such contribution is not overlooked, unvalued and unrecorded because women's work is central to all efforts exerted towards development and poverty reduction. The report stresses that the provision of reliable GDD for all countries will facilitate appreciation of the full socio-economic situation on the continent. Such data will facilitate the transformation of gender relations in the

economic sector and enhance the process of making government spending gender sensitive. Reliable and timely data are needed to inform strategies designed to accelerate the economic empowerment of women through pressure on their governments.

Women in Power and Decision-Making

There are enormous gaps in women's access to and participation in power and decision-making structures in Africa. The gaps are evident in women's poor representation in political and economic decision-making. For the majority of African countries, representation in Parliament stood at below 10 percent in 1997. Encouraging direction was spear-headed by Heads of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) who signed a declaration on Gender and Development: committing themselves, among other things, to a 30 per cent level of women in decision-making by the year 2000. Additional initiatives by the other sub-regions are likely to enhance the situation of women in Africa significantly. Currently, the percentage of women in the higher echelons of economic decision-making is painfully low.

The report argues that women should be members of decision-making bodies, first as a matter of social justice since women comprise at least half of the population in each nation, but also because women's perspectives and experiences add new dimensions to deliberations. Data on women in Decision-Making show gender discrepancies in access to power sharing. Thus, in 32 countries, women's representation was reported as 0 - 0.9 per cent; 10 - 20 per cent in 10 countries; and 20 per cent - 30 in 4 countries. Seychelles (27 per cent), South Africa (25 per cent), Mozambique (25 per cent) and Eritrea (21 percent) have, on the whole, better representation than other African countries. Women's under-representation is also reflected in high government positions where 36 countries have less than 10 per cent female representation. In 11 countries there is between 10 per cent and 20 per cent women representation in national governments. Only Gambia (22 per cent) and Seychelles (31 per cent) have over 20 per cent representation.

Gender gaps in all sectors of society will not close until women share power and participate in decision-making. Gender relations must be addressed at every level of society since each reinforces the other. The available data on this subject were not comprehensive for all countries, and where available, gender discrepancies were indicated. The serious gender disparities in access to power sharing in many countries only emphasize the importance of countries consistently reaching out to use GDD in monitoring gender consequences of policies and practices, and making appropriate adjustments. Comparative data are needed on how electoral processes work in different African nations and what the impact of affirmative action has been for different types of electoral systems.

Chapter 1

Gender Imbalances in Education

It has been argued that education is the single most important investment a country can make. In recognition of this fact, African countries invested heavily in the educational infrastructure in the first two decades of their independence. The result was spectacular growth in all facets of African education: primary school enrolment increased by an average rate of 7 per cent per annum. Between 1960 and 1980 adult literacy rose from 9 per cent to 45 per cent during the same period: enrolments at secondary and tertiary levels grew even more rapidly at 12 per cent and 14.9 per cent respectively. However, due to the unparalleled economic crisis of the eighties and part of the nineties, compounded by unprecedented demographic pressures, the African education infrastructure has decelerated precipitously. For instance, regional per capita expenditure on education dropped significantly while capital spending has practically ceased. The consequences have been quantitative and qualitative decay in the educational sector, as evidenced by lack of physical equipment, flight of teachers and falling enrolment ratios at all levels. As a result, African education faces enormous financial and human resources difficulties - the gender ramifications associated with these difficulties have been relatively well documented.

The Beijing Platform contends that:

...Non-discriminatory education benefits both girls and boys and thus ultimately contributes to more equal relationships between women and men. Equality of access to and attainment of educational qualifications is necessary if more women are to become agents of change... Investing in formal and non-formal education and training for girls and women, with its exceptionally high social and economic return, has proved to be one of the best means of achieving sustainable development and economic growth that is both sustained and sustainable.

Declining Enrolment Ratios at the Primary Level

Even though African countries have made enormous strides in providing educational opportunities, gross enrolment ratios (GER), especially at the first level have declined precipitously. Table 1 below indicates that GER declined steadily from 79 per cent in 1980 to 74.3 per cent in 1992, and was further estimated to decline to 71.7 per cent by the year 2000. Too many children are out of school, wasting away and perhaps creating a time bomb for the continent. In three countries, as many as 80 per cent of the girl-children of primary and secondary school-going age, i.e. 7-19 years are excluded from school for a variety of reasons. For example, in Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso only 20 per cent of girls are in school, against 70 per cent for boys. Seven other countries have an enrolment rate of 30 per cent, 4 countries have an enrolment rate of 40 per cent, 16 countries have an enrolment rate of 50 per cent and 5 countries have a 60 per cent enrolment rate (ECA, 1998). While discussing enrolments, it is important to bear in mind the fact that GER conceals an important factor vis à vis the number of children in the eligible age group who should be in school (Net Enrolment Ratios) but who are not. In the absence of significant macroeconomic changes, UNESCO projections are that GER would continue to decline, unabated.

The crisis in education, especially at the first level, is particularly serious for Africa's long-term development prospects because the highest returns from education are usually at the first level. Studies demonstrate unequivocally the positive relationship between sound primary education and such diverse spheres of human development as life expectancy, agricultural productivity, fertility levels, raised incomes, improved child health, and the like. Greater enrolment rates are also critical in reducing the levels of illiteracy in general. In the 1990s, almost half of African countries were reported to have adult literacy rates of less than 40 per cent. Also, high levels of illiteracy are negatively correlated to rapid economic growth necessary for sustained poverty reduction strategies.

Currently, illiteracy among African women ranks among the highest in the world and was projected to increase further by the year 2000.

Table 1: Past, present and projected enrolment at the primary level

Year	Gross enrolment ratio			Total number of pupils (in millions)		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
1980	79.2	89.3	69.0	64.1	36.3	27.8
1990	72.9	79.8	65.8	79.5	43.8	35.7
1992	74.3	80.9	67.5	86.1	47.2	38.9
2000	71.7	78.1	65.3	104.5	57.2	47.3

Source: UNESCO, Report on the State of Education in Africa, "Education Strategies for the 1990s: Orientations and Achievements", UNESCO, Breda, 1995.

Positive enrolment was reported in a number of African countries between 1980 and 1996. For example, marked progress in school enrolment took place in Algeria, 26 per cent increase for girls and 14 per cent for boys, Egypt, 32 per cent for girls and 21 per cent for boys, and Tunisia 34 per cent for girls and 16 per cent for boys. On the other hand, except for Morocco (57 per cent), all the other North African countries have reached 80 per cent of girls enrolled in school, as have most of the Southern African countries (no accessible data for Malawi). Zambia has 58 per cent, Lesotho 76 per cent and Mauritius 84 per cent. The scale tips in favour of girls in Botswana and South Africa with 3 per cent more for girls. Swaziland has 4 per cent more for girls while Lesotho has 10 per cent more for girls (ECA, loc.cit.)

Negative school enrolments, on the other hand, were reported for four countries during the same period. These countries included Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Lesotho and Tanzania. In these countries, the enrolment rates fell by 1 per cent for girls and 6 per cent for boys, 7 per cent for girls and 14 per cent for boys, 7 per cent for girls but an increase of 7 per cent for boys, and 12 per cent for girls and 20 per cent for boys, respectively. The most glaring gender disparities are to be found in Togo where female enrolment for 1996 was 59 per cent against 92 per cent for boys. A difference of 33 per cent, followed by Benin, with a difference of 28 per cent, Guinea 20 per cent, Gambia 17 per cent and Sierra Leone 14 per cent. (ECA, ibid.).

Enrolment Ratios at the Secondary Level

Enrolments at the secondary level continued to increase during the 1980s and part of the 1990s. However, due to a combination of factors, ranging from rapid population increase, poor economic performance and mismanagement, compounded by declining financial resources to education, enrolments at the secondary level were projected to decline by the year 2000 (UNESCO, 1995). As can be seen from Table 2 below, enrolment ratios would have declined from 27.8 in 1990 to 27.3 in 2000. But, as UNESCO points out, the above factors are not sufficient to explain the downward trend in secondary school enrolments since the "lost" decade of the 1980s was particularly difficult for Africa, economically, and yet, increasing enrolment ratios are reported for many African countries.

Gender imbalances at the secondary level continued unabated in line with the observation that gender gaps increase with each successive stage of education. Thus, in most African countries, girls are severely under-represented at the secondary level. It has been pointed out that "Although a smaller proportion of girls enrolled in Grade 1 actually complete primary school ($GR=0.81$), those enrolled in the final grade of primary continue on to secondary at close to the same rate as boys ($GR=0.92$). Severe disparities exist in girls' access to secondary school, however, as it is indicated by the gross secondary enrolment Gender Ratio of 0.50, despite a primary completion Gender Ratio

(GR) of 0.81. In secondary school, girls repeat at a rate slightly higher than boys (GR=1.10), and the secondary completion Gender Ratio of 0.64 indicates that substantially fewer girls than boys complete secondary school" level (Hartnett and Heneveld (1993, p.12). Sex segregated data are therefore needed to explain what happens to female students once they are enrolled at this level of education.

Table 2: Past, Present and Projected Enrolment at Secondary Level in Africa

Year	Gross Enrolment Ratio			Total Number of Pupils (in millions)		
	MF	M	F	MF	M	F
1980	21.8	27.4	16.1	14.3	9.0	5.3
1988	27.5	32.5	22.3	22.0	13.2	8.8
1990	27.8	32.1	23.5	23.8	13.8	10.0
1992	27.8	32.5	26.9	27.1	14.9	12.2
2000	27.3	30.7	23.8	31.9	18.1	13.8

Source: UNESCO, 1995.

It is clear then that despite the unprecedented expansion in education in Africa at all levels, female participation continues to cause great concern. For example, during the 1960s and 1970s, girls' enrolments increased appreciably sometimes exceeding that of boys. "However, by 1990, girls still made only 45 per cent of primary, 34 per cent of secondary students and 21 per cent of tertiary level education" (Hartnet and Heveveld, Ibid). Between 1980 and 1992 (GER) the first level increased, albeit only slightly, in most of the African countries for which data exist. But equally as important, is the fact that female gross enrolment ratios decreased in 13 countries including such populous countries as Nigeria, Zaire, Kenya, and Madagascar (UNESCO, 1995). Enrolments remained stagnant in several other countries. In this connection, UNESCO report points out that "In Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, fewer than half the girls aged 11- 16 attend school, and the rate drops very noticeably in the higher age-brackets" (Delors, 1996: 11).

Gender Imbalances at the Tertiary Level

The trend for enrolment in institutions of higher learning has been one of rapid increase, in Africa, as in other developing countries. Thus, between 1970 and 1990, the average growth rate for students in the developing world was 350 per cent. For Africa, the rate was even higher, at 550 per cent (UNESCO, 1997). These achievements notwithstanding, on the whole, the number of students in tertiary education is low for both males and females. However, Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa, exhibits some of the worst gender imbalances at the tertiary level institutions. The percentage of women in higher education is about 25 per cent, and, as already indicated, is much lower than either at secondary or primary level. Women are severely underrepresented in university teaching where they represent about 20 per cent of lecturers and about 3 per cent of professors (Ajayi and Goma, 1996). Saint (1992) points out that in the decade of the 1980s, women's access to higher education declined in 9 countries out of 31 for which data were available.

From table 3 below, comparisons can be made of the proportion of female students, as opposed to male students, in higher education within selected African countries. In line with trends in the first two levels, Lesotho and Namibia are the only nations in which females outnumber males in enrolment. In Botswana and South Africa, females make up 84.0 and 91.5 percent of male enrolment. The proportion drops to 12.5 per cent in Tanzania and 6.6 per cent in Chad. In addition to their overall under-representation in higher education, women's enrolment in science, mathematics and engineering is minuscule.

There are also major disparities between countries on the continent and between Sub-regions. In Namibia and Lesotho women are 157.1 and 117.3 per cent of male enrolment respectively. However, in countries like Tanzania, Chad, Ethiopia and Benin, women make up only

12.5, 6.6, 27.2, and 21.4 per cent respectively of male enrolment. Much of Northern Islamic Africa has been able to reduce gender disparities significantly, as has South Africa. Sub-Saharan Africa is where the major problem lies. In the mid 1990s, many of these countries showed less than 1 per cent female enrolment at the tertiary-level. For instance, the figures were 0.9, 0.5, 0.3, and 0.4 per cent for Benin (1995), Burkina Faso (1994), Eritrea (1994) and Uganda (1994) respectively (ECA, 1998). It has been shown that overall economic growth leads to higher tertiary enrolment for women. Thus countries like South Africa, (15.2 per cent), Botswana (3.7 per cent), and Morocco (9.4 per cent) with stronger economies each had more women within the population enrolled in 1994.

Table 3: Percentage of Males and Females Receiving Tertiary Education in Selected African Countries

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL %	MALE %	FEMALE %	FEMALE AS % OF MALE
Algeria	1995	10.9	12.8	8.9	69.5
Benin	1995	2.6	4.2	0.9	21.4
Botswana	1994	4.1	4.4	3.7	84.0
Burkina Faso	1994	1.1	1.6	0.5	31.2
Chad	1994	0.8	1.5	0.1	6.6
Cote d'Ivoire	1993	4.4	6.7	2.1	31.3
Egypt	1994	18.1	22.1	13.7	61.9
Eritrea	1994	1.1	1.9	0.3	15.7
Ethiopia	1994	0.7	1.1	0.3	27.2
Gambia	1994	1.7	2.3	1.2	52.1
Lesotho	1994	2.4	2.3	2.7	117.3
Morocco	1994	11.3	13.0	9.4	72.3
Mozambique	1994	0.4	0.6	0.2	33.3
Namibia	1995	8.1	6.3	9.9	157.1
South Africa	1994	15.9	16.6	15.2	91.5
Swaziland	1993	5.1	5.7	4.5	78.9
Togo	1994	3.2	5.6	0.8	14.2
Tunisia	1995	12.9	14.2	11.5	80.9
Tanzania	1995	0.5	0.8	0.1	12.5
Uganda	1994	1.5	2.2	0.9	40.9
Zimbabwe	1995	6.9	10.1	3.8	37.6

Source: UNESCO Statistics on Education 1996 <http://www.unesco.org>

Women's under representation in science related fields

Concern over the gender gaps should go beyond the issue of gross enrolment. As can be seen from Table 4 below, gross under representation of women in science, mathematics and engineering is characteristic of most African countries. Women are also reported to be absent in the field of agriculture.

Table4: Female Enrolment Ratios by Field of Study

		Field of Study					
		N. Science	Math. & Comp. Sc.	Engineering	Education Science	Social & Behav. Science	Business Adm.
Country	Year	% F	% F	% F	% F	% F	% F
Gabon	1985	16.5	18.0	9.0	18.4	30.4	39.5
	1988/89	12.1	14.6	6.9	22.3	32.2	42.6
Rwanda	1985	6.2	2.9		26.8	25.6	22.0
	1989/90	13.3	9.6	3.8	30.1	32.9	24.3
Ethiopia	1985	7.5	12.6	3.3	19.1	14.3	34.4
	1991/92	10.5	20.2	7.1	18.7	21.7	32.0
Kenya	1985	13.9	27.5	1.7	37.0	28.5	38.3
	1991/92	12.6		4.7	39.1	21.2	17.7
Uganda	1985	15.5	8.6	2.0	24.0	27.6	41.1
	1990	14.8	12.4	5.7	29.2	26.7	36.4
Egypt	1985	33.0	26.8	12.8	46.9	43.1	30.1
	1992/93	42.5	18.8	15.0	50.4	41.5	31.8
Tunisia	1985	32.2	21.5	9.6	30.9	34.2	35.9
	1991	33.8	24.9	16.7	34.2	32.2	35.1
Lesotho	1985	29.8	55.6		72.1	55.9	52.0
	1991	35.6	56.3	16.2	64.7	58.0	
South Africa	1994	45.9	34.9	5.8	63.7	56.3	39.9
Ghana	1990/91	17.3	11.5	2.8	21.1	27.1	22.4
Guinea	1988	14.4	4.5	3.8	16.7	5.6	
	1990/91	5.8		3.8	7.3		

Source: Statistical Year Book. UNESCO 1993,1996

It is particularly interesting to note that countries that exhibit the least gender gaps in education at all levels also have a relatively high enrolment ratio of women in sciences, mathematics and computer sciences and engineering. Egypt providing the following example in 1992/93: 42.5 per cent, 18.8 per cent (this ratio indicates a drop from 26.8 per cent in 1985), and 15.0 per cent respectively. In 1991, Tunisia had an enrolment ratio of 33.8 per cent, 24.9 per cent and 16.7 per cent respectively. Similarly, in 1994, South Africa registered an enrolment ratio of 45.5 per cent in science, 34.9 per cent in mathematics and computer sciences and 5.8 per cent in engineering. However, Lesotho, which has been a model in registering relatively high enrolment ratios of female students, tops the list. Thus, in 1991, Lesotho had an enrolment ratio 35.6 per cent in science, a hefty 55.6 per cent in mathematics and computer sciences, and 16.2 per cent in

engineering. On the other hand, Guinea with one of the lowest enrolment ratios for girls at all levels reported in 1991 the lowest enrolment ratio of 5.8 per cent in science, had no data for mathematics and computer sciences, and 3.8 per cent for engineering.

Cost Sharing in Education: An Overview

Women's access to education, especially at the tertiary level, is further limited by the implementation of cost sharing and cost recovery regimes. Proponents of these measures point to the fact that public budgets for education have, in many instances, failed to keep pace with rising enrolments that have been supported by undifferentiated access policies. The prospects for growth are constrained by fiscal austerity measures and/or sluggish economic recovery and growth. Thus, the justification for implementing a regime of (full) cost-recovery, especially at the higher levels of education is increasingly seen to enhance their efficiency and sustainability. There are at least three major benefits: Proponents claim that implementing a well thought-out cost-recovery scheme will generate resources for the system as students pay for (and therefore may value more highly) higher education.

Cost recovery is also said to lead to greater allocative efficiency as institutions of higher education respond more effectively to student demand (reflecting relative earnings and shortages in the labour market). Finally, institutions of higher education are forced to compete for students, which will lead to greater responsibility on the part of users (students) and more accountability on the part of the institutions. The amalgamation of all of these factors, it has been argued, will ultimately contribute to better access for all, increased internal efficiency and greater societal relevance than can be achieved by relying solely on direct government support (ECA, 1999). There is need to provide GDD in this arena to show the differential impact of these policies on male and female students. The prior assumption, based on data on differential access to resources, which normally favour males, is that female students are more likely to be affected negatively by these policies than males students and that this is likely to be the case at all levels of the educational ladder.

What is becoming increasingly clear is the need for African governments to examine alternative and complementary modes of educational delivery given the environment of severe financial constraints. For example, distance education, with its flexible mode of delivery, is likely to provide women with greater educational opportunities given the fact that they have multiple roles.

The current situation in Ethiopia is a result of a long history of neglect of education, particularly for women. The government has failed to provide adequate resources for education, and the private sector has not been able to fill the gap. The result is a high level of illiteracy, particularly among women. This has led to a high level of poverty and a low level of economic development. The government has a responsibility to provide education for all, and to ensure that it is of high quality. This requires a commitment to education, and to the provision of adequate resources. The private sector also has a role to play, and should be encouraged to invest in education. The government should also ensure that education is accessible to all, and that it is of high quality. This requires a commitment to education, and to the provision of adequate resources. The private sector also has a role to play, and should be encouraged to invest in education. The government should also ensure that education is accessible to all, and that it is of high quality. This requires a commitment to education, and to the provision of adequate resources. The private sector also has a role to play, and should be encouraged to invest in education.

Source: Non-formal and distance education in Ethiopia: Lessons and challenges, 1997 and 2000.

Economic Causes of gender differentials in education

Concern regarding the fundamental causes of gender differentials in education and society must take cognisance of both the goals and obstacles underlying gender inequalities. Schultz (1993, pp. 51-95) argues that education, as an investment in human capital, has both social and private returns for those making the investment. Private costs and returns accrue to individuals and families who pay for the education of females. Included in the costs are financial layout, opportunity costs in terms of returns on female labour denied, marriage, the lack of "appropriate" socialisation and so forth. Returns include higher income, better career ladders and improved personal/family welfare. Social returns are the balance from both public and private costs. Social returns include a better quality labour force, a higher tax base for the government, research output and a more politically sophisticated population. Returns can be reviewed in terms of both market productivity and non-market productivity. The latter include social and personal gains from the lower death and fertility rates, better nutrition and health status associated with women's education. Nonetheless, societies tend to pay greater attention to males and to market productivity. Schultz also argues, that social returns tend to be lower than private returns.

Building on the work of Schultz (1995), other researchers have analysed the conditions responsible for lower levels of investment in women compared to men at both the private and societal level. This occurs even when it can be shown that returns on women are as high or even higher than returns on men. For example, it is now well established that higher levels of female education are inversely correlated to high levels of fertility, maternal mortality rates and infant and child mortality rates. Two types of questions, each requiring empirical research, arise from Schultz's work. First, how are returns altered by social conditions? For instance, how are health returns on female education altered by the introduction of a strong public health programmes, especially if treated water is piped to each house? What are the returns on tertiary education in communities

equipment shortages and adulteration are widespread? Secondly, what is the pattern of returns when gender gaps close? What is the impact within household structures when non-pooling of resources is the norm? Does this affect the pattern of spending on male and female children? Several scholars, including Schultz, have inquired about the optimal context for making the education of girls more important for parents and communities. These questions require empirical GDD.

The focus on costs and benefits forces us to pay closer attention to gender differentials in investing in women. Since the benefits of educating women not only enhance females, but also improve family and community welfare to a greater degree than male education; the question of why differentials persist becomes urgent. Some female scholars working on these issues have proposed two factors. The first is based on a 'rational man/person' model, and can be seen in the type of response given by Hill and King in their discussion on women's education in developing countries. Here, it is argued that "gender differentials in education endure because those persons who bear the private costs of investing in schooling for girls and women fail to receive the full benefits of their investment. This is true because much of the pay off in educating women is broadly social" (Hill and King, 1995). There are two issues here. The first is that parents must be persuaded to invest in girls at the lower levels of schooling in order for females subsequently to become candidates for higher education. Secondly, this problem is greatly exacerbated where there is no universal (free) primary and secondary education or where high opportunity costs and non-monetary costs are born by households in terms of loss of domestic or farm labour. Parental behaviour is thus perceived as rational given the structure of the economy and gender roles. The logic of this argument becomes clear when we observe parents trying to recoup their investment via higher bride-wealth costs, which have become rampant and exorbitant in some African communities.

Socio-cultural Causes of Gender Disparities

Causes of gender inequities at all levels of education are numerous and complex. However, socio-cultural constraints are perhaps the most powerful and intractable, in that they are deeply rooted in society's notions of differences between men and women. These constraints require profound and fundamental changes in the way societies are organised and structured. Because of the inherent inertia, socio-cultural impediments take a much longer time to change. For example, most female students at the tertiary level are likely to be older than the standard age for marriage in many African societies. Thus, deferring marriage and being involved less in their multiple roles in domestic production, defined as their natural domain, may be seen as threatening to the very fabric of society. Most female students and their families cannot ignore the fact that higher education may impact negatively on a girl's prospects for marriage. High bride prices being reported for some African countries are a response to the high cost of women's higher education. In addition, women who acquire higher education, especially a university degree, may reduce their marketability for marriage because men fear that highly educated women may be less subordinate and more difficult to control than their less educated sisters. And of course when cost is a major constraint, as it often is, few families would choose to send their daughter to university over an equally, or indeed less qualified, male child. In many countries, religious factors are widely and powerfully invoked to deprive women of education at all levels, especially at the tertiary level. Again, strong political will and courage are needed to convince societies of the inseparable link between women's education and sustainable development.

Examples of Best Practice

As already indicated, beyond the initial efforts (after independence) which witnessed spectacular growth in African education, including that of girls, a number of countries have done much better than others in reducing gender imbalances. Table 5 below gives a list of 15 African countries with a relatively high enrolment rate at the first level. Compared to low and medium-range enrolment rate countries, countries with high enrolment rates also have a relatively high proportion of their girl

children in school (UNESCO: 1995, pp 15-17). From this table and UNESCO data, it is clear that there is a relationship between higher overall enrolment rates at the first level and the proportion of girls being enrolled at primary level. Also, countries with higher enrolment rates at the first level are more likely to have higher rates of enrolments at the secondary and tertiary levels. This is an additional reason why it is imperative for African governments to universalise primary education by making it free and compulsory.

Table 5: Enrolment Rate and Proportion of Girls In Countries with 'high' Enrolment

	Gross Enrolment Rate				Proportion of Girls			
	1980	1988	1992	2000	1980	1988	1992	2000
Angola	175	105	91	99	47	46	48	48
Botswana	92	111	116	118	54	52	51	50
Cameroon	98	102	101	101	45	46	46	46
Cape Verde	114	116	116	112	49	49	49	50
Egypt	78	96	101	105	40	44	45	46
Kenya	115	96	95	95	47	48	49	49
Lesotho	102	111	106	110	59	55	54	53
Mauritius	98	105	106	104	49	49	49	49
Namibia		126	124	119		52	50	52
Swaziland	103	104	115	109	50	50	49	50
Togo	118	103	111	111	38	39	39	39
Tunisia	103	113	120	118	42	45	47	48
Zambia	90	97	92	90	47	48	48	48
Zimbabwe	85	128	119	121	48	49	48	49

Source: UNESCO, 1995.

Overall, the countries of the northern sub-region have more of its female population enrolled in education at all levels. In sub-Saharan Africa, the southern sub-region has also done relatively well. Besides Botswana and Lesotho, who score high on female education relative to male students in other sub-Saharan African countries, Zimbabwe topped the list of some African countries whose percentage of girl children reached at least grade 5 of primary education. This is the level at which the highest socio-economic returns are realised. Zimbabwe had 93 per cent of its girls reaching this level. Four others countries namely: Mauritius (91 per cent); Botswana (86 per cent); Kenya (71 per cent) and Cameroon (69 per cent) were among the top (UNICEF, 1994, p.20). It must be pointed out that these countries, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa were not necessarily the richest. This fact underpins the importance of political will in reducing gender disparities in education. Perhaps it is not coincidental that the SADC region, where gender disparities in education are relatively low, is the only sub-region that has signed a Declaration on Gender and Development designed to achieve Beijing commitments on greater equality in the decision-making arena.

Chapter 2

Women's Participation in the Economy

Data on all facets of women's economic activity are limited in scope and timeliness. Regarding recent trends, Beijing Platform for Action states that "In many regions, women's participation in remunerated work in the formal and non-formal labour market has increased significantly and has changed during the past decade. While women continue to work in agriculture and fisheries, they have also become increasingly involved in micro, small and medium-sized enterprises and, in some cases, have become more dominant in the expanding informal sector."

However, women's contribution to the economic sector continues to go largely unrecorded. On this problem, the Platform laments that:

"...women contribute to development not only through remunerated work but also through a great deal of unremunerated work... Though included in the United Nations System of National Accounts and therefore in international standards for labour statistics, this unremunerated work - particularly that related to agriculture - is often undervalued and under-recorded. On the other hand, women still also perform the great majority of unremunerated domestic work and community work such as caring for children and older persons, preparing food for the family, protecting the environment and providing voluntary assistance to vulnerable and disadvantaged individuals and groups. This work is often not measured in quantitative terms and is not valued in national accounts. Women's contribution to development is seriously underestimated and thus its social recognition is limited. The full visibility of the type, extent and distribution of this unremunerated work will also contribute to a better sharing of responsibilities."

Women's Unrecognised Economic Contribution

Historically, African women have always been key players in the economy. Their economic contributions span a wide spectrum of activities ranging from subsistence farming, where they are primarily responsible for domestic food production, to informal trade and services. In agriculture, in particular, their pre-eminent role, led Boserup (1970) to describe Africa as a female farming area. In addition to their multiple domestic roles, women are also heavily involved in cash-cropping, in their husband's or male relatives' farms. Normally, women are not paid for such services, defined as their contribution to family's subsistence. Also, a large proportion of women's work in the agricultural sector and in the urban and rural informal sectors is not recorded. This practice has its antecedents in earlier versions of System of National Accounts (UNIFEM, 2000, pp, 22-23) in which sharp boundaries are drawn between economic and non-economic activities. In this conceptual scheme, "production is carried out exclusively by enterprises while households merely consume". For complete accounting of women's contribution to national economies, it is argued that all production of goods, whether intended for sale or for household consumption, should be included in SNA. In other words, such non-market oriented work activities as preparation of meals, caring for dependent household members, fetching water and fuel collection, food preservation, and the like, should feature in SNA. Also, other aspects of women's work, such as processing of primary commodities, whether for household consumption or for sale, production of commodities for own use (e.g., shoes, clothes etc) or production of primary products (e.g. vegetable gardening, raising livestock etc.,) should be included in SNA (Goldschmidt-Clermont, 1994).

Difficulties associated with accounting for women's economic contribution, especially that related to women's labour force participation, has to do with the way work is defined and the fact

that estimates of labour force participation are based on population censuses and labour force surveys. For instance, the criterion used to determine whether a woman is economically active may be affected by the way information is obtained during the census or, as Fapohunda (1984) points out, the criterion used may vary from one sample survey enumeration to the next. It is this methodological difficulty that partly accounts for the marginalisation of many facets of women's economic contribution both in research and in national economic systems. For example, millions of women, especially in Islamic communities, who produce goods for sale, or trade within the confines of their own homes but do not receive a monetary wage, may be making substantial contribution to their families. These women are neither included in statistics on agricultural production, nor on women's contributions to the economy. To be sure, such women are not likely to be counted as economically active. We must also bear in mind that, relying on population and household surveys, to account for female labour force participation is likely to be gravely flawed. Only 60 per cent of African countries have official labour force estimates disaggregated by age and sex, and another mere 30 per cent provides estimates of labour force by occupation or industry (Anker, 1994, p. 64).

Formal Sector Participation

As a percentage of adult the labour force, available data indicate that in some countries, women are well represented in the formal labour force where they represent between 30 per cent and 50 per cent of the workforce. Data from ILO African Regional Office and ILO/JASPA and ILO EAMAT, seen from table 5 below, indicate that in some countries, women have made considerable inroads into participating in the formal sector labour force. The African Employment Report 1997/98 states that "...women represent a higher proportion of the labour force in SSA than elsewhere in the LDCs as a whole; their concentration in agriculture is overwhelmingly in SSA than elsewhere; and women in agriculture receive a lower wage in SSA than elsewhere relative to men" (ILO, 1997/98, p. 90).

Table 6: Proportion of Women to Paid Employment (%) (Percent)

Country	1982	1983	1990	1991
Kenya	18.4	19.7	21.9	22.4
Malawi	11.2	13.9	14.2	14.6
Mauritius	27.1	32.1	35.2	35.8
Niger	4.3	7.1	9.1	9.6
Swaziland	25.3	27.7	30.3	32.8
Botswana	26.0	29.0	33.2	34.2

Source: ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics 1992, Geneva, JASPA Estimates.

Similarly, the share of women's earned income in the formal sector varies between 19 per cent (for Algeria) and 42 per cent (for Malawi). Unfortunately, the data are only available for less than half of the countries. Availability of GDD in this critical sector is imperative for a greater appreciation of the magnitude of women's contribution to formal and informal economic activity in the region.

The table below on distribution of female labour force participation by major economic sectors confirms the assertion that women dominate the agricultural sector in Africa. In 1970, women constituted 84 per cent as opposed to 76 per cent in 1990. On the other hand, women are seriously underrepresented in the modern sector and in the informal sector where they constitute 1.9 and 10.1 per cent respectively. The percentage of women operators in the informal sector, 10 per cent, is not supported by even casual observation of market places in African. As already indicated the problem stems from the way work has been defined. At any rate, current estimates put women's participation in the informal sector at around 60 per cent.

Table 7: Distribution of Female Labour Force by Major Economic Sectors (1)

Major Sector	1970	1980	1985	1990
Agriculture	84.0	76.0	75.0	76.0
Informal Sector	10.1	14.8	17.9	17.7
Modern Sector	1.9	3.6	5.9	5.0
Unemployed	4.0	5.6	1.2	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: JASPA Data Bank, 1990. P. 71

Attempts to record the economic activity of women reveal serious gaps in availability of data in formal sector participation. For example, ILO¹, the key agent charged with the responsibility of reporting on employment and labour force participation, has data for only 5 African countries in its 2000 Year Book of Labour Statistics (2000, pp. 339-345). And for most of these countries, except for Kenya, Mauritius and Zimbabwe, the data are incomplete and several years old. For both women and men, the formal sector represents only a fraction of total economic activities. Weeks (1995, p. 3) points out that with an exception of Southeast Asia, "...in no other region of the world is employment in the sense of formal sector employee status as unimportant as in sub-Saharan Africa". Therefore, to consider only data recorded from the formal sector would be missing a great deal of the economic activities of the African, mainly the poor woman and man. For

¹ See for example the ILO World Employment Reports, especially 1998/99, pp.24-25. The various Labour Market Reports and the African Employment Series.

example, the celebrated market women of the West African countries do not appear significantly in available data, nor do the activities of the vibrant informal sector.

Thus, with the exception of a few countries like South Africa, Botswana, Nigeria, Egypt and Algeria, the formal sector in Africa is small and generally employs less than 30 percent of the nation's labour force. Fewer women than men, are found in this sector and they tend to be segregated into certain 'female' occupations or marginalised at the bottom of occupational ladders. In South Africa for instance, even though women are well represented in professional and administrative occupations, most are found in just four: nursing and paramedics; teaching; clerical; and sales. In 1992, women comprised only 6 percent of engineers and architects and 8 percent of the 'protective services' (UWC, 1997, p. 23). In Morocco, 63 percent of female urban workers are found in non-skilled or semiskilled jobs (Griffiths, 1998, P. 15). Not only are unemployment rates higher for women, but special policies are sometimes developed to employ men in the hope of averting civil unrest. In the early 1990s, this type of policy led to rising unemployment among women as rates fell among men in Morocco (ibid, p. 16).

Explanations of gender differentials in employment draw heavily on Schultz' (1961) human capital thesis touched on in the last chapter. Namely that investment in education yields high returns for both private individuals and society (Schultz, 1993, pp. 51-94). To the extent that women receive less education than men and a different type of education – e.g., women are less likely to receive scientific or technical training – they are at a disadvantage when seeking employment. Griffiths points out that in Morocco women are more likely to be hired if they have tertiary education. Similarly, Willer found that the level of education among a sample of female industrialists in Nigeria was well above the national average. He contends that "there is a slight, but significantly positive correlation between the degree of formal education and success of the enterprise measured by its expansion" (Willer, 1995, pp. 128-129). The call therefore, is to invest in women's education to ensure they have the same chances as men of getting formal sector employment. Girls are consistently taken out of school to help with housework, farming or to augment household income during economic crises. Childhood marriages still occur, even where, as in Nigeria, it is illegal to withdraw girls from school for marriage.

Nonetheless, data on women's employment rates in the few countries where female education outstrips that of males reveal that the problem of women's concentration in low pay sectors goes beyond educational attainment. In Lesotho, for example, female adult literacy is higher than for males. Despite the quality of the female labour force, Marlowe and Setsbi (1996, p. 2) conclude, from a 1991 study of the Labour Construction Unit (Ministry of Works), that "workplace attitudes in Lesotho towards females are often negative; women must then work harder than males to earn recognition. Furthermore, women have production constraints such as child care and household duties. Casual labour in the unit was recruited within the village and village chiefs favoured males. Male supervisors outnumbered females by 10 to 1". When new activities are integrated with old structures (village councils) care must be taken to assess the impact on women."

Women in the Managerial Positions

Women are disproportionately represented in the lower end of both the formal and informal sectors. At the administrative and managerial levels their representation is dismal. From table 8 below, it can be seen that except in 7 countries, where women constitute between 23 and 36 per cent of female administrators and managers, women are generally underrepresented in these occupations. In about one third of the countries, female representation at this level stands at below 10 per cent. Eight countries have between 11 per cent and 20 per cent while only 6 countries have above 20 per cent. Lesotho is second highest with 33 per cent while Botswana stands highest with 36. There is a need for strategies to enable women to rise on the higher economic decision making echelons just as in political decision-making discussed in the next chapter.

When women are employed in managerial positions, they tend to be at the lower end of occupational ladder with poor pay and benefits. They are also segregated in care taking roles. On

the issue of promotion and movement on occupational ladders, they face daunting problems requiring investigation. What are the historical trends? United Nations data on female administrators and managers for 1994 and 1995 reveal that in most African nations fewer than 15 percent of these employees were women. In Tunisia, Algeria, Zambia, Togo, Zimbabwe and Gambia for instance, 12.7, 5.9, 6.1, 7.9, 15.4 and 15.5 percent respectively were women (UNDP, 1999). As this information is not broken down into low level, intermediate, and senior management; sex segregated statistics are likely to reveal more penetrating information. Research on problems women face as they seek promotion need to be located. Further, the constraints women encounter once they reach the senior levels of management need to be outlined.

Table 8: Administrators and Managers
Administration 1992-1996 Female Administrators & Managers (%)

Country	% of women	Country	% of women
Egypt	12	Burkina Faso	14
Ethiopia	11	Burundi	13
Mozambique	11	Tunisia	13
Cameroun	10	Togo	8
Cent.Afr.Republic	9	Algeria	6
Dem.Rep.of Congo	9	Congo	6
Ghana	9	Nigeria	6
Niger	9	Zambia	6
Mauritania	8	Malawi	5
Sierra Leone	8	Djibouti	2
Botswana	36	Guinea	2
Lesotho	33	Sudan	2
Seychelles	29	Angola	"
Morocco	26	Benin	"
Swaziland	26	Chad	"
Cape Verde	23	Comoros	"
Mauritius	23	Côte d'Ivoire	"
Namibia	21	Gabon	"
Mali	20	Guinea	"
Eritrea	17	Guinea Bissau	"
South Africa	17	Kenya	"
Gambia	16	Libya	"
Zimbabwe	15	Madagascar	"

Source: Female Administrators & Managers Human Development Report 1998, pp, 154 – 155

Women and the Informal Sector

The urban informal sector in Africa, despite low wages and low productivity, accounts for about 60 per cent of urban employment in some countries and has to be recognized as the most significant structural change in African economies. Policies towards the sector are inarticulate, uncoordinated and frequently hostile. In consonance with the importance of this sector in national economies, the general policy, therefore, should be to remove administrative, fiscal and other obstacles to its growth and to facilitate its employment creation functions with access to training, credit and advisory services, productive inputs and improved production technology. Financial resources and investment in skills and infrastructure are urgently needed (ECA, 1996, p 71).

Casual observation indicates that informal sector in Africa is dominated by women. Because the sector has a preponderance of the poor, both for men and women, it tends to be poorly recorded relative to the formal sector. But, on the whole women are concentrated on the lower end of the informal micro enterprises spectrum in which their earnings are extremely meagre, frequently

below subsistence wages, while the working conditions are hazardous and working hours unduly long.

Table 9 below is an excellent illustration of how limited the information is regarding women's contribution to the informal sector in Africa. These relatively recent data indicate that of the 10 countries being reported on here, only 3 countries, namely Benin, Chad and Mali, have data on the percentage of women in the informal sector. To a greater or lesser extent, this trend is an indication of the importance attached by planners and policy makers to the informal sector in general and women's contribution to economy in particular. Conversely, 7 countries have data on the percentage of women in the public sector. Because of the underdeveloped nature of the African economies, public sector is the largest employer of labour. Data indicate that during retrenchment exercises, in the public sector, women are more likely to be fired than men (ILO, JASPA, 1990).

Table 9: Women's Share of Employment in Informal Sector, Industry and Services and the Public Sector, Selected African Countries

Country	Informal Sector Early 1990s (%)	Public Sector 1986 (%)
Benin	61	Na
Botswana	Na	36
Burkina Faso	Na	21
Burundi	Na	38
Chad	53	Na
Ethiopia	Na	23
Malawi	Na	13
Mali	59	Na
Morocco	Na	29
Swaziland	Na	34

Source: informal sector: Charnes 1998 (updated February 2000); Public Sector: Standing 1999, quoted from UNIFEM Biennial Report, 2000, p. 27.

Women entrepreneurs in informal sector largely own small-scale businesses that are commercial, as opposed to manufacturing. Ngau and Keino's discussion of women in Nairobi is typical: "Overall, a majority of the women entrepreneurs come from a disadvantaged social background as concerns business operations. They are disadvantaged with respect to credit, ownership of land, having low literacy rates and low paying previous employment. Others have shown that there is little reinvestment in these businesses. It is important to learn what credit, training and legal measures have been implemented to enable women to develop better managerial skills and expand their businesses. Even though women dominate agriculture, agro-based loans are more likely to be given to men and therefore few women own large food processing businesses," Ngau and Keimo (1998). Information is needed on case studies of successful female entrepreneurs and the factors accounting for this success.

In addition, men tend to monopolise the more lucrative enterprises and have better access to credit (Pearce, 1991). Although some local organisations do target women, they are handicapped by their own dependency on outside funding and the extent of their outreach. Cross-national exchange of knowledge about successful programmes is important here. Webster and Fidler (199) point to credit programmes in Guinea and Burkina Faso that are successful in reaching rural women. Nonetheless, the failure of governments to build infrastructure or provide universal primary education are some of the major obstacles affecting women's ability to benefit from these outreach services.

Redefining Women's role in the Agricultural sector

An avalanche of information exists to indicate women's dominance in the agricultural production whether of cash crops or subsistence farming. And yet, official labour force statistics in the agricultural sector show the number of men to be greater than the number of women. Numerous studies indicate women's contribution to agriculture to range between 60-70 per cent. How then do we reconcile these seemingly antithetical positions on the percentage of women in this sector and what accounts for the discrepancy between these statistics? Why are women who are so critical to this sector, which is the mainstay of African economy, so invisible in official statistics? To begin with, we have already noted that the very definition of productive work in society is problematic. Official farm censuses are designed to capture commercial farming enterprises but even in this arena women are known to contribute significantly either as paid labourers or as family unpaid labour.

The operational definition of social relations in agricultural are based on Western notions of domesticity in which women and children are dependent on a husband/father who is the sole breadwinner and head of a household profoundly. Some observers argue that defining African women farmers as housewives has had negative ramifications for agricultural productivity, policy and planning. Some even posit that it may account, to some extent, for the widespread food insecurity gripping the region in the last few decades. Defining female farmers as housewives is also thought to contribute significantly to the relative lack of data on female farmers and the absence of coherent policies to address women's contributions to the sector.

Current definitions of social relations within African rural households have been called into question by many researchers. They argue for a redefinition of the current perceptions of female farmers as similar if not identical to the traditional housewives in advanced industrial economies. The characterisation of African female farmers as housewives has culminated in an underestimation of women's contribution to agriculture, a lack of resources to women farmers, including credit facilities and training, poor provision of gender desegregated data and lack of policy to address women's difficulty in accessing land, and the like. The ILO (1973 and 1982) has long questioned the futility of traditional definitions of labour force participation. Rather, Economic activities should include production and processing of primary products whether for the market, for barter or for personal consumption (Oppong, 1994, p. 21). For example, a vast number of women contribute their labour to their husbands' farms for export crops but are not paid for such work. In addition, women's agricultural output, related mostly to subsistence farming, is not considered productive work. We have also indicated that the way data are collected, using household surveys, tends to undercount women's contribution because of the very definition of a household unit based on Western notions of male-headed households. Women and children also provide crucial unpaid family labour in such critical economic activities as food processing and food preservation. Women frequently carry out trading activities on behalf of their husbands or male relatives sometimes without financial remuneration. But they also hire their labour to their husbands and sometimes to their neighbours.

West African fishmongers are a case in point. They participate extensively in their husbands' or male relatives fishing operations, as other women do in cash cropping. In the former, they play a critical role in fish processing, preservation and marketing, especially in this part of Africa, where market trading is a female occupation par excellence. Women who assist their husbands in processing and selling fish may, in exchange, be paid, either in kind (women receiving some fish) or in cash. In West Africa market trading is dominated by women, inevitably, men rely on their wives or female relatives to sell their produce in local markets. By and large, tradition bars men from participating in market trade. When women trade on behalf of their husbands they may be paid for such services but there is little GDD on these transactions. However limited data indicate that this is one of the ways women raise and accumulate much needed capital for their trading activities and for the up-keep of their children, in societies where pooling of resources is practically non-existent. Vereruijsse (1983, p. 188) points out that "a fishwife, as the seller of a fisherman's shares, keeps half of the proceeds to trade with. The underlying idea is that in this way the profits she earns will help to buy food whenever catches are insufficient to feed the household. Meanwhile, in the off-season, when the husband's earning capacity is reduced to nil, her small trading capital may be used for the same purpose". In effect, 'The trading capital built in this way during the main season is bit by bit claimed back by the husband during the lean season to be spent on repairs and maintenance as well as on food' (ibid. p. 181). That rural women spend a large proportion of their incomes on their families, relative to men, has long been well documented in Africa.

Towards Transforming Gender Relations in the Economic Sector

must struggle against a wide range of processes, policies and structures, both old and new that impede their progress. In agriculture, for instance, where women preponderate, women have long managed family farms, but are not allowed to own the land or make independent decisions on management. In many parts of southern Africa, where husbands customarily migrate to mining and urban areas in large numbers for long periods, important managerial decisions must be referred to migrant husbands working away from home, or to the husband's relatives (Fall, 1997). Even where informal land markets have developed and women do obtain land local authorities are able to confiscate the property at will citing the 'traditional' injunction against female land-ownership. It is therefore important to document land reform and the extent to which these policies address such issues. For example, the 1998 South African Recognition of Customary Marriage Act did not extend property rights to women who had married under customary law before 1998. Thus, "this Act not only permits discrimination but in fact allows and even authorises it" (Samuel, 1999, p.28). The Act should have been retroactive, but ends up being divisive. Researchers and policy makers will need to review new laws closely to assess their impact.

Furthermore, the process of implementation may itself contain obstacles, as in the case of Senegal, where although women now have equal access to land, land is allocated through village councils on which women rarely sit. Fall reports that during council deliberations women's "concerns are often placed at the bottom of the agenda and if they are lucky enough to be allocated land, it is usually marginal land" (Fall, *Ibid* p. 10). It is clear that unless women become equal participants in every dimension of land reform decision-making their interests can still be blocked after legal provisions have been made for land ownership.

Data suggest that women are under-represented as trained personnel in agricultural institutions, as faculty in tertiary institutions, or as extension workers in the field. We need to know what governments are doing to redress this. Olusi (1995) suggests three measures: using special grants/scholarships to attract female students, establishing well-equipped female farms as demonstration units, and developing better conditions of service for women who wish to study agriculture. Any pay gap or promotion differentials between men and women must be eliminated. The problem of credit also has a gender dimension. Research on credit for female farmers in Nigeria and elsewhere indicate that although women rarely default on their loans, few mechanisms have been set up to give them adequate/substantial credit. The conclusion is that with men at the helm of decision-making in finance, there has been, in the past, inadequate support for the type of credit systems required.

With the economic decline and stagnation of the eighties and part of the past decades, exacerbated by the lack of education and the retrenchment that swept through the formal sector, The situation of women has been deteriorating precipitously. Given their higher level of education, men are more likely to secure new jobs, or retain the old ones (Robertson, 1995), gender discrimination also means that regardless of qualification, women are at a higher risk of being fired and pushed into the informal sector (Olukoshi, 1995). However, as a result of Africa's economic crisis, the informal sector is now perceived as a solution to job creation problems. Many countries, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Cameroon, the Gambia, Malawi, South Africa, etc., have developed skill acquisition programmes and loan schemes for informal sector workers. GDD are needed to indicate differential impact of these programmes, if any, and to inform policies designed to close such gaps: but it would seem that men are more likely to benefit than women. For one, training programmes are more useful to those who already possess basic literacy skills, skills at least comparable to primary education.

HIV/AIDS affects women's Participation

HIV/AIDS has had profound effects on the African economy affecting the most productive age group 15-49. HIV/AIDS is responsible for over 10 million orphans in the region. In addition, the pandemic has impacted negatively on enterprises causing 'loss of critical human capital, especially of skilled workers and professionals, diminishing production capacity because of absenteeism, high

staff turnover, high retraining costs, high employee health care costs and falling agricultural capacity' (ILO, 200, p.3). Estimates of the total financial loss to the African economy are in billions of dollars per annum. Projections on HIV/AIDS on the African labour force from the ILO are equally frightening. The table below provides data for 29 African countries indicating the urgency of taking drastic measures to contain the pandemic. In the worst affected countries, such as Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe Mozambique and South Africa, the projected loss of labour will be 35.1, 30.8, 29.4, 24.9 and 24.4 per cent respectively.

**Table 10: Projected labour force with AIDS, 2005 and 2020.
Losses due to HIV/AIDS in 29 African countries.**

Country	Percentage loss, 2005	Compared to situation without HIV/AIDS	Country	Percentage loss, 2005	Compared to situation without HIV/AIDS
Benin	-2.0	-4.8	Lesotho	-4.8	-10.6
Botswana	-17.2	-30.8	Liberia	-2.0	-5.3
Burkina Faso	-8.1	-10.5	Malawi	-10.7	-16.0
Burundi	-6.5	-10.5	Mozambique	-9.0	-24.9
Cameroon	-5.5	-12.0	Namibia	-12.8	-35.1
Cent.African Rep.	-10.3	-14.4	Nigeria	-3.8	-7.5
Chad	-5.3	-6.1	Rwanda	-10.7	-9.6
Congo	-7.9	-9.5	Sierra Leone	-6.1	-6.6
DR of Congo	-6.7	-7.1	South Africa	-10.8	-24.9
Côte d'Ivoire	-9.0	-12.8	UR of Tanzania	-9.1	-14.6
Eritrea	-2.8	-5.0	Togo	-7.4	-10.6
Ethiopia	-8.3	-10.5	Uganda	-16.3	-15.8
Gabon	-5.0	-9.7	Zambia	-4.7	-2.3
Guinea-Bissau	-4.4	-10.2	Zimbabwe	-19.7	-29.4
Kenya	-8.6	-20.2			

Source. ILO. POPILO population and labour force projection, 2000. UN Population Division, world population prospects. The 1998 Revision. Volume III. Analytical Report.

Regarding the gender issues of the pandemic, the expectation is that unless specific measures are taken to address women's specific situation, especially their multiple roles in society, and their particular vulnerability to the virus, HIV/AIDS will have catastrophic effects on women's situation. For example, women's traditional role of caring for the sick can only be exacerbated by frequent and prolonged illness of many family members. Such scenarios will exert enormous pressure not only on the women's scarce time, but also add an unacceptable burden on their meagre financial resources. Available data, albeit scanty, indicate that women's burden of care for the sick members of family is already immense. The ILO argues that "Women's lower status in society and their poorer economic generating possibilities make them more vulnerable to the economic impact of HIV/AIDS" (ILO, *ibid*, p.10). Another important gender issue, needing urgent GDD, regards the fact that women in Africa are not able to negotiate safer sex with their spouses, even when the latter have been diagnosed with HIV. Women who refuse their husbands sex may experience violence regardless of the grounds on which they refuse. GDD are needed to enhance policy formulation and intervention. For example, we need to know what exactly is the impact of this scourge on female workers? How do added domestic responsibilities affect a woman's job situation? What kinds of laws, regulations and attitudes put women at risk or reduce their ability to act in their own interest? What kinds of laws govern land tenure, economic rights of women and widows, property distribution and the like (ILO, 1995, p.29)?

Enhancing Women's Participation through Gender Sensitive Data

Without GDD, it is impossible to design appropriate policies to address women's marginalisation in economy and society. For example, it is almost three decades since the publication of the ILO's 1973 seminal work on the African informal sector and yet little is known of the actual role of women in this sector. Gender sensitive statistics should inform on women's activities, the problems they face and the policies to be formulated and implemented to facilitate their participation. What are the characteristics of female enterprises beyond the fact that they are small-scale, face perennial problems of capital formation and hostile and restrictive official policy and environment. To what extent do women's multiple domestic roles interfere with their activities in the informal sector. What is the average income of an informal sector operator?

There is an urgent need for comprehensive and timely data in order to enhance our understanding of women in the agricultural sector. Why, for instance, do policy makers continue to ignore female farmers despite a plethora of information pointing to their invaluable contribution to the national economies? Why do policy makers in Africa, most of whom have some kind of rural background continue to embrace a definition of a conjugal domestic unit that is decidedly Western oriented? To reach women farmers, data are needed to inform on a whole range of issues that affect allocation of resources, such as fertilisers, credit, training and information, among others. We also need data to account more accurately and empirically the causes of women's invisibility in official statistics pertaining to agricultural production. For example, the imposition of Western models of household economics on African rural farming communities has inhibited data generation that could address the specificity of the African women's situation. A 'major reason for women farmers' remaining invisible is the persisting idea of the farm household as a homogeneous unit headed by a man and encompassing one productive unit towards which all members contribute their resources' (Safilios-Rothschild, 1994, p.55). For instance, gender sensitive data should provide information on: (1) who makes the important agricultural decisions (2); who distributes land, and what are women's cultivation rights (3); who grows what (4); division of labour in the household (5) and (6); the extent of gender sensitive data available to planners and policy makers in the relevant ministries. Claims have been made that female-headed households are generally poorer than male-headed households, to what extent is this observation valid? Female headed households are reported to be on the increase underlining the importance of generating GDD to enhance our understanding of how this phenomenon is altering socio-economic relations within households.

The issue of women's lack of access to land and the implication this has on their farming activities in particular and their survival strategies in general, needs urgent attention. For example, in many countries, a whole range of institutional support to farmers requires that they provide title deed to establish ownership of land. This practice would obviously be an enormous disadvantage to female-headed households because these women may not necessarily own the land they cultivate. In deed, this requirement would present problems to most female farmers. What of large-scale female farmers, do they own the land on which they farm or is it on loan from their migrant husbands or male relatives? How are women able to circumvent the various structural and institutional barriers that they encounter as farmers when they are officially defined as housewives?

Gender disaggregated statistics are needed to provide information on women's participation in the formal sector and informal sector. At the informal sector level, women are constrained not only by lack of access to credit and other support structures but also because official policy is frequently hostile and at best ambivalent. Thus, GDD are needed to identify the major constraints to women's participation in these sectors and the kinds of policies required to enhance women's participation. Credit limitations have been frequently cited as one of the major constraining factors to women's participation in trade. On the other hand, informal credit institutions, various termed *Esusu*, in West Africa and *Equb* in Ethiopia, play a critical role in trade providing millions of women and men with credit facilities that they could not otherwise obtain from formal institutions. Little is known of the contribution of these institutions to informal trade.

Women are severely underrepresented at the managerial level. Scanty data indicate that lack of education and skills are not sufficient to explain women's absence in decision-making structures either in private sector or in public enterprises. Transformations at the policy level require GDD for a greater appreciation of the women's contribution to the economy and to enhance their participation at all levels.

Chapter 3

Women in Power and Decision-making

There is an enormous gap in data relating to women in power and decision making structures. In the last three decades, the inequality between men and women, in all facets of society has been the subject of numerous conferences and heated debates. In addition to the vast number of national and international conferences, workshops and seminars addressing the issue of inequality between men and women in power and decision-making arena, the United Nations held five World conferences on the same subject. The primary objective of these Conferences has been to solicit international commitments from world governments and communities aimed at reducing gender inequalities. A report by UN to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 noted that “ Nowhere, is the gap between de jure and de facto equality among men and women greater than in the areas of decision-making” (UN,1995). In keeping with the momentum generated by these initiatives, Africa held several conferences in which the following declarations were ratified: Khartoum (1988), Abuja (1989) and Arusha (1990). Despite these initiatives, women’s relative exclusion from power and decision-making continues unabated. Regarding the imperative of women’s empowerment and participation in decision-making processes, the Beijing Platform for Action states that “without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women’s perspectives in all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved”. Furthermore, the platform contends that:

“...the improvement of women’s social, economic and political status is essential for the achievement of both transparent and accountable government and administration and sustainable development in all areas of life...Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning ...equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women” (Beijing Platform for Action. P.109).

Women’s severe under-representation in power and decision-making structures in Africa, is exemplified by the fact that, by the mid-1990s, in 36 countries, for which ECA (1998) has data, there were less than 10 per cent women in government- that is, at the ministerial and sub-ministerial level. In 11 countries there are between 10 and 20 per cent, while only 2 countries, have over 20 per cent representation, namely, Gambia with 22 and Seychelles with 31 per cent.

Increasing Women’s participation for better governance

Increasingly, from Mexico (1975) to New York (2000) there has been an emphasis on upgrading women’s political participation at all levels of society. And in this regard, some countries have made laudable effort in enabling women’s access to power sharing: examples include, Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, Ethiopia, Angola and Chad. Countries emerging from conflict, such as Eritrea, South Africa, Uganda and Rwanda, show significant gains in this area, which underlines the importance of political will and commitment by a country’s leadership.

The original development focus on women’s basic needs brought with it the perception that women required extensive welfare services and were, in fact a drain on development resources, especially in their capacity as producers of children. Furthermore, it led to the erroneous attitude that empowerment would emerge from merely providing a few social services. But, power sharing does not follow automatically. Researchers point out that rather than being a drain, women are in reality, the unrecognised and poorly compensated contributors to economic, social and cultural development. Following the Nairobi (1985) conference criticisms of development programmes, and

the theories on which they were based, escalated. It became increasingly clear that gender gaps in all sectors of society would not close until women participated in decision-making and power. Across the globe, people began to specifically address the issue of gender imbalance in decision-making, a central point to Beijing Platform for Action.

Thus, not only did Beijing expand the focus of political participation from the narrow interest in official government bodies to civil, social and economic arenas, but it also made the overall development agenda contingent on the full participation of women. The Platform forcefully calls for gender segregated studies, laws, initiatives, and leadership training programmes, as well as financial commitment to ensure the necessary transformations take place. By the mid-1990s this focus on increased participation for women had culminated in the concept of governance. According to the UNDP, governance is “the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels” (UNDP, 1997, p. 3). Good governance requires that mechanisms are established to ensure effective and equitable participation of all groups in society and that particular attention be paid to the most marginalised, especially women. And yet, at the conference held in New York, in June 2000, the assessment was not encouraging. Thus, while the idea of reducing gender imbalances in power and decision-making structures has been accepted, “a gap between de jure and de facto equality has persisted” and “women continue to be under-represented at the legislative, ministerial and sub-ministerial levels. Women are also under-represented at the highest levels of the corporate sector and other social and economic institutions” (UN, 2000. P. 11).

Box 3: Increasing Women's Representation in Parliament

At the time, the focus was on the need to increase the representation of women in decision-making bodies. The Beijing Platform for Action called for a target of 30 per cent representation of women in political and decision-making bodies. In 1995, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) published a report titled 'Women in Politics: A Global Review' which highlighted the need for women's representation in political and decision-making bodies. The report stated that in 1995, only 11 per cent of the world's population was represented in political and decision-making bodies. The report also noted that the representation of women in political and decision-making bodies was lowest in sub-Saharan Africa, where it was only 10 per cent. The report called for a target of 30 per cent representation of women in political and decision-making bodies by the year 2000. The report also noted that the representation of women in political and decision-making bodies was lowest in sub-Saharan Africa, where it was only 10 per cent. The report called for a target of 30 per cent representation of women in political and decision-making bodies by the year 2000.

Source: UNDP, Governance, 2000.

The situation at Mid-decade Review

Five years after Beijing, the world again took stock of women's progress in each society by the year 2000. The general conclusion was that while some progress had been achieved in Africa, as elsewhere, in the areas of power and decision-making, women had not reached the 30 per cent threshold, defined as the critical mass required for transformation. However, sensitisation campaigns to increase awareness about women's issues have either been mounted or intensified where they exist. There are discussions and moves to change legal instruments that are obstacles to women's advancement. There are also increased calls to change political party and national constitutions and legislative frameworks to institute affirmative action and quotas in legislative assemblies where they did not exist before (ECA, 1999, p.8).

Table 11 below, constructed from the IPU's up to date database on African women in parliament, indicates that only two countries, namely, Mozambique and South Africa had more than

25 per cent women in their parliaments by 2000. And in more than half the countries reported on here (twenty nine), women constitute less than 10 per cent of parliamentarians while Djibouti and Libya had no women in parliament.

Table 11: Women in Parliament in Africa as of 1 March 2000.

COUNTRY AND RANK	TOTAL WOMEN	% WOMEN	COUNTRY AND RANK	TOTAL WOMEN	% WOMEN
1. Mozambique	71	28.4	25. Malawi	16	8.29
2. South Africa	137	28.0	26. Madagascar	12	8.00
3. Seychelles	8	23.5	27. Guinea Bissau	10	8.77
4. Uganda	50	17.86	28. Mauritius	5	7.58
5. Rwanda	12	17.14	29. Cent.Afr.Rep.	8	7.34
6. Botswana	8	17.02	30. Benin	5	6.02
7. Tanzania	45	16.36	31. Burundi	7	5.98
8. Angola	34	15.45	32. Cameroon	10	5.56
9. Eritrea	22	14.67	33. Equa. Guinea	4	5.00
10. Namibia	14	14.1	34. Togo	4	4.94
11. Senegal	28	14.0	35. Swaziland	6	4.20
12. Zimbabwe	21	14.0	36. Algeria	20	3.8
13. Mali	18	12.24	37. Kenya	8	3.57
14. Congo	9	12.0	38. Nigeria	15	3.2
15. Tunisia	21	11.54	39. Chad	3	2.4
16. Cape Verde	8	11.11	40. Mauritania	3	2.2
17. Liberia	10	11.1	41. Gambia	1	2.04
18. Zambia	16	10.13	42. Egypt	9	1.98
19. Lesotho	12	10.7	43. Ethiopia	11	1.7
20. Burkina Faso	30	10.4	44. Niger	1	1.2
21. Ghana	18	9.00	45. Morocco	4	0.67
22. Gabon	20	9.5	46. Djibouti	0	0
23. Sao Thome, Prn	5	9.09	47. Libya	0	0
24. Guinea	10	8.77	TOTAL	809	9.0

Source, IPU, 2000, Geneva

It is worth noting that studies indicate that there is no correlation between women's education, affluence and levels of representation in politics and decision-making. Thus, Mozambique, one of the poorest countries in the world and one with the highest levels of illiteracy, has the highest representation of women in parliament. Conversely, Mauritius, one of the most developed countries in the region, has one of the least levels of representation for women. Neither are Libya and Djibouti among the poorest countries in the region: in both countries, there are no women represented in their parliaments and only, 1.7 per cent women in government in Djibouti, and this only at sub-ministerial level (UNDP, 1996, p. 157).

As indicated by table 12 below, despite the call of the UN to member States to have at least 30 per cent of positions in power and decision-making by 1995. The Beijing Platform for Action noted that "...only 10% of the members of legislative bodies and a lower percentage of ministerial positions were held by women in 1995. Subsequent studies have shown that this situation has not improved significantly since 1995. In fact, the proportion of women in ministerial positions has declined in many countries, particularly in the Middle East and North Africa, where it has fallen from 10% in 1995 to 8% in 2000. In the same period, the proportion of women in legislative bodies has increased from 10% to 12% in many countries, but in others it has remained the same or even declined. For example, in the Arab world, the proportion of women in legislative bodies has increased from 10% in 1995 to 12% in 2000, but in the same period, the proportion of women in ministerial positions has declined from 10% to 8%." (UNDP, 2000, p. 157).

this resistance to change. Data on the proportion of parliament who are female around the world reveal that, on average, increase since Beijing has been minuscule – from 11.3 per cent to 13.4 per cent globally (IPU, 1999). However, there are important variations, with the Nordic countries registering 38.9 per cent and the Arab States 3.4 per cent. The average for Sub-Saharan Africa is 11.5 per cent, and although this is not too different from Europe (excluding the Nordic countries – 13.5 per cent) and the Americas (15.3 per cent), (IPU, *Ibid*) there is room for improvement.

Table 12: Women in the World's Parliaments by region: March 2000

	Single House	Upper House	Both combined
Nordic Countries	38.9%		38.9%
Europe including Nordic countries	15.8%	13.1%	15.3%
Americas	15.4%	14.8%	15.3%
Asia	14.7%	11.8%	14.4%
Europe excluding Nordic countries	13.6%	13.1%	13/5%
Sub Saharan Africa	11.3%	13.6%	11/5%
Pacific	11.3%	25.4%	13/3%
Arab States	3.6%	2.5%	3.4%

Source: IPU, 2000.

One of the most significant developments relating to women's participation in the areas of decision-making is the signing of the declaration by the Heads of the Southern Development Community (SADC) on Gender and Development. This initiative commits this sub-region to, among other things, achieving a 30 per cent level of women in decision-making by the year 2000. Only three countries are close to achieving this target. However, on average, SADC has 18 per cent of women in parliament. This figure is higher than the average for Europe and the United States (15) and for Africa (9 per cent).

The fact of social justice, and the need for the different perspective that women can offer to the deliberations compound the need for women in decision-making bodies. Furthermore, women have the potential to transform politics from a male constructed arena into something different. It is now generally accepted that women bring different styles and concerns to the political forum. Male perspectives alone, therefore, leave political deliberations incomplete (Meintjes, et al, 1999). Given the perceived urgency of the need to upgrade the political position of women, it is imperative to develop GDD to inform conceptual and methodological frameworks capable of exposing those factors that engender or obstruct the full participation of women in socio-political life. The specific focus on Africa requires that we place the region within its global context in understanding these issues. Africa shares with the rest of humanity numerous institutions and processes which are relevant to this report (i.e. family structures, patriarchy, political systems). Nonetheless, it also has a separate historical, social and cultural background that requires particular attention. But this should not lead to the idea of an "African exceptionalism" that precludes positive transformations in the socio-political life of its people. All regions, including Africa, bring to the global forum a unique expression of the larger human (universal) experience.

Box 4: Translating Dreams to Reality

"There continues to be the hope that if only we can sensitise everyone and let them see the true picture of the current situation and a vision of the future through gender eyes, the response will be automatic and overwhelming." This hope has not been fulfilled yet to the expected levels in spite of numerous conferences, meetings, deliberations and platforms for action. Clearly there is a lot of talking and a lot of activities on the ground, but little visible, objectively verifiable progress especially in the intractable areas of attitudes, behaviour and values" (ECA, 1998). The challenge is political commitment at the highest level in order to transform structures that perpetuate women's exclusion from power sharing and decision-making. The envisaged transformation must include the most fundamental institutions of society.

Source: ECA Data, 1998.

The Problem of Representation

The process of democratisation promises greater female representation in decision-making as an important empowerment strategy. In most countries equal representation (i.e. Representation in terms of numbers) is obstructed by the socio-economic status of women. Often lack of education, poverty and minimal leisure time stand in the way of women's participation in elections. Money, for example remains a major obstacle for women seeking office. This was recently emphasised by Kibibi, chairperson of the inter-party committee in Tanzania that seeks to assist women politically. In order to stand for elections, candidates must pay a fee and the amount differs by party. In the ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) the fee for parliamentary candidacy is Tshs 100,000. Campaigning and other activities all make the cost of running prohibitive. In some countries, the government's specifications on who is an adult could be a problem. When women are defined as minors, accountable to their male relatives, they are invariably denied access to critical factors of production. In a number of countries, women are required to obtain permission from male relatives before they can vote.

Without full citizenship rights, adequate representation is impossible, to say nothing about power sharing, a point also made by blacks and women during the apartheid regime in South Africa. Political suffrage and higher socio-economic status are necessary but not sufficient conditions to solve the problem of under-representation. The experience of Western societies is a case in point. Phillips observes that by 1984 when Norway, Sweden, and Finland had 26 per cent, 28 per cent and 31 per cent female representation in parliament, their educational attainment, employment patterns, domestic responsibilities and voting rights were essentially the same as women in other European societies (Phillips, 1991). Yet in the rest of Europe, female representation was low. The difference appears to lie in the official quota systems inaugurated in the 1970s by the Nordic countries well before the global call for female participation in governance. Phillips also reports that the State in these countries decided to take a firm interventionist stand and institute quota systems as an element of social democracy and justice. Since then, a few African nations, such as Uganda, South Africa and Tanzania have attempted quota systems as part of affirmative action programmes.

Enhancing Participation through Quotas and Affirmative Action

Quota and affirmative action, if properly implemented, can increase women's participation and representation in power and decision-making structures. In fact, given the wide-spread resistance to women's participation, it seems reasonable to assume that the only way women can get around this problem rapidly is through quota and affirmative action. While it is beyond the scope of this report to undertake detailed analysis of the problems associated with these systems, a word is in order. One of the problems of affirmative action relates to the lack of a clear definition of representation.

means. Those watching policies related to women's representation need to be attentive to the wording of new policies. In Uganda, for example, the 1995 constitution stipulated that women have the right to affirmative action seats in government, but that these candidates would be females who merely stood for a certain constituency. Addressing this issue, especially as it relates to the meaning of representation, Tamale points out that this results in descriptive representation where elected women are only allowed "to partake of the political cake". That is, "to participate in decision-making but not to represent women as an interest group; not to carry special responsibilities for women", as would occur if the constitution had allowed the elected officials to be representatives of women (Tamale, 1999, p. 74). Other interest groups like the armed forces, youth or those with disabilities, may on the other hand have candidates who are bearers of their interests. In other words, it is important to be clear on the type of representation that affirmative action policies allow. Representation continues to be a contested concept. While some female politicians focus on being representatives of women, others have no such intentions. However, Tamale offers the insight that indigenous African perspectives on power-sharing in society suggest we should accept the idea that women are an interest group and that the principle of interest-group representation be extended to them. But even this debate does not cover all the issues. There are still the obvious differences between women. Thus, the problem of 'gender' difference gives way to that of social differences between women.

Data suggest that in addition to affirmative action, electoral formulae also influence the likelihood of women winning seats in parliament. Voting for a single candidate means a winner take all formula. With proportional representation systems, the electorate votes for a party. The party then allocated seats in parliament based on the percentage of votes received. Under this system, parties choose those to fill the seats. Women do better under proportional representation, than single member formulae, although there are no absolute guarantees (Staudt, 1998). Parties must be persuaded to put women on their list of candidates, but this can be done through affirmative action. Comparative data is needed on how electoral processes work in different African nations and what the impact of affirmative action has been for different types of electoral systems.

Transforming Gender Relations for increased participation

As noted earlier, access to decision-making bodies will serve no purpose unless it is part of a broader framework to transform power relations within society and eliminate the discrimination women consistently experience. This chapter has argued that gender relations must be addressed at every level of society since each reinforces the other. Transformations within the domestic sphere are absolutely essential because so much of the fundamental beliefs and attitudes are formed at this level. If one begins with the domestic sphere, focus should be on the way sex differences are translated into gender relations, leaving women disadvantaged. Research should longer deal only with "women", but also the dynamics of gender relations. There needs to be a transformation in the social position of women in households so that "different" is no longer translated into "inferior". As Phillips points out "democracy in the home is a precondition for democracy abroad" (Phillips: 1990). Yet democracy at home is hampered by various practices which are the expressions of gender inequality. They need not be identical across cultures. In each culture the specific practices (e.g. bridewealth, female genital surgeries) which put women at a disadvantage and the way they do so, need analyses. They are elements of a larger system that needs to be dismantled. Social sanctions were levied against men who do housework, even when the work of both spouses was uncovered by White in a study of lower and middle class households in Johannesburg (White, 1993). By appealing to "tradition" men are able to gain the upper hand in the micro-politics of decision-making within marriage. Both the appeal to tradition and the practice of not doing housework serve hidden functions in gender dynamics. Again, looking at domestic income, studies in Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa and Malawi all show that women are more likely to use their earned income and other resources on the household's collective needs. Men tend to withhold large portions of their income for personal consumption. This imbalance and the relative poverty it breeds, reduce women's ability to bargain over other domestic decisions (Posel 1993). Thus, the

meaning of specific practices within the overall system of household decision-making need to be addressed

The Role of Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Outside of the formal structures of politics, there are other avenues for participation including social movements, civil societies, and non-government organisations (NGOs). Beyond State institutions democratic practices are said to develop in civil society where protests, social movements and NGOs operate. Attention has been turned to civil society as an arena for transformative activities by the citizenry. (Hassim, s. 1999). Furthermore it is assumed that elected officials are in constant contact with people in civil society. Are the hopes pinned on civil society justified? Is it a training ground and stronghold for democracy? It has been pointed out that this segment of public life is "the realm of organised social life that is voluntary, self generating and self supporting, autonomous from the State, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules" (Diamond, L. 1994 p.5). Community associations in civil society are not new to Africa and existed in the pre-colonial era. However, they grew in the post independence era and much of this was because, according to Ihonvbere, corrupt States had become irrelevant to the welfare of the citizenry (Ihonvbere, 1994). The focus is now on NGOs, both local and foreign and their promise to perform four functions: empower, educate, advocate and be a watchdog (Dicklitch, s. 1998). Unfortunately, unless care is taken NGOs may not turn out to be the panacea for democratisation. Many merely serve the survival needs of communities and provide services neglected by governments. By the early 1990s, 25 per cent of all official foreign aid in Uganda were funnelled through NGOs, 45 per cent of Tanzanian hospitals and 35 per cent of Ghana's outpatient care were administered by NGOs. Further, governments are increasingly intolerant of the advocacy and watchdog roles of NGOs. In Nigeria, for instance, Imam and Shettima point out that the military government was very hostile to the left-leaning Women in Nigeria (Imam, A and Shettima, k, 1995). In Egypt, the government passed a bill in 1999 to curtail the independence of NGOs (DNF, 1999). Also, Mama reports that the entire NGO scene is as yet not sensitive to gender analysis.

Transformations on the Political Front

Interest in women's participation in politics turns attention to several important issues. One problem is to assess how best to increase the numbers of female politicians at all levels of government from village councils to parliament. Another issue is to ensure that women are not left out of the new political processes now emerging, for instance, regarding conflicts. This is particularly critical as women are overwhelmingly more affected by conflicts now raging in Africa. In other words with escalating violent conflict within and between countries, it is acknowledged that war and civil unrest have gender components. The gross under-representation of women at all levels of peace negotiations needs to be addressed.

Conflict resolution and peacekeeping have become major areas where decisions are made that have profound impact on millions of lives. Women's possible role is being recognised and African women are demanding a stronger voice, particularly since Africa intends to be in the forefront of handling its own conflicts, unlike the recent past. They need to be trained at all levels from education and training programmes in non-violent conflict, to peacekeeping, peace-building and reconstruction. The argument has been made that women use different models from men to build peace, including familial as opposed to competitive or militaristic models. Data are needed on the experience and positions of women who have been trained in programmes like those developed by the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes in the Sudan. Such information is important to indicate what transformative impact, if any, different styles of conflict resolution have in communities and under what conditions these methods are useful.

Chapter IV

Conclusions

Gender sensitive statistics are imperative for understanding women's relative exclusion from key sectors of the economy. They are imperative for strategic planning and for equitable resource allocation. For the three sectors explored in this report, gender sensitive statistics are seriously limited in scope and timeliness. For example, education data indicate that the unprecedented economic contraction of the past two and half decades has left the sector in a state of decay. The consequences of the crisis have been greater for girls than boys, resulting in greater attrition and repetition rates for girls and ultimately affecting their access to higher education. On the other hand, the report indicates that despite the economic decline, some countries have achieved significant results in reducing gender gaps in education which perhaps underlines the role of political will in enhancing gender issues. Without reliable gender sensitive data to inform policy formulation, efforts to increase girls' and women's access to education will be that much harder to achieve. A range of issues pertaining to girls' relative exclusion from education call for more detailed and comprehensive data that include: factors accounting for gender responsive policies; how cost sharing policies may intensify exclusion, women's concentration in non-scientific fields and the like.

In the economic sector, women's contributions continue to go unrecorded. Even in the agricultural sector where women are the key producers of food, male oriented policy makers ignore women's critical contributions as inappropriate for inclusion in the Systems of National Accounts (SNA). The report calls for a different methodological and conceptual orientation capable of capturing the specific household relationships that are peculiar to the African rural economies. GDD are also needed to inform gender responsive policies and programmes aimed at rural female farmers and women in the informal sector. Gender sensitive data obtained from the women themselves are also important in identifying areas where women are most disadvantaged relative to men. Land and credit for women have long been identified as some of the most critical factors constraining their participation in economy. The problem of women's access to land continues unabated is implicated in the perennial food security that characterises some parts of Africa. The burden of caring for family members affected by HIV/AIDS is likely to affect women's participation in the economy leading to absenteeism and emotional instability resulting in retrenchment. Gender sensitive analyses are needed to inform policy and for better intervention in this and other areas.

Women's access to power and decision-making in Africa is painfully slow. They are particularly grossly under-represented in the high level decision-making arena. While socio-cultural and economic factors are known to be important in excluding women from power and decision-making structures, the report argued that it is important to provide information as to why in some societies women have made significant strides and not in others. How can women who have accessed power help other women to break the barriers? Why are some countries responsive to quotas and affirmative actions while others are not? The report touched on the issue of accountability vis-à-vis commitments undertaken at regional and international levels to increase women's participation in governance structures.

Regarding the way forward, the existing gaps in statistical data in general, and of data on women in particular, need to be filled without delay. Policy decision-makers, planners and programmers, need to deliberately seek good quality sex segregated data to facilitate their work of accelerating the implementation of the Platforms for Action in the 12 critical areas. Countries need to urgently institute mechanisms for collecting, analysing, disseminating and ensuring utilisation of good quality sex segregated data, which are accurate, up-to-date, relevant, comprehensive, timely and available in the appropriate format, when they are required, to those who require them. It is also recommended that the national bureaux of statistics, research institutions, co-operating agencies as well as regional and international partners effectively inform sensitise and advocate

data harmonisation. In this respect, co-ordination of the various structures charged with the responsibility for data collection within countries is imperative for effective data management.

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Statistical Tables

TABLE I Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment by Sex
TUNISIA % DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL ENROLMENT BY SEX

(1) Adult Literacy Rate		
1970	F	17
	M	44
1985	F	47
	M	68
1995	F	55
	M	79
(2) Education at First Level:		
1980/81	F	42
	M	58
1990/91	F	46
	M	54
1996/97	F	47
	M	53
(3) Education at Second Level:		
1980/81	F	39
	M	61
1990/91	F	43
	M	57
1996/97	F	48
	M	52
(4) Education at the third level:		
1980/81	F	30
	M	70
1990/91	F	39
	M	61
1996/97	F	45
	M	55
(5) Public Expenditure on Education (as % of GNP)		
1985		5.8
1995		6.8
Education (as % of total government expenditure)		
1993-95		17.4

Key x - Indicates data that refer to years or periods other than those specified in the heading, differ from the standard definition, or refer to only part of country

Data Sources (1) UNICEF *The state of the world's children 1991* for UNICEF *The state of the world's children 1998* for 1995 page 106-109 (2) UNESCO *Statistical Year Book 1998* - Pages 3/93-3/97, 3/109 (3) UNESCO *Statistical Year Book 1998* - Pages 3/148-3/162, 3/199-3/200 (4) UNESCO *Statistical Year Book 1998* - Pages 3/229-3/237, 3/260 (5) 1985, 1995 and 1993-95 - *Human Development 1998* page 162-3

TABLE II Percentage of School Going Population Enrolled in School

TANZANIA % OF SCHOOL GOING POPULATION ENROLLED IN SCHOOL

Combined First & Second Levels Gross Enrolment (7-19 Years)	
1980	
<i>Girls</i>	53
<i>Boys</i>	62
1990	
<i>Girls</i>	42
<i>Boys</i>	44
1994-95	
<i>Girls</i>	43x
<i>Boys</i>	45x
Third Level Gross Enrolment (20-24 Years)	
1980	
<i>Girls</i>	...
<i>Boys</i>	...
1990	
<i>Girls</i>	0.1x
<i>Boys</i>	0.4x
1994-95	
<i>Girls</i>	...
<i>Boys</i>	...

Key x - Data refer to a year or period other than that specified in the heading

Data Source UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1996 - Pages 3/17 - 3 33 UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1998 - Pages 1/1 and 1-4

TABLE III Female Adult Literacy Rate

COUNTRY	
Seychelles	86
South Africa	82
Zimbabwe	80
Mauritius	79
Swaziland	76
Namibia	74
Zambia	71
Kenya	70
Democratic Republic of Congo	68
Equatorial Guinea	68
Congo	67
Cape Verde	64
Libyan Arab Jamahriya	63
Lesotho	62
Botswana	60
Tanzania, United Republic of	57
Tunisia	55
Ghana	54
Gabon	53
Cameroon	52
Central African Republic	52
Rwanda	52
Comoros	50
Uganda	50
Algeria	49
Nigeria	47
Guinea Bissau	43
Malawi	42
Sao Tome and Principe	42
Egypt	39
Togo	37
Chad	35
Sudan	35
Djibouti	33
Madagascar	32
Morocco	31
Côte d'Ivoire	30
Angola	29

COUNTRY	
Benin	26
Mauritania	26
Ethiopia	25
Gambia	25
Burundi	23
Mali	23
Mozambique	23
Senegal	23
Guinea	22
Liberia	22
Sierra Leone	18
Somalia	14
Burkina Faso	9
Niger	7
Eritrea	...

Note:

... Data not available

Source:

UNICEF *The state of the World's Children 1991 for [1970 and 1985]* - page 108-9

UNICEF *The state of the world's children 1998 for 1995* page 106-109

TABLE IV Maternal Mortality Rate

Country	Maternal Mortality Rate (Per 100,000 Live births) 1990
Mauritius	120
Algeria	160
Egypt	170
Tunisia	170
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	220
South Africa	230
Botswana	250
Namibia	370
Madagascar	490
Gabon	500
Cameroon	550
Liberia	560
Malawi	560
Swaziland	560
Djibouti	570
Zimbabwe	570
Lesotho	610
Morocco	610
Togo	640
Kenya	650
Sudan	660
Central African Republic	700
Ghana	740
Tanzania, United Republic of	770
Côte d'Ivoire	810
Equatorial Guinea	820
Democratic Republic of Congo	870
Congo	890
Guinea Bissau	910
Burkina Faso	930
Mauritania	930
Zambia	940
Comoros	950
Benin	990
Nigeria	1,000
Gambia	1,100

Country	Maternal Mortality Rate (Per 100,000 Live births) 1990
Mali	1,200
Niger	1,200
Senegal	1,200
Uganda	1,200
Burundi	1,300
Rwanda	1,300
Eritrea	1,400
Ethiopia	1,400
Angola	1,500
Chad	1,500
Mozambique	1,500
Guinea	1,600
Somalia	1,600
Sierra Leone	1,800
Cape Verde	...
Sao Tome and Principe	...
Seychelles	...

Note:

... Data not available

Source: Maternal Mortality Rate *The State of the World's Children 1998* - page 118-121

TABLE V Percentage of Births Attended by Trained Health Personnel

Country	% of Births attended by trained health personnel 1990- 96
Seychelles	99
Mauritius	97
Sao Tome and Principe	86
South Africa	82
Gabon	80
Djibouti	79
Botswana	78
Algeria	77
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	76
Sudan	69
Tunisia	69
Zimbabwe	69
Namibia	68
Cameroon	64
Equatorial Guinea	58
Madagascar	57
Malawi	55
Swaziland	55
Togo	54
Tanzania, United Republic of	53
Comoros	52
Zambia	51
Central African Republic	46
Egypt	46
Senegal	46
Benin	45
Côte d'Ivoire	45
Kenya	45
Gambia	44
Ghana	44
Burkina Faso	42
Lesotho	40
Mauritania	40
Morocco	40
Uganda	38
Guinea	31
Nigeria	31

Country	% of Births attended by trained health personnel 1990- 96
Cape Verde	30
Guinea Bissau	27
Mozambique	25
Sierra Leone	25
Mali	24
Eritrea	21
Burundi	19
Angola	15
Chad	15
Niger	15
Ethiopia	14
Liberia	...
Rwanda	...
Somalia	...
Congo	...
Democratic Republic of Congo	...

Note:

... Data not available

Source: Births attended by Trained health personnel]

1983-1993 - Human Development Report 1995 - Page 168-169

1990-1996 - Human Development Report 1998 - Pages 156-157

TABLE VI Infant Mortality Rate - Under One

Country	1996
Seychelles	15
Mauritius	20
Tunisia	28
Algeria	34
Botswana	40
Zimbabwe	49
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	50
South Africa	50
Cape Verde	54
Egypt	57
Namibia	60
Kenya	61
Sao Tome and Principe	62
Cameroon	63
Morocco	64
Swaziland	68
Ghana	70
Sudan	73
Senegal	74
Eritrea	78
Gambia	78
Togo	78
Congo	81
Burkina Faso	82
Comoros	83
Benin	84
Gabon	87
Uganda	88
Côte d'Ivoire	90
Chad	92
Tanzania, United Republic of	93
Lesotho	96
Madagascar	100
Central African Republic	103
Rwanda	105
Burundi	106
Equatorial Guinea	111

Country	1996
Djibouti	112
Zambia	112
Ethiopia	113
Nigeria	114
Mauritania	124
Somalia	125
Democratic Republic of Congo	128
Guinea	130
Guinea Bissau	132
Mozambique	133
Mali	134
Malawi	137
Liberia	157
Sierra Leone	164
Angola	170
Niger	191

Note:

... Data not available

Source:

Infant Mortality Rate

1960 & 1996 - *The State of World's Children 1998* - page 94 - 97

1989 - *The State of World's Children 1991* - page 102-103

TABLE VII Under Five Mortality Rate

Country	per 1,000 live births 1997
Mauritius	16
Tunisia	46
Algeria	52
Cape Verde	57
Morocco	64
Egypt	66
South Africa	68
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	75
Botswana	94
Lesotho	94
Swaziland	95
Namibia	98
Kenya	101
Madagascar	103
Cameroon	104
Ghana	107
Sudan	108
Zimbabwe	108
Comoros	109
Benin	120
Tanzania, United Republic of	123
Democratic Republic of Congo	125
Gabon	126
Côte d'Ivoire	128
Congo	129
Togo	130
Mauritania	137
Nigeria	141
Eritrea	143
Central African Republic	148
Zambia	149
Senegal	153
Burkina Faso	161
Djibouti	162
Equatorial Guinea	162
Mozambique	163
Ethiopia	166
Burundi	167

Country	per 1,000 live births 1997
Chad	167
Somalia	174
Niger	176
Mali	178
Uganda	180
Gambia	185
Guinea	190
Angola	191
Guinea Bissau	195
Rwanda	197
Liberia	200
Malawi	221
Sierra Leone	251
Sao Tome and Principe	...
Seychelles	...

Note:

... Data not available

Source:

Under 5 M. Rate Total]

1960 & 1980 - The State of the World's Children 1998 page - 124-127

1997 - World Health Report 1998 - page 220 - 223

TABLE VIII Percentage of Women Who are Mothers by Age 18

Country	% of women aged 20-24 who are mothers by 18 1995
Tunisia	3
Morocco	7
Burundi	8
Rwanda	8
Egypt	15
Sudan	17
Namibia	18
Ghana	23
Zimbabwe	25
Botswana	26
Kenya	28
Tanzania, United Republic of	28
Togo	30
Madagascar	31
Burkina Faso	32
Senegal	34
Zambia	34
Nigeria	35
Malawi	38
Uganda	42
Liberia	44
Cameroon	46
Mali	47
Guinea	49
Niger	53
Algeria	...
Angola	...
Benin	...
Cape Verde	...
Central African Republic	...
Chad	...
Comoros	...
Congo	...
Côte d'Ivoire	...
Democratic Republic of Congo	...
Djibouti	...

Country	% of women aged 20-24 who are mothers by 18 1995
Equatorial Guinea	...
Eritrea	...
Ethiopia	...
Gabon	...
Gambia	...
Guinea Bissau	...
Lesotho	...
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	...
Mauritania	...
Mauritius	...
Mozambique	...
Sao Tome and Principe	...
Seychelles	...
Sierra Leone	...
Somalia	...
South Africa	...
Swaziland	...

Note:

... Data not available

Source: % aged 20-24 who are mothers by age 18 UNICEF - The Progress of Nations 1995 page 27

TABLE IX Economic Activity

BOTSWANA	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY		
(1) % of total labour-force that are females			
1970			53.1
1980			50.1
1995			45.7
(2) Industrial Structure of labour force in			
<i>Agriculture</i>			
1975-84	F		53
	M		46
1990-93	F		...
	M		...
<i>Industry</i>			
1975-84	F		2
	M		9
1990-93	F		...
	M		...
<i>Services</i>			
1975-84	F		31
	M		29
1990-93	F		...
	M		...
(3) Earned Income Share (% to women)			
1970			
1985			
1995			39
(4) Child Labour: % of children 10-14			
1970			32.3
1990			19.4
1995			16.9
(5) Female Administration and Managers %			
1970			
1985			
1992-96			36b
(6) Female Professional and Technical Workers			
1970			
1985			
1992-96			61b
(7) Female Sales Services Workers			
1992-96			70b,c
(8) Female Clerical workers %			
1992-96			60b,d
(9) GNP Per Capita (US\$)			
1994			2,800
1976			...

BOTSWANA	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	
1987		1,050
(10) GDP		
1970		310
1980		902
1995		1,857
(11) Percentage of Central Government Expenditure on:		
<i>Education</i>		
1980		21.2
1992-95		20.3
<i>Health</i>		
1980		5.9
1992-95		4.9
<i>Housing</i>		
1980		6.6
1992-95		13.5
<i>Social Security & Welfare</i>		
1980		0.3
1992-95		2.6
(12) Female unpaid family workers (% of total)		
1990		35
(13) Debt Burden as % of GNP		
1970		
1980		16.3
1995		16.3
(14) Aid (% of GNP)		
1970		
1980		11.8
1994		2.2

Data Sources (1) African Development Indicators: The World Bank 1997 - Pages 287 (2) African Development Indicators: The World Bank 1996 - Pages 296 -297 (3) Human Development Report 1997 - Pages 152-154 (4) African Development Indicators: The World Bank 1997 - Pages 288 (5) 1992-1996 - Human Development Report 1998 - Pages 154-155 (6) 1992-1996 - Human Development Report 1998 - Pages 154-155 (7) 1992-1996 - Human Development Report 1998 - Pages 154-155 (8) 1992-1996 - Human Development Report 1998 - Pages 154-155 (9) 1994 - Human Development Report 1997 - Pages 164-165 (10) Human Development Report 1998 - Pages 140-142 AND Human Development Report 1997 - Pages 159 - 160 (11) Human Development Report 1997 - Pages 186-187 (12) Human Development Report 1998 - Pages 154 - 155 (13) World Development Report 1997- Pages 246-247 (14) World Development Report 1997 - Pages 218-219

Note: Figures may not add up to 100, because the following categories are included in the total labor force, but not shown in this table: Military, unemployed, and not adequately classified.

Key a - World Bank 1997b b - Carried Over from UNDP 1997a c - Excludes Sales Workers d - includes Sales Workers e - Refers to the International Standard classification of occupations (ISCO) 1998 which is not strictly comparable with the ISCO-1968 classification.

TABLE X Percentage of the Population Living below the income Poverty Line

Country	US\$1a day (1985PPP\$) 1989-94
Morocco	1.1
Algeria	1.6
Tunisia	3.9
Egypt	7.6
Tanzania, United Republic of	16.4
Côte d'Ivoire	17.7
South Africa	23.7
Guinea	26.3
Nigeria	28.9
Mauritania	31.4
Ethiopia	33.8
Botswana	34.7
Zimbabwe	41.0
Malawi	42.1
Uganda	50.0
Kenya	50.2
Lesotho	50.4
Senegal	54.0
Niger	61.5
Madagascar	72.3
Zambia	84.6
Guinea Bissau	87.0
Liberia	...
Rwanda	...
Somalia	...
Angola	...
Benin	...
Burkina Faso	...
Burundi	...
Cameroon	...
Cape Verde	...
Central African Republic	...
Chad	...
Comoros	...
Congo	...
Democratic Republic of Congo	...
Djibouti	...
Equatorial Guinea	...

Country	US\$1a day (1985PPP\$) 1989-94
Eritrea	...
Gabon	...
Gambia	...
Ghana	...
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	...
Mali	...
Mauritius	...
Mozambique	...
Namibia	...
Sao Tome and Principe	...
Seychelles	...
Sierra Leone	...
Sudan	...
Swaziland	...
Togo	...

Note:

... Data not available

Source:

for 1977-1986 *Human Development Report 1990*, pages 132-133
for 1989-1994 *Human Development Report 1998*, pages 146-147

TABLE XI Women in Political Power and Decision Making
SEYCHELLES WOMEN IN DECISION MAKING

(1) Parliament 1997 %	27.3
(2) Total a (%) 1995	21.0
Women in Government at:	
(3) Ministerial level a (%) 1995	31.0
(4) Sub-Ministerial level a (%) 1995	19.0
Local Authorities 1990-94	
(5) Mayors	
(6) Council-Members	
Administration 1992-96	
(7) Female Administrators & Managers (%) 1992-96	29b
(8) Female Professional & Technical Workers (%) 1992-96	58b
Year Women Received Right	
(9) to vote (a)	1948
(10) to stand for election(a)	1948
(11) Year first woman elected (E) or nominated (N) in national Parliament	1976E

Key [a] Refers to year in which right to election or representation on a universal and equal basis was recognized. In some countries confirmation and constitutional rights came later. [b] Carried over from UNDP 1997 a [e] Refers to the International Standard classification of occupations (ISCO) 1988 which is not strictly comparable with the ISCO 1968 classification. [j] Exact information on election or nomination is not available. [+] No information or confirmation available.

Data Sources (1) Inter-Parliamentary Union Map, 1997 (2) Human Development Report 1998, pages 154 - 155 (3) Human Development Report 1998, pages 154 - 155 (4) Human Development Report 1998, pages 154 - 155 (5) data not available (6) data not available (7) Human Development Report 1998, pages 154 - 155 (8) Human Development Report 1998, pages 154 - 155 (9) Human Development Report 1998, pages 154 - 155 (10) Human Development Report 1998, pages 168-169 (11) Human Development Report 1998, pages 168-169