

*Sex and Gender—
What's the
Difference?: A Tool
for Examining
the Sociocultural
Context of Sex
Differences*



United States Agency for
International Development
Office of Women in Development

Preface

This Gender Analysis Tool Kit contains ten analytical tools which are intended to be clear, user-friendly devices for policy makers and project implementers to use in addressing gender issues in their development efforts. The tool kit was developed by the staff of the GENESYS (Gender in Economic and Social Systems) Project. GENESYS is a project funded by the USAID Office of Women in Development to support the Agency's efforts to institutionalize gender considerations in development assistance worldwide. The tool kit provides practical approaches to use in accomplishing that objective. Below are the titles of the ten tools.

GCID Framework

- GCID Framework: A Tool for Assessing Institutionalization of Gender Concerns in Development Organizations

Quantitative Tools

- Quantifying Gender Issues: A Tool for Using Quantitative Data in Gender Analysis (A Slide Presentation)
- Country Gender Profiles: A Tool for Summarizing Policy Implications from Sex-Disaggregated Data
- Gender and Household Dynamics: A Tool for Analyzing Income and Employment Data from Surveys

Diagnostic Tools

- Gender and Policy Implementation: A Tool for Assessment of Policy-Derived Impacts on Women and Men
- Sex and Gender—What's the Difference?: A Tool for Examining the Sociocultural Context of Sex Differences

Planning And M&E Tools

- Necessary and Sufficient Conditions for Sustainable Development: A Tool for Gender-Informed Project Planning
- Gender in Monitoring and Evaluation: A Tool for Developing Project M&E Plans
- Documenting Development Program Impact: A Tool for Reporting Differential Effects on Men and Women

Reference

- Gender Research Guide for the Agriculture, Environment, and Natural Resource Sectors: A Tool for Selecting Methods

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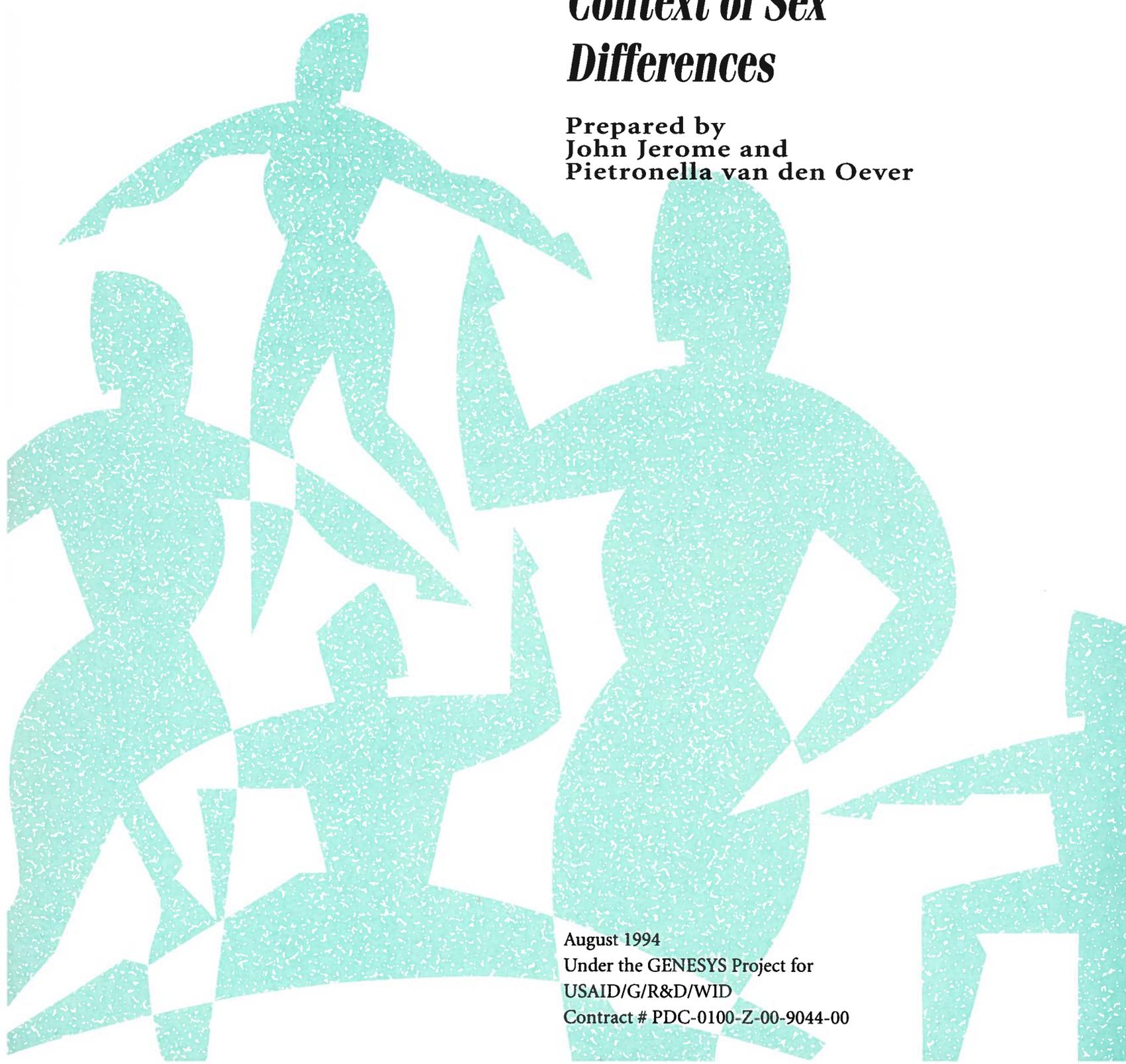




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I. Introduction

1.1 Nature and Purpose of the Tool and Target Audiences

This booklet presents a method or “tool” for combining quantitative and qualitative information for gender analysis. It shows how to visualize numerical differences and imbalances between the sexes, and to develop systematic reasoning about the underlying societal forces that maintain these imbalances. The tool leads the reader step by step through a process of selection of basic statistics, disaggregated by sex, followed by presentation of these data in such a form that sex imbalances can be easily detected. Examples are given of ways these imbalances can be interpreted to make certain inferences about the division of labor and of rights and responsibilities between men and women.

In its most general application, this tool allows its users to identify where some of the main sex imbalances are—in a population’s basic age-sex structure, rural-urban residence, school attendance, or labor force participation, for instance. Following the identification of major sex imbalances, the tool provides guidance, through concrete examples, on how to formulate a number of precise questions on the different roles and responsibilities of men and women in society, as well as why these roles persist, and how policies could be formulated to take these differences into account. This tool can also be used to develop a more explicit picture of men’s and women’s respective roles, responsibilities, and access constraints in particular fields such as agriculture, manufacturing, and government services. The latter application presupposes the availability of a certain amount of sex-disaggregated data on these subjects.

The main objective of the tool is to inform policy formulation and to ensure that men and women have an equal likelihood of benefiting from and contributing to sustainable development. This tool allows development practitioners to get a more precise idea of exactly where the imbalances between the sexes are and why these imbalances persist. This information, presented in a form that can be easily understood by a variety of decision-makers, provides a starting point for formulating programs and projects rooted in the economic, political, and cultural reality of the target group. Although the method was initially developed to inform USAID development policy and has been field-tested in this context, it is widely applicable. An application of the method and a more extensive treatment of a number of case studies are provided in a GENESYS Special Study entitled “The Use of Sex-Disaggregated Data and Social Mapping for Gender Analysis in USAID Mission Programs.”

Here, the method is illustrated by three case studies. The most extensively treated case study has been developed using data from Burkina Faso. Two other case studies, one on the New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union and the other on Jordan, are treated much more briefly in Annex I as additional illustrations of the method. Case studies have deliberately been selected from regions or countries where statistical information is sparse. The reason for this selection is to demonstrate that even in places where statistical information is scant,

it is possible to build upon what is available and develop a systematic approach to the formulation of relevant questions regarding “gender issues.” Definitions and a discussion of what is meant by gender issues are provided in sections 1.2 and 1.3.

1.2 Rationale for Gender Analysis

Although this tool for combining quantitative and qualitative analysis has broad applicability, its principal application is to analyze gender issues in development. In the broad context of this paper, gender can be briefly defined as the roles of, or relationships between, men and women in a given social context. These roles and relationships become a “gender issue” in development if they are potentially affected by development interventions, or could act as either constraints or catalysts in the accomplishment of development goals.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and most other development organizations explicitly recognize that men and women must have equal access to the benefits of development interventions. In its policies, USAID considers equity as an indispensable pre-condition for broad-based, efficient, and sustainable development. To achieve this objective, a thorough analysis of gender roles and relationships is needed to understand the social context and assess how development interventions need to adapt in response to it, from their initial formulation stage to their practical implementation in the field.

1.3 Sex and Gender, What is the Difference? Basic Definitions

Since the procedure of this tool consists of selecting relevant sex-disaggregated data for conducting gender analysis, it is crucial to understand the difference between the terms “sex” and “gender.” These terms often have been used interchangeably in development literature and in discussions on development questions. However, they are not synonymous. While “sex” refers to biological characteristics, the term “gender” denotes the different social characteristics or culturally prescribed roles of men and women. For this tool, a clear distinction is made between the two terms. Quantitative data are sex-disaggregated, although in many instances the term “gender-disaggregated data” is used erroneously. In sex-disaggregated data the whole universe consists of the two sexes, men and women, who are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. In a population age-sex structure, for example, the sexes are not interchangeable. The same male and female populations remain immutably on their respective sides of the population pyramid in all subsequent population surveys or censuses, while moving through the respective age groups.

The term “gender” is more complicated, and gender roles are not bound to either men or women. This is clearly illustrated by the division of labor in agriculture. Whereas in Europe, men were traditionally the major agricultural workers, in most of Sub-Saharan Africa women are the key players in cultivation. While one’s sex does not change over time, gender roles do change over time, under the influence of broader societal changes. For instance, in many countries women have been excluded from military service under the hypothesis that war

was not women's business. Today, women around the world are entering the armed forces in increasing numbers. A similar gender role change is occurring among teachers in nursery and primary schools. Although this profession was once believed to be the exclusive domain of women because of their nurturing ability, men have been entering the lower grades as teachers, and have proved to be as capable as women in providing children with early-life learning and care.

Strictly speaking, biological or sex differences between men and women are universal and unchangeable, while gender or cultural differences are highly variable across cultures and tend to change over time as a population adapts to new knowledge and new environmental conditions. Gender analysis is not a specific method as much as it is a type of lens for focusing on particular aspects of cultural reality. Gender roles and relationships constitute a very basic and important dimension of human social organization, but they cannot be studied in isolation from other socioeconomic variables such as age, race, ethnicity, religion, or class.

Gender analysis in the context of this tool is particularly concerned with understanding how being male or female is a determinant in the division of labor and the distribution of resources and rewards in a given society and with how these fundamentals of social organization interact with development goals and strategies.



II: Application of the Tool

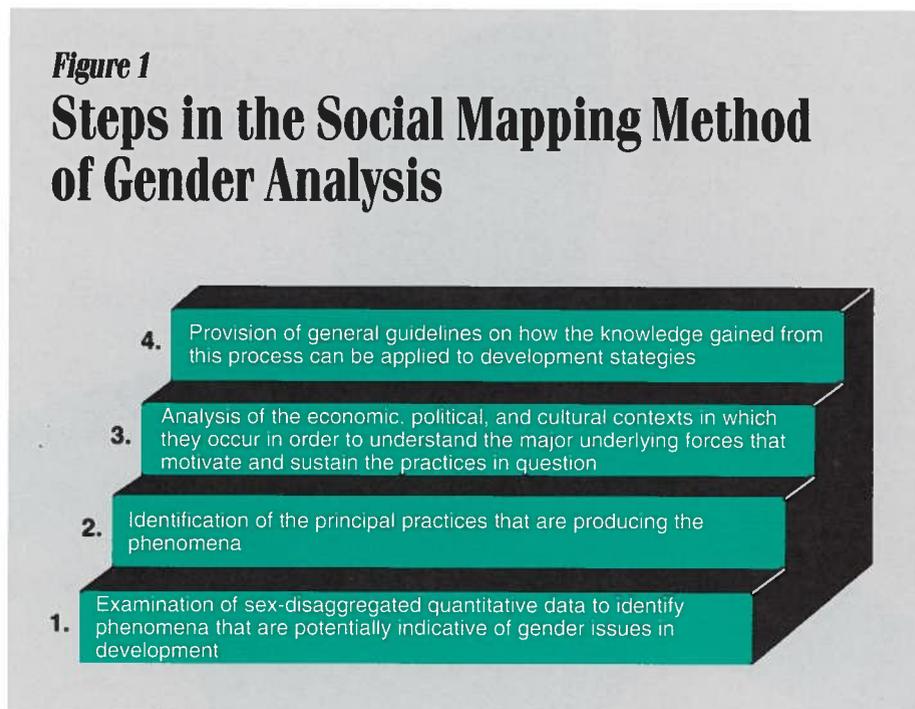


II. Application of the Tool

2.1 Composition of the Basic Model

As illustrated in Figure 1, the method presented in this paper consists of the following steps:

1. Examination of sex-disaggregated quantitative data to identify phenomena that are potentially indicative of gender issues in development;
2. Identification of the principal practices that are producing the phenomena;
3. Analysis of the economic, political, and cultural contexts in which the phenomena occur in order to understand the major underlying forces that motivate and sustain the practices in question;
4. Provision of general guidelines on how the knowledge gained from this process can be applied to development strategies.



2.2 Step-by-Step Application of the Basic Model: Case Study from Burkina Faso



Step 1: Examination of sex-disaggregated quantitative data to identify phenomena that are potentially indicative of gender issues in development

The term “potential” is used at this stage to underline the fact that simply observing a quantitative imbalance in some element of sex-disaggregated data does not necessarily mean that this imbalance is an impediment to sustainable development or that the condition observed is in contradiction to developmental goals. Identification of sex imbalances from quantitative data, however, alerts us to the fact that there are phenomena occurring that

affect men and women differently. Therefore, these observations need to be examined more fully to anticipate their implications for development strategies and goals. It is only then that inferences can be made about conditions or behavior patterns that need to be explicitly addressed for specific development interventions to succeed.

Obviously, the first question faced by the users of this tool is: “Where do we find relevant data?” As mentioned in the introduction, the case studies in this report are based upon already existing basic demographic data, disaggregated by sex. The type of macro-level data used in the case studies can be found in easily accessible published sources like the *United Nations*

Demographic Yearbooks and *Human Development Reports*, and in country-specific *Demographic and Health Surveys*. In some countries, more detailed data sources are available on specific topics, such as sex-disaggregated labor force participation data by occupation and detailed agricultural production data. A systematic analysis of these data, in combination with qualitative information on the same subject, can significantly contribute to knowledge and understanding of gender issues in development and their policy implications.

For the four-step method described here it could also be useful to have more micro-level data, including program- and project-specific sex-disaggregated data collected by local organizations or field offices of development organizations. Often a wealth of information exists already, although proper analysis of this information may be lacking. It is for this reason, for instance, that the African continent has been called “the most researched but least analyzed continent.”

Burkina Faso Case Study

Figure 2 is a simple bar chart that represents the urban (left) and rural (right) populations of Burkina Faso,

disaggregated by age and sex, as reported in the 1985 population census. The first phenomenon one notices is the unbalanced sex ratio among the rural population in each one of the five-year age groups between the ages of 20 and 50. Without looking further at the sex ratios for urban populations, one might conclude that the unbalanced rural sex ratios were a consequence of rural exodus, that is, migration of men in prime productive ages from rural to urban areas. However, a careful examination of Figure 2 reveals that this is not the case. Note that the urban and rural populations are presented using the same numeric scale to facilitate visual comparisons of their relative magnitudes.

Figure 2 clearly illustrates that an overwhelming proportion (about 80%) of Burkina Faso’s population is rural and it is in the rural sector that the bars representing the numbers of women in the age groups between 20 and 50 extend well beyond the men’s bars. The differences are particularly prominent among people in their 20s and 30s. In urban areas, on the other hand, the men’s and women’s bars are much closer to even, and in several age groups, men slightly outnumber women. The surplus of men in urban Burkina Faso, however, is far from sufficient to account for the large shortages of rural men. Given

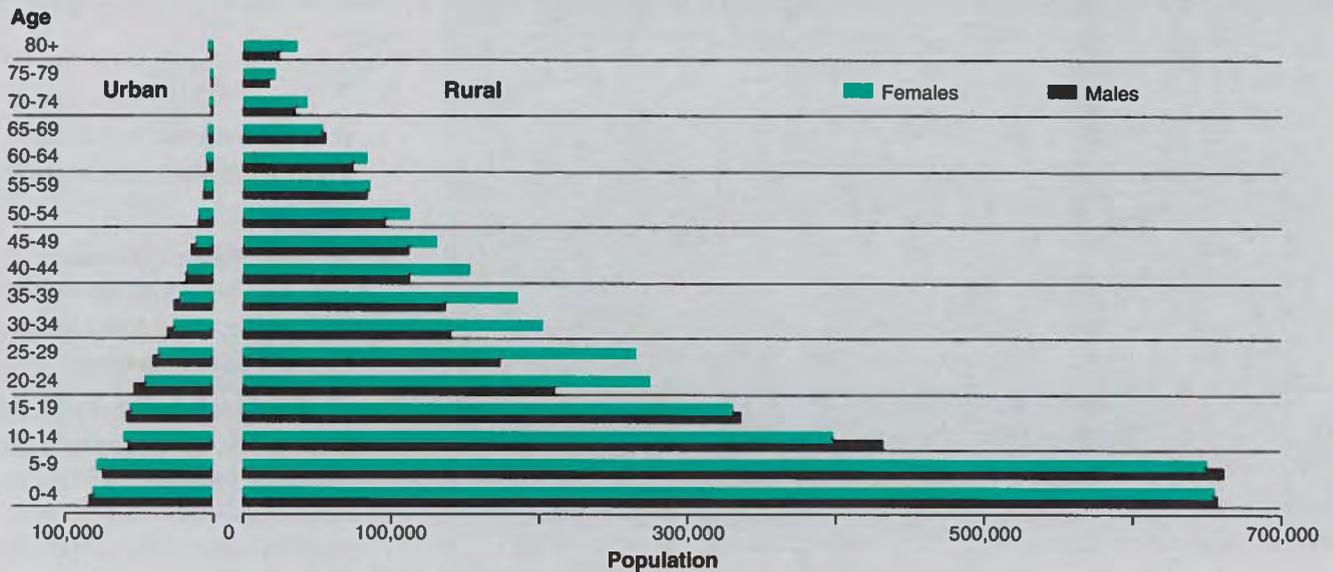
that populations normally have about equal proportions of men and women in the middle age groups, the questions that a rural development project design team might ask are:

1. Where are the missing rural men?
2. How do these sex imbalances influence the division of labor in agriculture?
3. How do the sex imbalances influence household dynamics, and socioeconomic life in rural Burkina Faso in general?
4. Are development interventions intended to improve the rural sector’s performance flexible and prepared to address sex imbalances efficiently? (e.g., are they “women-friendly”/easily accessible to women?)



Figure 2

Population Structures in Urban and Rural Burkina Faso, 1985



Source : US Bureau of Census International Database, 1993



Step 2: Identification of the principal practices that are producing the phenomena

As indicated in the basic model presented in Figure 1, the next step in our procedure is to identify, with as much specificity and certainty as possible, the practices that produce the observed effects. This phase requires a thorough initial analysis of existing knowledge and the application of deductive reasoning to formulate hypotheses linking the observed imbalances with the practices that are most likely to be causing them. Careful analysis of linkages between what is likely causing a

phenomenon or phenomena, and the implications for development projects and programs is a sine-qua-non for collecting information to guide realistic development interventions with a likelihood of achieving results.

Burkina Faso Case Study

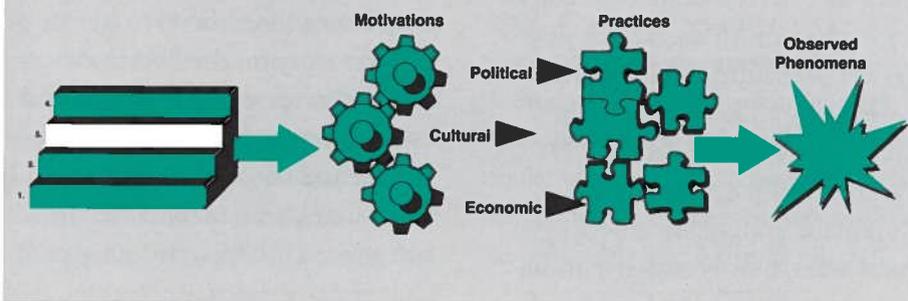
For our Burkina Faso example, the reasoning might be as follows. The phenomenon of imbalanced sex ratios can result from only two major causes:

1. gender differentials in mortality, where one sex faces greater risks of dying than the other; or
2. gender differentials in migration, where one sex is more likely to migrate into or out of a region than the other.

The practice in Burkina Faso that is causing rural sex ratio imbalances has been identified in various other case studies and surveys, which documented that a large proportion of Burkinabe men, for the past 20 or more years, have been migrating to neighboring countries like Côte d'Ivoire to perform wage labor in factories and on plantations.

Figure 3

Expanded Social Mapping Model: Contextual Analysis



Step 3: Analysis of the economic, political, and cultural contexts in which the phenomena occur in order to understand the major underlying forces that motivate and sustain the practices in question

Once the most important linkages between the observed sex imbalances and the practices that most likely cause them have been established, people's motivations for maintaining these practices have to be assessed. For analytical purposes, this method breaks the environment down into three areas: cultural, political and economic, as depicted in Figure 3. In the dynamics of everyday life, these spheres are interrelated. In this framework, however, each of the spheres identified speaks to a qualitatively different set of motivations.

At the group level of analysis, motivations are conceptualized as

having three dimensions: interests or goals, opportunities, and constraints to the realization of group interests. Economic motivations are those relating to the material interests of groups and individuals. People need to have a means of livelihood and generally want to increase their material wealth. Analyses of economic motivations generally focus on identifying significant stakeholders and their specific interests in a given context. Economic motivations also include opportunities and constraints that affect stakeholders' abilities to realize their interests and that influence the directions stakeholders take in pursuit of their economic goals.

Political motivations refer to the desires of groups and individuals to achieve power over their environment and other individuals or social groups. Political motivations also involve institutionalized power and authority structures that differentially distribute opportunities and constraints to groups and individuals. These structures are both formal and informal. Formal structur-

al dimensions, like governmental and legal systems, are important contextual elements, but informal decision-making processes (for example, at the community and household levels) can also be important considerations.

The cultural component of this model is the most abstract and at the same time the most pervasive. In the broadest, anthropological sense, the concept of culture encompasses the ideologies, values, and beliefs of a group of people influencing both material and non-material aspects of their lives. In the present model, the focus is on the non-material aspects of culture—the beliefs, values, and norms shared by a group of people that give meaning and direction to their daily thoughts and actions. Culture shapes people's views of the world—how it is and how it ought to be—and of their place within that world. Cultural beliefs and values are important sources of motivation. Beliefs provide people with rules about cause and effect and about capabilities and limitations. In this sense, beliefs represent constraints and opportunities for action.

Values inform people about what are desirable and undesirable goals to pursue. Values are, therefore, culturally approved interests.

People are motivated to pursue these interests in part because they accept their culture's definitions of acceptable goals, but also because of the secondary rewards of social approval and esteem.

Norms are rules and general guidelines defining appropriate behaviors in given situations. In terms of motivation, norms are perhaps best thought of as opportunities and constraints rather than as interests. Norms specify which actions are likely to gain approval and which will incur disapproval. Individuals and groups often find that cultural norms block their paths to achieving market-oriented economic or political interests and they are faced with at least two dilemmas. First, is it possible to violate a norm and achieve the political or economic interest in question? Second, is the cost of violating the norm worth the economic or political benefit?

When designing intervention strategies, it is important to keep the different components of culture in mind. It is one thing to persuade people to change their beliefs and values, and another to convince people to risk the costs of changing their behavior in violation of significant cultural norms.

Burkina Faso Case Study

In the case of rural Burkina Faso, it appears that the most basic motivations for the observed patterns of male migration are economic. Burkina Faso is a landlocked country in western Africa, lacking physical infrastructure and industrial development. According to the *World Development Report, 1994* (World Bank), 83 percent of the Burkinabe population are living in rural areas, mostly engaged in subsistence level, low-output agriculture. Possibilities for improvement of agricultural production are hampered by long-lasting droughts. Rapid population growth and consequent intensification of agriculture and grazing have contributed to widespread desiccation of the soil, which is hindering agricultural production. Evolution of the industrial and service sectors has been minimal as well. As a result, economic opportunities within Burkina Faso are extremely limited. On the other hand, economic conditions in selected neighboring states like Côte d'Ivoire have been relatively good and have created a demand for cheap labor (Harrison, 1992).

These economic pushes and pulls are particularly relevant for young men from rural areas who do not own or have direct access to agricultural land. There are a number of ethnic groups in Burkina Faso with different means of livelihood and variations in the division of labor. In the majority of cases, however, only older, already married men are permitted to use or own land. Inheritance rights are

patrilineal and the incumbents are usually older married men as well. It follows that young men have few economic incentives to stay in the rural areas and may not yet have serious family responsibilities that would keep them there.

The story for the Burkinabe women is very different. While men usually remain single until they are in their late twenties or early thirties, women tend to marry in their late teens. Once married, they gradually acquire rights of access to three types of land (van den Oever, 1986). First, they cultivate millet and other subsistence crops on the family fields together with their husbands and children. Second, they almost invariably cultivate their *ôbelogoö*, or private fields, on which they grow gumbo and other condiments for family use. Surpluses from these fields are sold in the local market. Benefits of these sales are undisputed income for the women themselves which they can dispose of as they see fit. The third type of field sometimes cultivated by women is the communal field, on which women tend to work in cooperative groups. The nuclei of these cooperative groups are usually relatives, but can extend to other community members.

In addition to cultivation, virtually all Burkinabe women are engaged in some form of manufacturing or food processing such as *ôdoloö* (millet beer) brewing, bean-cake making, soap making, basket weaving, and so forth. Benefits

from the sales of these products are also exclusively controlled by the women.

Under circumstances that offer few economic opportunities for young men, families may find it beneficial to encourage them to migrate out of rural areas. However, most men migrate with the purpose of eventually returning and improving their position in their communities of origin (Okoth-Ogendo, 1989). Success for men in Burkina Faso, including arrangement of a good marriage, is largely dependent on access to land. Okoth-Ogendo (1989) observed that many of the emigrants are sojourners either trying to build up enough resources to return home and purchase land or waiting until the time that they inherit land from their families. Okoth-Ogendo also notes that increasing their advantage in the marriage market upon returning home is a prime motivation for many of the single men to migrate.

Undoubtedly, some of the immigrants are married men who for one reason or another have found it expedient to leave their families behind while they pursue wage labor in neighboring states.

There are fewer incentives for women to emigrate either with or without husbands. There is almost always a means of livelihood available to women at home either on their fathers' or their husbands' property. Although this livelihood may not be very economically rewarding nor provide much inde-

pendence, it is at least relatively secure. The disproportionate incentives for men rather than women to emigrate are further supported by the widespread practice of polygyny among the Burkinabe rural population. Competition among men for property is strong, and those individuals who gain an advantage are usually able to use that advantage to make further gains. This leaves relatively large numbers of men without property and without much to offer in a marriage contract. Women, on the other hand, have options to become the second or higher-order wife of a man of property, thereby securing their economic future.

Henderson et al. (1982), however, note that a significant number of young women, usually without children, go with their husbands or partners to Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. They typically find some kind of work to do while there.

Until recently, the government of Burkina Faso has not attempted to stem the flow of male emigration because it was thought that worker remittances provided a much needed flow of foreign capital into the country. The reality, however, has been that the foreign workers tend to buy commodities abroad and bring them back home so that very little capital has flowed into the country's economy through this emigration pattern. A more prof-

itable tactic would be the stimulation of agricultural commodity production for export, but this is not yet happening. (Okoth-Ogendo, 1989)

One of the main reasons for the lack of commercial agriculture in Burkina Faso is reported to be the extreme labor shortage caused by the widespread emigration of men. The problem, therefore, appears to be somewhat circular: men emigrate because of a lack of jobs in the agricultural sector, while commercial agriculture is inhibited because of a shortage of labor.

It is difficult to determine how much of the labor shortage is due to an actual lack of workers and how much is due to perceptions as well as realities of the division of labor preventing women from doing work regarded as exclusively men's. The principal gender issue in this situation, however, is the shortage of labor. Even if women were culturally and legally permitted to do "men's work," there would still be a problem with time and women's work load. Labor studies in Burkina Faso, as in many other developing countries, reveal that women already work more hours per day and more days per year than do men (Feldstein and Poats, 1989; Palmer, 1985). This is especially the case where fertility rates are high and where subsistence agriculture is the dominant mode of economic activity. Women care for the children, cook the meals, do the clean-

ing and laundry, gather fuel and water, and also do a large share of the farming that feeds the family. In a situation where a large proportion of the men are absent, the quantity of women's labor increases and it is quite probable that the scope of their responsibilities also increases. These are the kinds of gender issues that arise in the Burkina Faso case that need to be taken into account in planning and implementing development strategies.



**Step 4:
Provision of
general
guidelines on how the
knowledge gained from
this process can be
applied to development
strategies**

The final step in our four-step procedure is to “translate” findings into policy implications, which will be the basis for development intervention strategies. As previously noted, gender imbalances can be relevant to development goals either because they contradict one or more of those goals or because they act as constraints to goal accomplishment.

Burkina Faso Case Study

The male-dominated migration patterns of rural Burkina Faso and the subsequent unbalanced sex ratios are likely both a consequence of and a constraint to economic development. The unbalanced sex ratios create a labor shortage both

in terms of the actual personnel available for labor and the type of labor that is available. Due to the traditional division of labor between rural men and women in Burkina Faso, the labor shortage appears to be particularly acute for those occupations considered in the male domain. These kinds of problems might be partially alleviated if there were culturally acceptable incentives for women and men to alter their ideas about gender-appropriate tasks. Development strategists should also recognize that women already have increased responsibilities as a result of the emigration patterns and need greater access to resources that will help them fulfill these responsibilities more efficiently and effectively.

These observations raise a number of issues for policymakers and rural development practitioners. Is one solution that Burkinabe women take on more responsibilities in the absence of the men, such as engaging in commercial agriculture? Such a response would increase women's needs for intellectual and material resources. It would also require that agricultural extension services look closely at what is happening in Burkina and assess whether they are adequately addressing the social realities, including the division of labor and the distribution of important resources.

A complementary solution might be to reduce the time women spend in activities other than agricultural production. For instance, some areas of the country are experiencing extreme and rapid desicca-

tion. Women are the primary gatherers of firewood and water (Harrison, 1992). The scarcer these necessities become, the greater the amount of time and energy spent by the women in acquiring them; time they can ill afford to spare given their already numerous responsibilities. For a policy aimed at saving women's time and preserving the environment to be effective, it will be imperative that women play a key role in any efforts to rehabilitate environmentally degraded areas and find suitable alternatives to traditional practices. Women should be involved not only as workers, but as the prime decision-makers, since they represent the bulk of the economically active population in the rural areas. Educating Burkinabe women, and providing them with alternatives to their traditional methods of acquiring fuel and water, would help the environment and would likely improve local economies.

The box at right contains a brief discussion of some additional questions that might arise from this Burkina Faso analysis.

Other Policy-Relevant Questions Arising from the Analysis

The gender-specific migration patterns of Burkina Faso may also have implications for population and health programs. A few relevant questions for consideration are as follows:

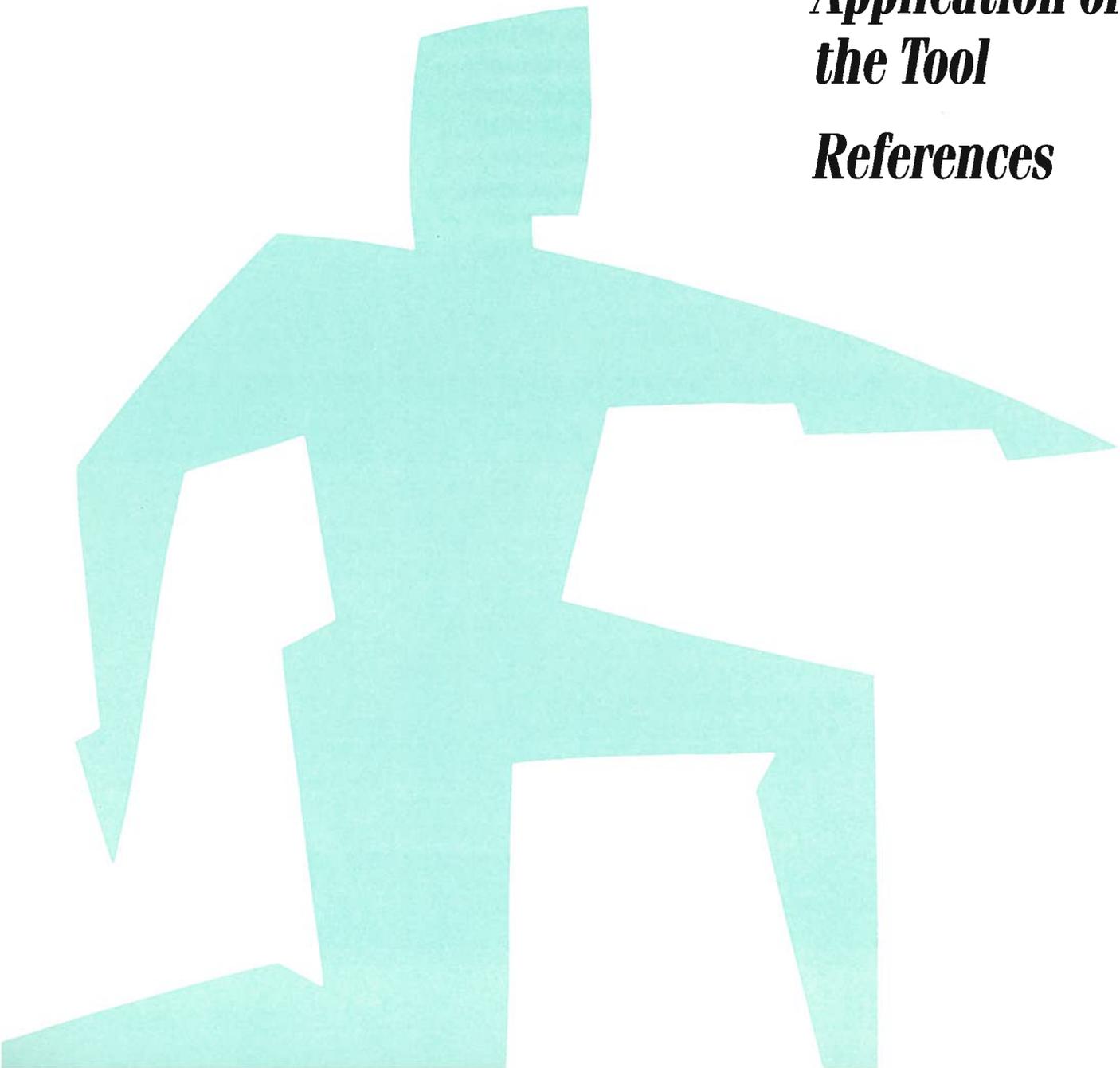
- How do the migration patterns of men influence the spacing of births? Since most of the male migrant workers from Burkina are sojourners, it could be useful to know how often they return home to their families and how these patterns of temporary migration may affect the spacing of births. For example, if husbands return home only once a year on average, do they feel pressure to conceive a child during their visits? This pattern might mean that births tend to be spaced more closely than if the husbands returned more or less than once a year.
- How do the extra labor demands placed on women due to husbands' absence influence women's desire for more children? A pervasive axiom about subsistence economies is that large families are valued in part because they are a source of farm labor that costs relatively little to produce and maintain. We might hypothesize that the increased burden of farm labor on Burkinabe wives may encourage the desire to increase fertility in order to have more hands to help with the work.
- What are the husbands' attitudes about their wives' use of contraceptives in their absence? This is a somewhat sensitive question but a relevant one for promoters of family planning services. Especially in areas where modern family planning methods are poorly understood, husbands who are absent from home for long periods of time may have some strong reservations about their wives using contraceptives during their absence. If so, this could influence education, information and communication programs as well as method mix strategies.
- What are the patterns of sexual behavior of the husbands when they are away from home and what are the consequences of these behaviors for the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) back to the rural village? This is also a sensitive subject but particularly pertinent given concerns over the rapid spread of HIV throughout Africa. What proportions of the male sojourners are visiting extramarital sex partners while away from home? What proportion of these men are using condoms for disease protection? What are the risks that these men will transmit these diseases back to their home villages? There are also questions about the further spread of STDs once they have been transported back home and spouses are separated for long periods of time.



***III: Summary
and Conclusions***

***Annex I:
Additional
Examples of the
Application of
the Tool***

References



III. Summary and Conclusions

This report illustrates the use of an inductive method of gender analysis. The practical application of the method was demonstrated, using data from Burkina Faso. Two additional brief case studies are provided in Annex I. The three case studies illustrate different types of gender issues that could be identified by this method and also demonstrate some variations in the application of our four-step tool.

In the case of Burkina Faso, the phenomenon that signaled relevant gender issues was an imbalance in the sex ratios of the rural population, revealing a large shortage of men particularly in their 20s and 30s. The practice identified as the cause of the unbalanced sex ratios was the predominance of male emigration to neighboring countries in search of work. Economic, political, and cultural motivations underlying

the gender-specific migration patterns were explored and suggestions were made regarding the implications of this gender issue for development intervention strategies, especially in the areas of agricultural productivity, population, and health. The primary strategic concern was the labor shortage caused by male emigration and restrictive customs concerning gender divisions of labor that inhibited the growth of Burkina Faso's domestic economy.

While it is possible and even desirable for the government of Burkina Faso to initiate policies to reduce the extent of male emigration, the focus of development strategies discussed in this report was to cope with the reality of unbalanced sex ratios in maintaining progress toward sustainable development.

In Annex 1, two additional examples are provided to illustrate the steps described in this model. These examples emphasize the importance of identifying specific

practices and understanding the underlying motivations for these practices in order to produce quality development programming. Regardless of the specific goals of the development practitioner, the effectiveness and efficiency of interventions depend on an understanding of the economic, political, and cultural realities. This is the basic message that the gender analysis tool described in this paper conveys.

ANNEX I: Additional Examples of the Application of the Tool

In this section, two other case studies are reviewed in very brief form. The purpose of this annex section is to offer additional illustrations of how the tool described in this document can be applied to a wide range of development issues. The first illustration concerns differences in life expectancies of men and women in the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union. The second concerns fertility in Jordan.

A. Gender Differences in Life Expectancy in the New Independent States

Women tend to live longer than men. Life expectancy is an estimate of the average number of years that

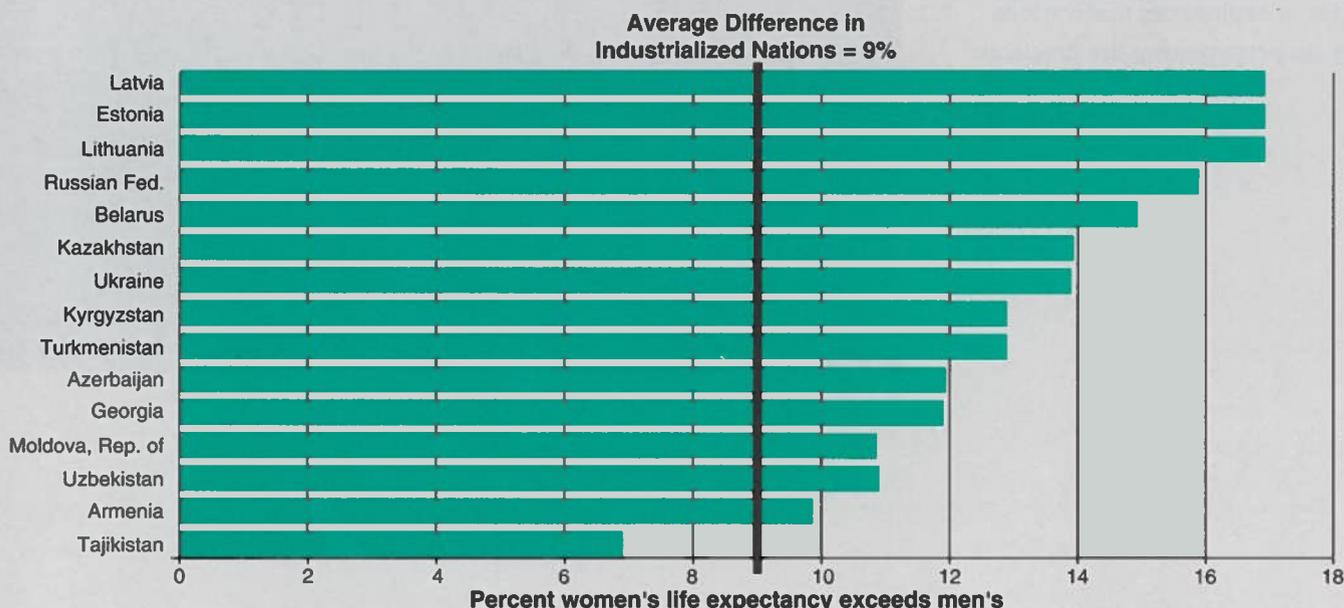
a person in a particular group or society can expect to live beyond a certain age given the current age-specific mortality risks of that group or society. While differences in men's and women's life expectancies undoubtedly involve a biological component, they are also strongly affected by differences in environmental conditions, differences in mortality risks, and by differential access to health resources. Life expectancy differences can, therefore, be used as general indicators of gender differences in health risks and resource access.

When looking at gender differences in life expectancy, we have to assess whether the difference observed is greater or smaller than

would normally be expected at a certain level of development. An example given in the tool "Quantifying Gender Issues" in this tool kit, noted that in some countries of South Asia, women's life expectancy was only equal to, and in some cases lower than, men's, indicating cultural or health-related factors affecting women's life expectancy in this region. In the New Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union, the opposite appears to be the case, as indicated by an examination of the data. Figure 4 shows the percentage by which women's life expectancy exceeded men's in 1990 in these countries, and the average difference found in the most industrialized countries.

Figure 4

Percent Difference in Life Expectancies at Birth of Women and Men in the New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union



Source : UNDP Human Development Report, 1993

All of the NIS countries except Tajikistan exceed the average sex difference in life expectancy of the most industrialized nations, indicating that men in this region are in some way experiencing factors relative to women in terms of health or sociocultural practices. A considerable amount of research has been conducted in the NIS countries to identify the specific practices that are producing these high sex differences in life expectancy. Blum and Moniker (1989), for example, convincingly linked the differences between male and female mortality rates to alcohol abuse among men and to deaths from alcohol-related illnesses and accidents.

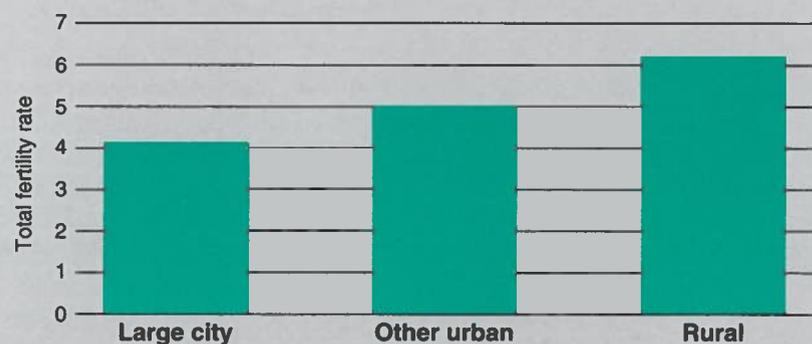
Applying this tool to the problem, when the phenomenon pointing to a relevant gender issue (greater than normal life expectancy differences) has been identified, and specific practices contributing to the phenomenon (male alcohol abuse) have been found, the next step is to explore the motivations that are perpetuating the practices.

If the goal is to improve men's life expectancy in the NIS countries, there may need to be reform of male alcohol use practices. To reform these practices, analysts planning interventions need to understand the reasons why men of the NIS are so prone to abuse alcohol, and find ways to alter the underlying cultural, political, and economic motivations. Clearly, this problem does not have a simple solution; many different countries and many different ethnic groups within these countries are involved. Motivations in one area or for one group may be different for other areas and groups.

B. Jordanian Fertility

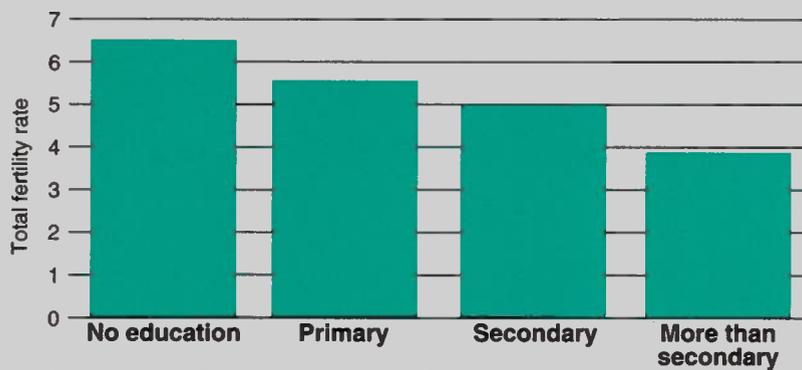
Jordan is a middle-income country (*World Development Report, 1993*) that is making great development progress in many ways. Jordan has also had a persistently high rate of population growth, a large portion of which comes from natural increase. The high rate of population growth potentially poses problems for future economic prosperity in Jordan as increasing numbers of workers enter an already crowded labor market. Jordan also represents something of an exception to conventional fertility theories because its total fertility rate

Figure 5
Total Fertility Rate by Residence, Jordan 1990 (Women Only)



Source : Jordan Demographic and Health Survey, 1990

Figure 6
Total Fertility Rate by Education, Jordan 1990 (Women Only)



remains high (5.5) in spite of a high level of educational attainment among both men and women and a predominantly urban population. Income levels, education, and urbanization have typically been associated with declining fertility rates in countries, and according to the 1990 *Demographic and Health Survey of Jordan*, the more educated and urban segments of the population do indeed have significantly lower fertility than the less educated and rural segments, as can be seen in Figures 5 and 6.

The interesting issue here is that Jordanian fertility does not decline as much with education and urbanization as it does in most other developing countries. Although women with post-secondary educations have fewer children on average than women with less education, they still have an average of more than four children. Women in Amman have an average of two fewer children than their rural counterparts, but still average nearly five children each. These observations about fertility practices suggest that conventional wisdom about the factors affecting fertility motivations are not sufficient to explain the situation in Jordan. A

more extensive and in-depth analysis of motivations is indicated. Are there political motivations underlying high fertility in Jordan and in other Arab states? Are there strong cultural values about large families that tend to persist in spite of the economic disincentives for large families that come with urbanization and wage labor? The purpose in this discussion is not to explain high fertility in Jordan but rather to illustrate the utility of the model that has been presented; particularly to point to the importance of exploring motivational factors in order to understand development issues and to design programs and projects with high probabilities of efficiency and effectiveness.

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