

*Country Gender
Profiles: A Tool for
Summarizing Policy
Implications from
Sex-Disaggregated
Data*



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

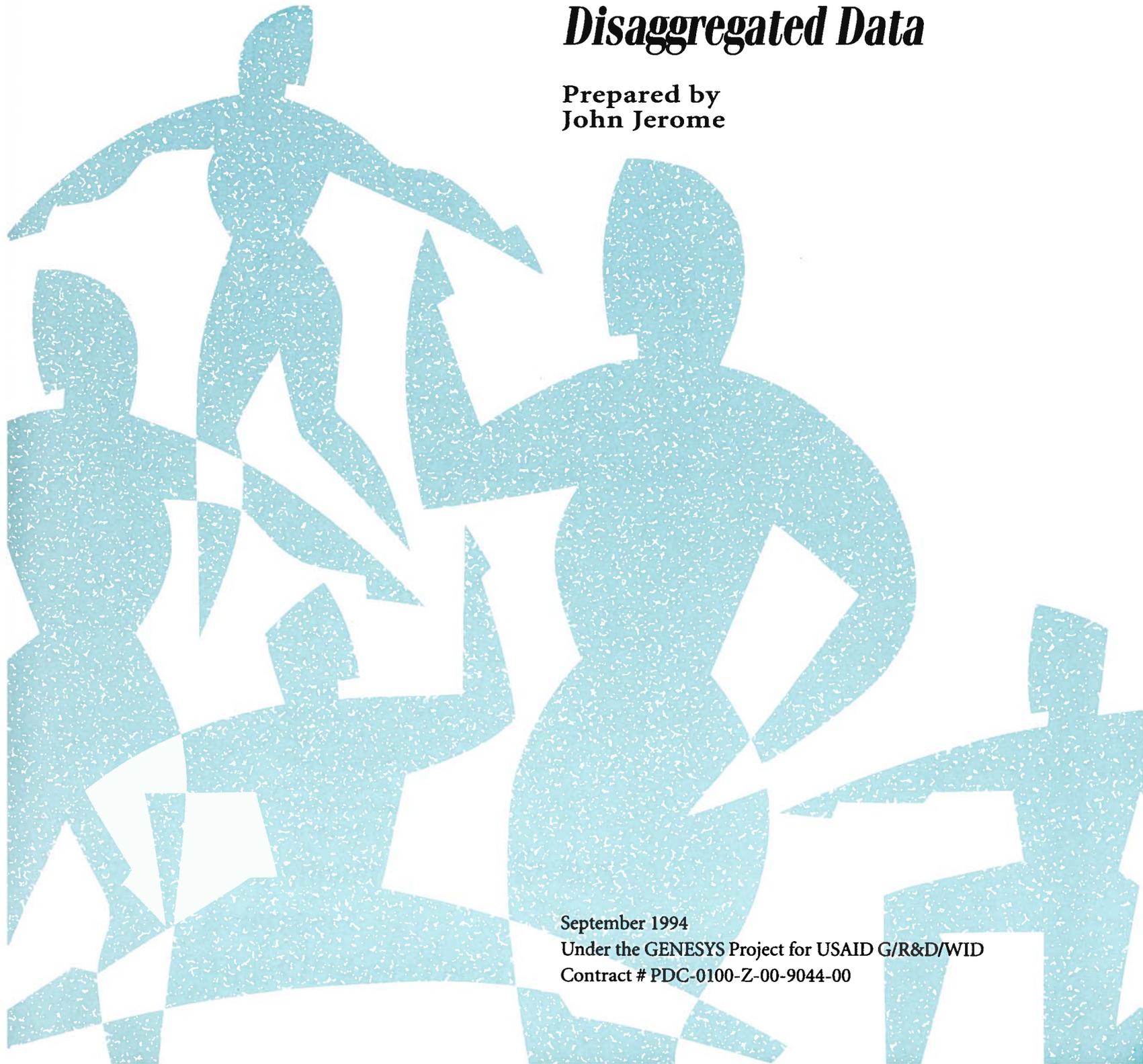
Reference

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

***Country Gender
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Summarizing Policy
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Acronyms

AIDS Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

ALR Adult Literacy Rate

CSGP Country-Specific Gender Profile

ERP Economic Recovery Program

FHH Female-Headed Household

GDHS Ghana Demographic and Health Survey

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GLSS Ghana Living Standards Survey

HDR Human Development Report

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IMR Infant Mortality Rate

MHH Male-Headed Household

MMR Maternal Mortality Rate

MYS Median Years of Schooling

NIC Newly Industrialized Country

PHC Primary Health Care

QDS Quarterly Digest of Statistics

TBA Traditional Birth Attendant

TFR Total Fertility Rate

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

USAID United States Agency for International Development

WID Women in Development

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>I. Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
1.1 Rationale for Developing the Tool	1
1.2 Purpose and Usefulness of the Tool	1
1.3 Target Audience	1
<i>II. What Are Country-Specific Gender Profiles and How Are They Used?</i>	<i>4</i>
2.1 The Panoramic CSGP	4
Background	4
Health	5
Human Resource Development (Education)	6
Economic Activity	6
Legal and Political Rights	7
Fertility Attitudes and Actions	7
Migration Patterns	8
Using Covariates in a Panoramic CSGP	8
Summarizing and Exploring Implications	8
2.2 The Focused CSGP	8
Purposes	8
Content and Structure	8
Data Sources	9
Analytical Procedures	9
Summary and Conclusions	9
<i>III. How to Chart Quantitative Data on Gender Differences</i>	<i>12</i>
3.1 General Comments	12
3.2 Elements of Good Figures	12
Simplicity versus Complexity	12
Titles and Data Labels	12
Sourcing and Tabling Charts	12
3.3 Different Types of Charts	13
Pie Charts	13
Bar Charts	15
Stack Charts	21
Line Graphs	23
Combination Charts	24
Pictographs	25
<i>IV. Summary and Conclusions</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>References</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>Annex I: Ghana Country Gender Profile</i>	<i>30</i>



I. Introduction

1.1 Rationale for Developing the Tool

This tool was developed in response to a perceived need for specific mechanisms for incorporating gender issues into development activities. There is a growing awareness among the personnel of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) of the benefits of gender and social analysis for strengthening development goals and enhancing program and project outcomes. There remains a need, however, for practical tools that facilitate the incorporation of gender issues into development interventions. A Country-Specific Gender Profile (CSGP) is one such tool that has been successful in raising people's consciousness about gender issues in both a general and particular sense, and in providing policymakers and planners with information that facilitates the design and implementation of gender-sensitive development goals and strategies.

1.2 Purpose and Usefulness of the Tool

This tool provides general guidelines for constructing and using CSGPs. CSGPs are summaries of existing data relating to gender issues in a specific country which have implications for development goals and strategies. While a CSGP usually includes elements of both quantitative and qualitative analysis, this tool concentrates on the use of quantitative data from published sources. The tool is divided into two parts. The first part describes the basic types, uses, contents, data sources, and analytical methods of CSGPs. The second part focuses on charting of quantitative data for analysis and communication. Specific issues addressed in the latter section include general guidelines for making graphs of all types, choosing the right type of graph with which to present data, and using computerized graphing programs. An example of a general, panoramic type CSGP (on Ghana) is provided in Annex I.

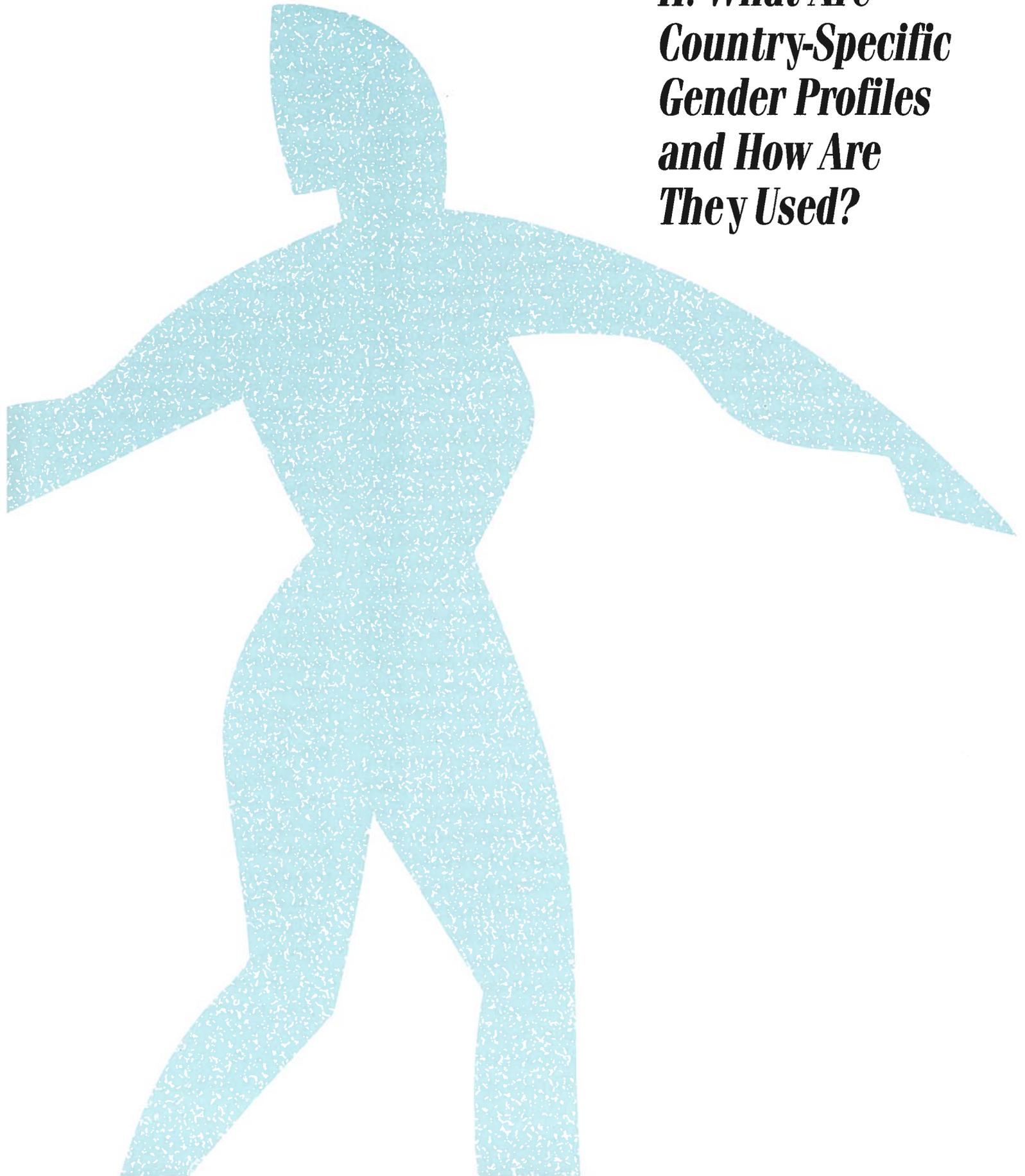
1.3 Target Audience

This tool is for development practitioners, including policymakers and planners, program and project officers, and WID officers. The information on charting data is potentially useful to anyone who works with quantitative data.

A wide range of skills and skill levels is anticipated among the users of this tool and undoubtedly some will find the guidelines too simplistic while others will regard them as too complex. This is, to a large extent, unavoidable. In preparing this document, an effort was made to find a middle ground that would provide information of benefit to the widest possible audience.



II. What Are Country-Specific Gender Profiles and How Are They Used?



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A CSGP summarizes existing quantitative and qualitative data on gender issues that might impact the development process in a specific country. This discussion concentrates on how to work with the quantitative aspects of CSGPs. From a quantitative perspective, the objectives of a CSGP are to identify and describe sex differences as represented by quantifiable indicators and to explore the implications of these observed gender differences for development goals and strategies.

There are two basic types of CSGPs, designated as *panoramic* and *focused*. The *panoramic* CSGP provides a broad, general overview of gender issues, while the *focused* CSGP explores a more limited set of issues in greater depth. The panoramic overview rarely provides specific, direct, or policy-relevant information to development practitioners, as it does not go into any particular issue deeply or exhaustively. The *focused* CSGP is expressly created to provide information that aids development practitioners in formulating gender-sensitive goals and strategies.

Panoramic and focused CSGPs use somewhat different data sources. Usually a *focused* CSGP

uses a data source in a more in-depth manner than does a panoramic CSGP. Much of the data examined in a panoramic CSGP can be found in annually published global summaries of development statistics like the UNDP's *Human Development Report* and the World Bank's *World Development Report*. Data used in *focused* profiles come from many sources such as specialized studies, sectoral surveys, national census data, or macro-level development statistics from global summaries.

The two types of CSGPs use different types of comparative analysis methods. Panoramic CSGPs involve cross-country comparisons as a basis for judging whether sex differences on a particular indicator for a country are higher or lower than expected. Panoramic CSGPs also rely on longitudinal comparisons to judge progress of the country, particularly on narrowing sex differences in areas such as education and employment.

Focused CSGPs use almost any type of comparative method but rely principally on correlational techniques. *Focused* CSGPs also incorporate more covariates and include more multivariate analyses than panoramic CSGPs. The *focused* CSGP is typically concerned not only with identifying and measuring sex differences, but also with examining sex differences in relation to other variables such as rural and urban residence, education, or income levels.

2.1 The Panoramic CSGP

A panoramic CSGP identifies and describes the most salient sex differences in a specific country and links these differences to development goals and strategies in very broad terms. A panoramic CSGP serves to raise the consciousness of audiences regarding the general types and magnitudes of sex differences in a specific country and their potential impact on development activities. This CSGP may also identify potentially relevant gender issues that warrant further research and help formulate research questions to guide such investigations.

The basic content of a panoramic CSGP includes general background information about a country relevant to gender issues, and examines gender differences in at least six main areas. These areas include: (1) health, (2) human resource development, (3) economic activity, (4) legal and political rights and participation, (5) fertility attitudes and actions, and (6) migration patterns.

Background

The panoramic CSGP includes general background information on the country being examined, because the intended audience will probably contain persons with little or no familiarity with the country. Background material, however, should be limited to those character-

istics that have relevance to the gender issues being addressed in the profile. Some of the main types of background information to consider are:

- current development status;
- recent development progress;
- pertinent geographical, political, and historical characteristics;
- major dimensions of socio-cultural composition such as rural-urban, ethnic and racial, religious, and class divisions; and
- key development problems and priorities.

Background material may be grouped as an introductory section of the profile or distributed among substantive sections. A combination of these options may work best, but the actual organization depends largely on personal preference. In this type of CSGP, however, it is recommended that each of the substantive areas where gender issues are likely to arise be addressed, even if there is no evidence of problems in some of these areas. Knowing that there is not a significant problem in a particular area can be a useful piece of information. Exploring each of the areas separately helps ensure potentially relevant gender issues are not overlooked.

In the following sub-sections, each of the substantive areas that should be included in a panoramic CSGP is briefly discussed in terms of basic rationale, key indicators used, and kinds of comparisons typically made.

Health

Concerns about gender differences in health are based on the premise that men and women may face different kinds and degrees of mortality risks. These differences may be due to the division of labor in which men's and women's work pose different mortality risks. Differences in mortality risks can also result from men and women having different access to the resources needed for sustaining health.

The most basic and general health indicator typically used to look for sex differences is life expectancy. Life expectancy is defined, and its uses in assessing gender differences are discussed, elsewhere in this tool kit (see "*Quantifying Gender Issues: A Tool for Using Quantitative Data in Gender Analysis*" and "*Sex and Gender—What's the Difference? A Tool for Examining the Sociocultural Context of Sex Differences*"). It is important to emphasize that life expectancies of women and men are not directly comparable because of the apparent biological advantage women have for outliving men. Comparisons of life expectancies of women and men therefore have to focus on the magnitude or proportion of difference. This requires an external basis for comparison to determine the difference between life expectancies of men and women relative to what would normally be expected for a country at a particular level of development.

If an examination of life expectancies indicates that there may be significant differences in

men's and women's health risks, then a brief analysis of key mortality rates may be warranted. Infant and child mortality rates are the most easily obtained and can raise important issues. The normal expectation is to find more male than female deaths under one and up to five years of age. If more girls are dying than boys, this may be a signal that something in the culture of the country is tipping the scales in favor of male survival. If more boys are dying than girls, the questions become (1) by how much and (2) is the difference sufficiently large to raise questions about cultural practices that favor girls in the country? Other mortality rates that may be informative include maternal, occupational, and accidental mortality, the first being restricted exclusively to women and the other two tending to disproportionately affect men's longevity. Maternal mortality rates are available for most countries, although their accuracy is often suspect. Occupational and accidental mortality figures are not as readily accessible and may not exist for some of the least developed countries.

Human Resource Development (Education)

Education is an important area of potential gender issues. In the vast majority of developing countries, men's educational attainment exceeds women's regardless of the kinds of measures used. The most important questions, however, are (1) how big is the difference? (2) what are the main dimensions of the differences? and (3) how have the differences changed over time? When gauging the differences between men's and women's educational attainment, it is important to consider differences in basic literacy, and in the quantity, types, and quality of education achieved.

The most basic indicator of education in developing countries, which is disaggregated by sex in most global development summaries, is the adult literacy rate (ALR)—the proportion of the population over the age of fifteen who have at least minimal reading and writing skills. Sometimes actual literacy rates by sex are shown, and sometimes women's literacy is shown as a percent of men's. The accuracy of literacy data varies widely across countries, which limits the accuracy of international comparisons. Nevertheless, they at least provide a crude indicator of gender parity in basic education.

Basic literacy, however, does not tell us how men and women differ in the quantity of education received. For this we need a measure such as mean years of schooling (MYS) by sex. This measure is available for most, but not all, developing countries. Another indicator of educational quantity differences is the proportion of women and men enrolled at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels; but these statistics are missing from the global summaries for many countries. Even harder to find are measures that show differences in the types and quality of education received by men and women. For these dimensions, specialized studies are generally required.

Economic Activity

As with educational differences, there are many dimensions to explore in men's and women's economic activity. Many problems may also arise in making comparisons. All of the possible factors and difficulties cannot be addressed in this report, but a few examples may alert readers to the kinds of things to look for when exploring gender differences in economic activity.

The most basic and perhaps most commonly used indicators in this area are the proportions of the labor force comprised of men and women. Often the statistic shown in global summaries is women as a percent of the total labor force, but sometimes the figure given is women as a percent of men in the labor force. The problems with this indicator are how labor force is defined and how men and women are counted as in or out of the labor

force. The technical notes accompanying the data sources should specify how labor force is defined. In some cases, the term may apply only to the labor force of people who work for wages and pay taxes. This definition does not adequately account for people working in the informal economy and family workers, particularly in agriculture, who do not receive formal wages. These categories tend to include large portions of women in developing countries, so official labor force statistics tend to systematically underestimate women's participation.

A more detailed look at the labor force could also include a breakdown of the economically active population by age as well as sex. This method has the advantages of showing at which age levels men and women are most likely to be economically active and how the labor force changes over time. If more women in the younger ages work than older women, this may indicate that it has become more acceptable (or necessary) for women to work outside the home. An example of charting the economically active population by age and sex is shown in Section III (see page 19).

It is possible to explore several other dimensions of gender differences in economic activity if space permits and data are available. These include sex distributions by economic sectors, occupational groups, occupational levels, and incomes. Most of these, however,

require data from special focused studies and are appropriately reserved for a more focused CSGP. It may be useful and appropriate in a panoramic CSGP to include some discussion of characteristic gender differences in the customary division of labor, including relevant differences between major ethnic or religious groups. These kinds of data are typically found in ethnographic case studies.

Legal and Political Rights

Data on legal and political differences between men and women are not as readily available or presented quantitatively as the other differences discussed, but should be included in a panoramic CSGP. In most cases, the basic concern is whether women have equal rights with men. One way of addressing this question is to construct a check list of key areas where men's and women's rights may vary. Pertinent topics could include:

- ownership and inheritance of property,
- credit eligibility,
- marriage and divorce rights,
- occupational rights (i.e., minimum wages, health and safety, etc.), and
- rights to vote and stand for public office.

This kind of information is not generally available from global development summaries; researchers will probably have to look for special studies or possibly consult an information service agency. Also, there may be a difference between formal law and actual, day-to-day practices; women and men may have equal rights under the law, but the law may not be adequately or equitably enforced. Furthermore, women may be uninformed about their rights or may be fearful of informal sanctions by their families and communities if they attempt to exercise these rights. These kinds of issues may be beyond the scope of a panoramic CSGP but should be kept in mind and at least minimally addressed.

Quantitative data on gender differences in political participation may be more accessible than data on legal rights and practices. The UNDP's *Human Development Report* (HDR) includes one indicator of political participation: the percent of seats in parliament held by women. This is a crude basis for making cross-country comparisons, but it is interesting to note that in the 1993 HDR the mean percent of women parliamentarians in developing countries was larger than the mean for the industrialized nations.

Some countries may have survey results on numbers and percentages of women voting in elections. One might also look for data on women's political organizations; their number, membership size and composition, agendas, accomplishments, and so forth. Researchers

also could gain insights into gender differences in political participation through content analysis of newspapers, and radio and television broadcasts. In general, however, this level of effort would be more appropriate for a focused CSGP.

Fertility Attitudes and Actions

There has been an increasing awareness among researchers of the relevance of gender differences in fertility attitudes in recent years. Unfortunately, however, data sources for examining these issues are lacking for many countries. There are interesting data on these subjects for countries where Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) or similar kinds of studies have been conducted and where a male or husband component was included in the survey. If data are available, the main questions to be explored are (1) how do men's and women's fertility aspirations differ? (2) how do men and women differ on knowledge of and attitudes toward family planning? and (3) who has the dominant decision-making role on fertility matters? The exploration of these and related questions should be reserved for a focused CSGP, but it may be useful to sketch the major dimensions of gender differences in fertility attitudes and actions in a panoramic CSGP.

Migration Patterns

The panoramic CSGP example on Ghana included as Annex I deviates from the structural model presented here in that it does not include a separate section on gender differences in migration. In this particular CSGP, migration differences pertained primarily to gender differences in economic activity, so an exploration of migration patterns was included as a subsection of economics. Gender differences in migration patterns can, however, have important implications for other non-economic issues such as household headship and fertility-related actions.

The first step in exploring migration is to determine if there are gender differences in migration patterns. Two basic types of migration should be considered: rural-urban and international. Do either or both of these types of migration predominantly involve one sex or the other? How large are the flows of migration of one sex relative to the other? These are the most basic concerns to quantify. Often, however, there is a lack of data available on migration patterns in developing countries. One way to get a general idea of gender-specific migration patterns is to examine the sex ratios of the rural and urban populations, broken down by age group, if possible.

Using Covariates in a Panoramic CSGP

A panoramic CSGP cannot realistically delve too deeply into patterns of variation in gender differences associated with other socio-cultural dimensions such as rural-urban, ethnic, and religious compositions. These dimensions, however, may be important covariates of gender differences. Major differences between rural and urban populations, for example, have long been recognized as important considerations in development policy-making and planning. Gender differences in education and health can also vary significantly with these other factors, and it is generally wise to include (if data are available) at least a brief summary of some of the more important of these covariates. In general, however, covariates of gender differences play a much more prominent role in focused CSGPs.

Summarizing and Exploring Implications

Typically, any analysis should end with a summary or conclusion section. The panoramic CSGP is not an exception. At a minimum, the summary section should recapitulate the main issues identified. Some effort to link these findings to development activities is also appropriate, but the depth of analysis used in this type of CSGP does not typically warrant such precision. The findings of a panoramic CSGP should point to areas that warrant further study and suggest potentially rewarding lines of inquiry.

2.2 The Focused CSGP

Purposes

A focused CSGP provides information on gender differences that is pertinent to setting goals or designing successful sectoral strategies. A focused CSGP helps define development problems so that practitioners can formulate goals and objectives that address relevant gender concerns and that account for the socio-cultural realities of gender relations in a specific development arena.

Content and Structure

The content and structure of focused CSGPs vary widely depending on the specific reasons for their construction. Focused CSGPs are commonly organized by sector or by a specific development goal. The sector-specific CSGP explores gender issues that arise in or pertain to a particular sector such as economic growth, democracy, or health.

The goal-directed CSGP generally begins with a specific development goal and explores ways in which gender relations and differences in a specific development context potentially impact on this goal. The goal-directed CSGP examines relevant aspects of gender relations to incorporate into the design of strategies for enhancing program and project outcomes.

Data Sources

Focused CSGPs generally rely on a wide range of data sources, but in some cases they concentrate on just one or two. Some focused CSGPs have centered on data from a country-specific Demographic and Health Survey. A common problem of all types of secondary analysis particularly relevant to focused CSGPs is the availability of data; often data does not exist or is not of sufficient quality or specificity to answer research questions that arise in a focused profile. A compromise has to be struck between answering the vital questions and those for which relevant data exist.

Analytical Procedures

Focused CSGPs typically make extensive use of gender covariates and of multivariate analytical techniques. As a consequence, the presentation of findings is usually more complex than in the panoramic CSGP. Examples of charts showing multivariate analyses are included in Section III. Often, analysis in a focused CSGP needs to go beyond what can be done using data from tables found in published reports. Focused CSGPs may require the analyst to obtain raw datasets and perform statistical procedures directly to answer the research questions.

Summary and Conclusions

Focused CSGPs should link findings on gender differences to relevant development goals and/or strategies. Unless policy recommendations are specifically requested in the scope of work, it is suggested that the CSGP phrase policy implications in terms of questions and/or alternatives for consideration. In many cases, because of the limited availability of data, a key conclusion of the focused CSGP will be that there is not enough information available to answer sufficiently the research questions posed. In this case, appropriate recommendations may be for further research and guidelines for subsequent inquiry.



III. How to Chart Quantitative Data on Gender Differences



III. How to Chart Quantitative Data on Gender Differences

3.1 General Comments

Graphic presentations of quantitative relationships generally get people's attention better and are easier to understand than citing numbers and statistical test results. Therefore it is valuable for the researcher/analyst to have some basic skills in charting and presenting data to communicate findings and policy implications that might not otherwise be understood or appreciated by policymakers and decision makers. It is always appropriate, however, to make available the data tables that were used as sources for the graphics presentation.

Graphic presentations can distort or mislead the audience even if the numbers in the accompanying tables and on the graph are technically correct. For example, the starting point of scales used to make a graph can give the impression that a difference between groups is greater or smaller than it actually is. Generally, the visual impression has a stronger impact than the actual numbers that the graphic represents.

The following discussions assume that the construction of CSGPs will take two forms; an audio-visual presentation and a formal written report. Guidelines are generally more stringent for the written report.

3.2 Elements of Good Figures

Simplicity versus Complexity

One of the more difficult decisions to make when preparing graphics for a quantitative presentation is how much information to put into a single graph. If the chart is made too simple the audience may be bored. Oversimplification also may distort the image of reality that is being presented because it does not adequately convey the multi-dimensional complexity of the issues being discussed. The presentation of quantitative relationships in simple dichotomous comparisons can be inefficient, requiring more separate charts. On the other hand, if a chart is too complex, the audience and possibly even the presenter may fail to understand the key points.

There are no concrete rules for deciding when a chart is too simple or too complex. In general, quantitative analyses should try to incorporate some of the complexity of social reality. Charts showing simple dichotomous relationships should be minimized. In the examples that follow, several suggestions are given for showing multiple relationships with one figure. Often, showing complexity in a simple way is a matter of the right medium. In general, charts should be previewed by others for understandability and accuracy.

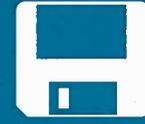
Titles and Data Labels

Charts are figures, not tables, and should be labeled as such. Figures and tables should be sequentially numbered, and all figures should have a title. In academic circles, figure and table titles can often be several lines long. In many applied settings, this level of detail tends to be regarded as tedious or pedantic. In general, however, it is preferable to err on the side of saying too much than too little.

Figures should be able to stand alone. Variables and measurement scales should be clearly labeled. When more than two variables are shown in a chart a legend is needed. Including value labels, especially on bar and pie charts, is generally advisable. Charts and tables often have accompanying footnotes explaining questionable aspects, qualifying relationships, or defining concepts.

Sourcing and Tabling Charts

The source from which the data in a chart was obtained should always be cited and these sources should be listed in a reference section in the final report. It is appropriate and desirable to include an appendix in the final report of the data tables from which the figures in the profile were made.

*Computer Tips***Using Computerized Graphics Programs**

Specific guidelines for using computerized graphics programs are beyond the scope of this tool. The following are some general tips of use to readers not familiar with such programs.

- Charts for presentation (if not for the written report) should be made with a program specifically designed for this purpose. Most word-processing, spreadsheet, and database applications also possess capabilities for graphing quantitative data. Using these secondary functions, however, often becomes cumbersome and unduly complicated and the product is often less than satisfactory in appearance and detail.
- A software “suite”, a set of highly compatible but separate applications (i.e. word processing, spreadsheets, graphics, etc.), facilitates the movement of data and formats from one application to the other. This tool was initially constructed using the Microsoft Office suite which included Word (word processing), Excel (spreadsheet), and PowerPoint (graphic presentation) software.¹ Learning to use each type of application for its primary purpose and integrate products from the different applications improves the quality of output and increases productivity.
- Much time can be saved and confusion avoided if some preliminary thought is given to how data should be entered. To create the basic chart in a graphics program, one has to choose the type of chart desired from a list of options and enter the data in an appropriate format into a datasheet. The program will then automatically create a graphic representation of the numbers and categories entered into the datasheet. In most cases, however, graphs will require some editing regardless of initial steps.
- Sets of drawing and text tools included in graphics programs permit users to customize charts. Learning how to use these options enhances communication value as well as the esthetics of charts. Most mouse-oriented graphics applications have the same basic sets of commands and options so that it is relatively easy to translate acquired knowledge from one person to another.

¹ The data used in the charts were entered and initially manipulated using Excel spreadsheets, specifically intended for this type of operation. Once the tables were organized, the relevant data were transferred to the PowerPoint datasheets from which graphs were automatically constructed. These graphs were then edited to final form and notes were included in the PowerPoint document to be used as an audio-visual presentation. The final report was created with Word software; graphs were imported from the PowerPoint document, and tables were imported from the Excel document.

3.3 Different Types of Charts

Pie Charts

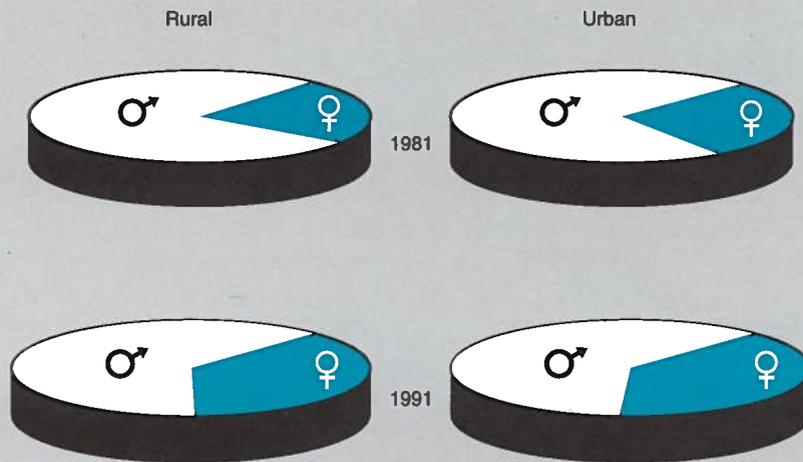
Pie charts are limited exclusively to showing proportions of a whole. They do not provide a clear proportional comparison between groups or categories, although they are frequently used in this way. Comparing proportional distributions across groups requires that a separate pie chart be made for each group and the audience must be able to see the differences. If the differences across

charts are small, the audience will have a difficult time seeing patterns. In any case, the audience must mentally superimpose the charts in order to make comparisons.

Figure 1 shows a multi-dimensional comparison that works fairly well using four pie charts. In this example, the comparisons concern relative proportions of males and females in the literate population of Nepal. We also want to know how

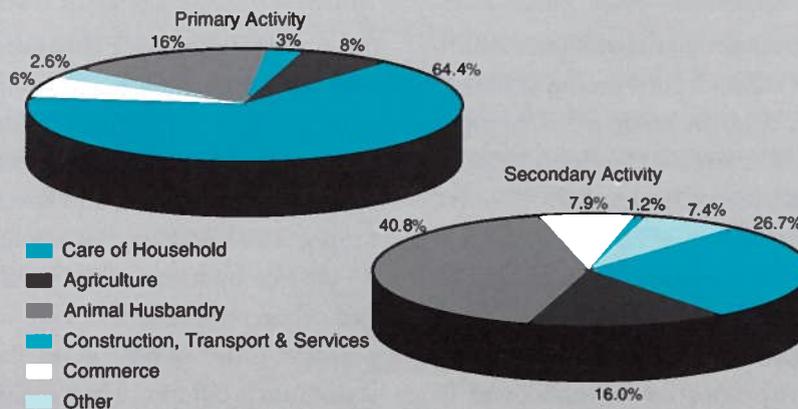
these proportions have changed over time and how they vary by rural and urban residence. Thus, there are four separate pie charts, each divided into male and female proportions. Reading horizontally, we see a comparison of the rural and urban populations at two points in time. In both years, there is not much difference in the rural and urban populations in terms of the proportions by sex, although the urban literate populations have

Figure 1
Literate Populations of Rural and Urban Nepal by Sex, 1981 and 1991



Source: Nepali (1991) Census, Advance Tables, 1993

Figure 2
Cochabamba, Bolivia: Primary and Secondary Activities of Rural Women, 1992



Source: Cochabamba Rural Household Survey, 1992

slightly higher proportions of women than do the rural. We can also perceive, although not very clearly, that more progress toward gender equity in literacy has been made in the urban population than in the rural.

Note in this chart how the male and female portions of each pie chart are labeled with symbols.²

In Figure 2, two pie charts show the breakdown of primary and secondary economic activities reported by women surveyed in the rural population of the Cochabamba district of Bolivia. The focus here is to compare the proportions of each type of activity named as primary and secondary in the total sample. These data could also have been presented in the form of bar charts or combined into stacked charts (discussed later). The bar or stack chart would emphasize the size of each category of activity relative to the others. The pie chart draws attention to the proportion each category comprises of the total group. For example, over half of the sample named care of the household as their primary activity and about a quarter named it as their secondary activity.

When using pie charts, one needs to consider the number of sections to a pie. Sometimes simple pies with only two sections can become boring to an audience, especially if there are several such

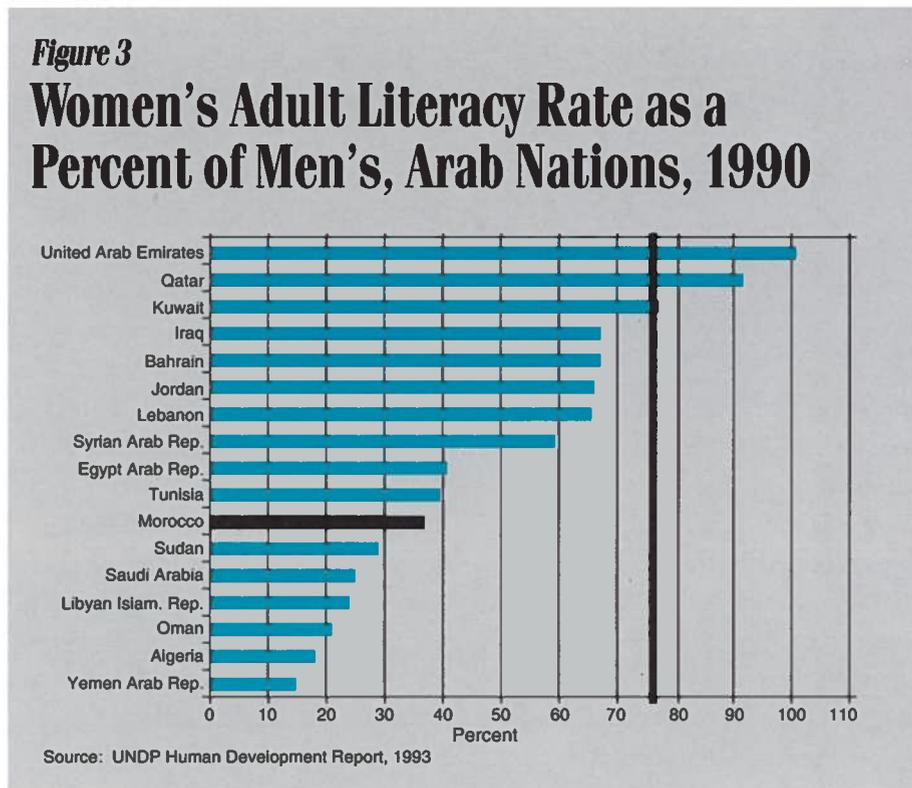
² This was done to add some visual interest to the chart and to eliminate the need for a separate legend box. These symbols were made using the drawing tools of the graphics program. Once a pair of symbols were constructed, they were copied, pasted four times, and individually moved into position.

pies. Dichotomous pie charts can also be redundant. For example, pie charts are sometimes used with attitude variables in which the proportions answering affirmatively and negatively are shown. When there are only two possible answers to a question, the proportion who answered one way is somewhat irrelevant if the proportion answering the other way is known. This redundancy may also apply when making comparisons between the proportions of men and women in a population; if we know that women constitute 26 percent of the labor force in Morocco, do we really need to show that men make up the remaining 74 percent? Reducing this type of redundancy enables us to include more variables, thereby heightening audience interest, increasing the efficiency of the presentations, and possibly increasing the sophistication of the analysis.

On the other hand, pie charts can also have too many sections. The pie charts in Figure 2 have six sections. This is about as many as one would want to include in a chart. When data has more categories than can clearly be distinguished in a pie chart, some of the categories may be combined without too much loss of information or clarity (e.g., Construction, Transport, and Service categories were combined in Figure 2).

Bar Charts

Bar and column charts make comparisons between one numeric variable and one or more categorical variables. A bar or column chart uses a rectangular bar to represent a quantity or proportion associated



with a group or category. Technically, the difference between a bar and a column chart is that the bars run horizontally while columns run vertically. The only basis for selecting one orientation over the other is the number of categories to be included. When there are a large number of categories to be shown, a column format may not fit as conveniently on a page as a bar format. In this discussion, the term "bar chart" will be used in most instances to refer to both horizontally and vertically oriented charts. The basic bar chart has a set of categories along one axis and a numeric scale along the other. A number of variations or embellishments can be added to the basic bar chart. Some of the more useful of these are shown and discussed in the following examples.

Figure 3 is an example of a basic (horizontal) bar chart in which the variable along the vertical axis is Arab countries and the variable on the horizontal axis is the ratio between women's and men's literacy. While the basic structure of the chart is easy to understand and needs little discussion, there are several aspects of the comparisons being made in this chart that deserve comment.

First, there are two types of international comparisons being made. The country of focus is Morocco and is designated simply with a darker shade.³ One objective of this chart is to compare Morocco with other Arab countries

³ Most graphics programs will not allow you to make one bar different from the others unless you ungroup the chart, select only those components that you want to change, and make changes using the drawing and coloring tools of the program.

on gender equity in education as measured by women's literacy as a percent of men's. The second objective is to see how Morocco and the Arab states compare with the average female-to-male literacy ratio for all developing countries. Only three of the Arab countries equal or exceed the developing country average, and Morocco not only falls well below this mark, but is also rather low in ranking among the Arab countries. The developing country average is shown as a simple vertical line cross-cutting the bars. This chart could have been simplified by using an average for the Arab states, however, the range of values among the Arab states is very wide. This range would not be revealed if only an average was used.

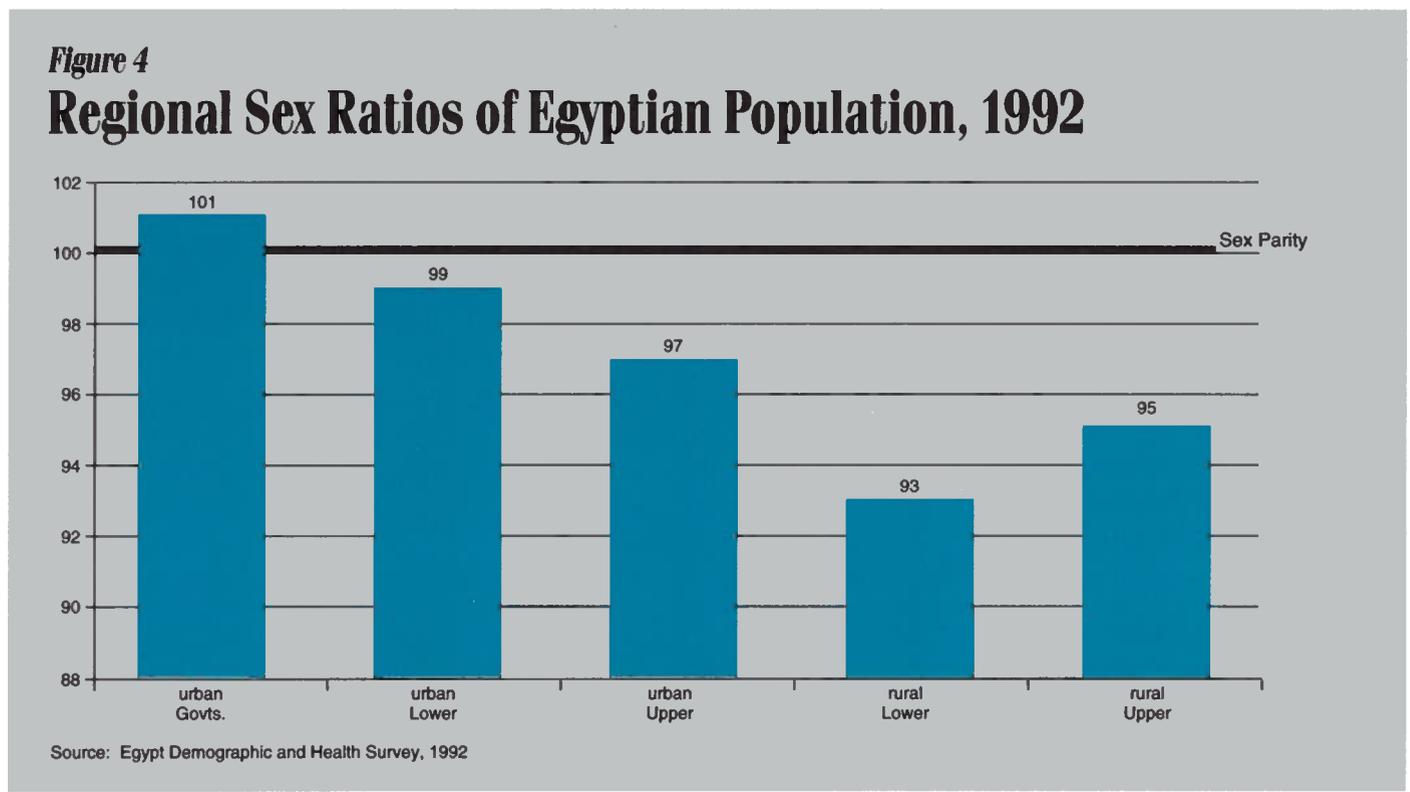
Figure 4 is a simpler example. In this chart, sex ratios are shown

for five regions of Egypt. A sex ratio is usually expressed as the number of males for every 100 females in the population. The comparison line drawn horizontally from the 100 mark on the vertical axis is to show the level at which the number of women and men would be equal. The purpose of this chart is to determine which regions have the greatest shortages of men. This observation is part of an analysis of sex-specific migration patterns. Large numbers of Egyptian men have been migrating to the oil-exporting Arab states to work in the oil fields. This chart provides evidence that the bulk of these men are probably coming from rural Egypt and to a lesser extent from Upper (southern) Egypt. What does this have to do with gender issues? The migration patterns raise questions

about the possibility that many women in those areas with low sex ratios may be serving as de facto heads of household while their husbands are away working in another country. This raises questions about the changing roles and needs of women in these areas.

Rather than starting at zero, the scale range on the vertical axis begins at 88 and rises in increments of 2. The differences between groups would be almost imperceptible if a full scale had been used. It is advisable to clearly include actual values for the bars whenever a scale modification occurs to ensure that the audience does not misinterpret the information.

Bar charts can also be used to show comparisons between more than one variable on the same numeric scale. In Figure 5, a double

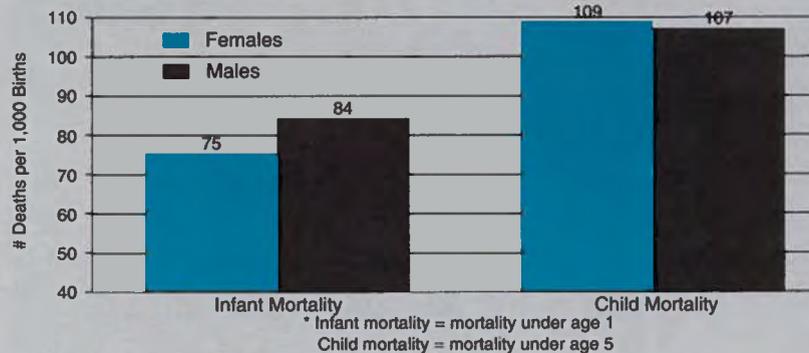


bar chart is shown in which infant and child mortality rates are compared by sex. When more than one categorical variable is used, the bars are clustered by one of the variables. In this case, males and females are clustered and infant and child mortality groupings stand apart. The bars could have been grouped the other way so that male mortality rates stood apart from female mortality rates, but this would have placed the emphasis on the mortality rather than the gender variable.⁴

Figure 5 also includes brief definitions of infant and child mortality. The normal pattern in mortality rates is for male mortality to exceed female mortality at every age level. This is the pattern in Figure 5 for *infants* under the age of one year. However, the female *child* mortality rate exceeds the male rate. Is there some kind of discrimination against female children occurring in Egypt that results in higher than normal death rates? This is an excellent example of what an analysis of quantitative data should do; a potential gender issue is revealed that warrants further study.

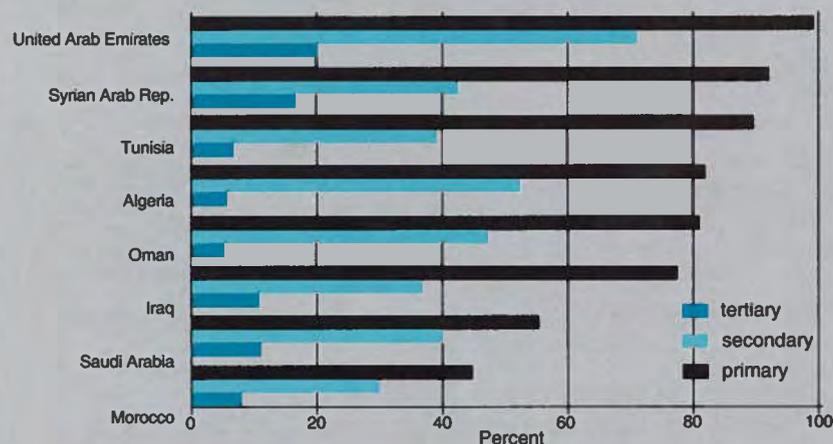
Figure 6 is a triple bar chart in which the primary comparison is of women's levels of school enrollment and the secondary is of Arab states. Data on the other Arab countries were not available. The clusters of bars convey the impression of female attrition from the school system. The averages for all developing countries are provided below the graph for the three levels of enrollment.

Figure 5
Infant and Child* Mortality Rates by Sex, Egypt 1992



Source: Egypt Demographic and Health Survey, 1992

Figure 6
School Enrollment by Level: Females as a Percent of Males, Arab States, 1990



Developing Country Averages 1990: Primary = 86%, Secondary = 36%, Tertiary = 5%

Source: UNDP Human Development Report, 1993

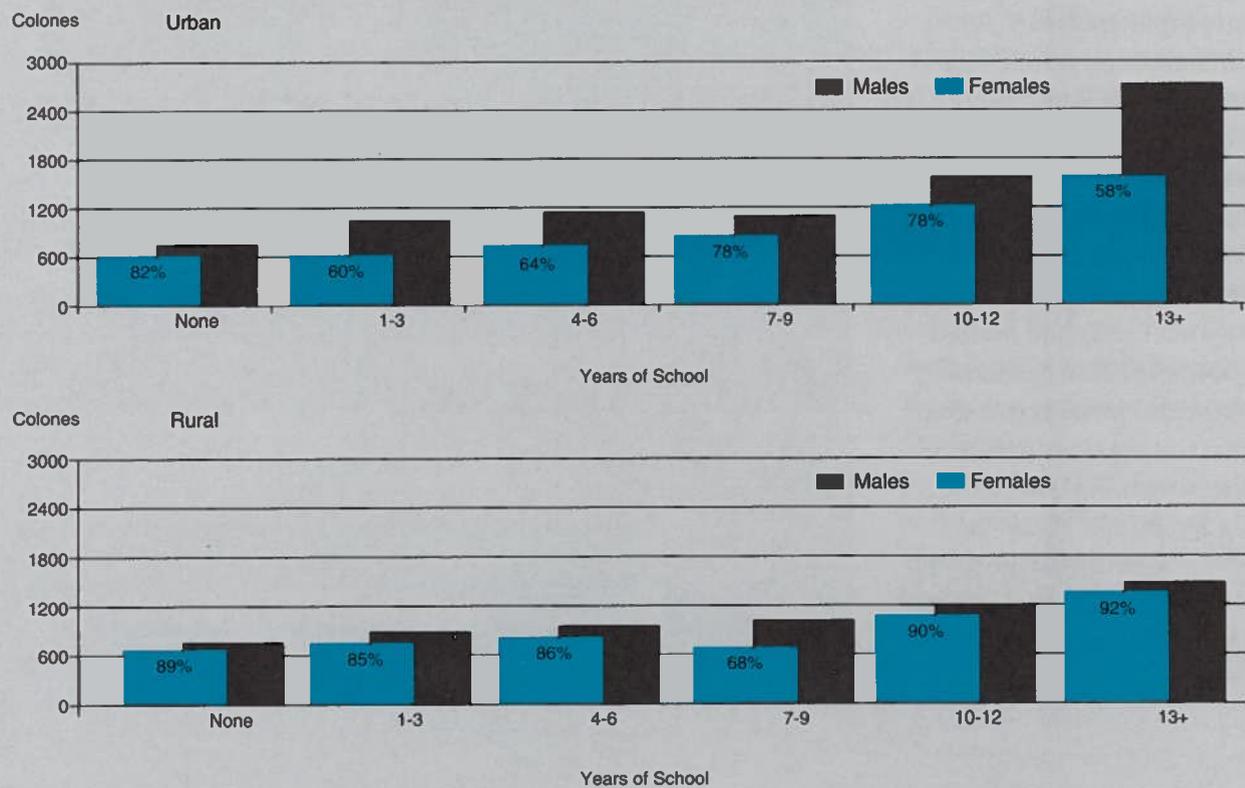
Three-dimensional or perspective bar charts are an interesting and useful format when there is a consistent pattern across clusters. The El Salvadoran Ministry of Planning used this type of chart to present survey data on incomes by sex and education. At all levels of education women had lower average monthly salaries than men (see Figure 7).

⁴ The grouping of categories depends on how you put the data into the charting program's data sheet and on whether you choose the option to show data series in columns or rows. The simplest way to explain how to change the grouping is to suggest that you put the data into the sheet and see what happens. If the groupings are not the way you want them, find the 'data series' option. Whichever way the option shows the data as being currently organized, choose the other option.

Figure 7

Average Monthly Salary by Sex, Residence (Urban and Rural), and Years of Schooling Completed, El Salvador, 1991-92

* Percentages indicate females' average salaries as % of males'



Source: El Salvador Ministry of Planning, 1992

Placing men in the back rows reveals a pattern of differences. The format is not, however, as conducive to comparing men's and women's relative educational levels as one that places bars side by side. To clarify these gender differences, percentages have been added to the face of each of the women's bars. We can see, for example, that at the 'no schooling'

level in urban El Salvador, the average salary for women is 82% of the average salary for men.

In the urban sample in Figure 7, the rise in income for each level of education appears to be more linear for women than it is for men, while in the rural sample the pattern across the men's income averages appears slightly more linear than the women's.

In Figure 7, the two charts allow us to make indirect comparisons between rural and urban salary lev-

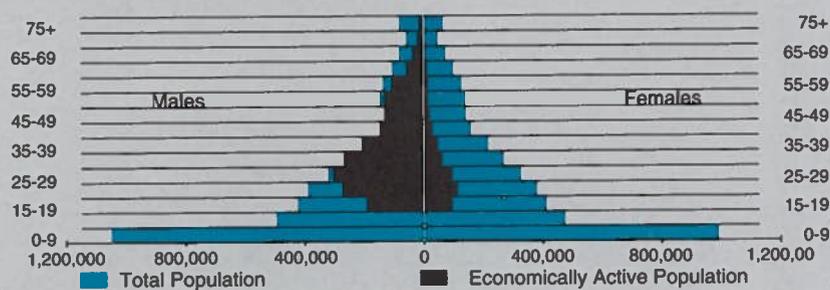
els for men and women. One aspect that is almost immediately apparent is that salary levels for both men and women are lower in the rural than in the urban sector across all educational levels. When two charts are used in this way, one needs to ensure that the scale used on the numeric axes (incomes) and the overall dimensions of the two charts are identical to avoid perceptual distortions.

Another type of bar chart that is usually quite interesting and informative is the pyramid chart or, more technically, the two-way bar chart. The example shown in Figure 8 is actually a two-way, double bar chart. It is called two-way because it contains bars in two directions (left and right) and it is a double bar chart because there are two sets of bars in each direction. In this case, however, there can be no three-dimensional perspective to the chart. The second sets of bars are laid directly on top of the first. This type of chart can only be used when the second sets of values are smaller than the first.

In Figure 8, the first sets of bars (light shading) depict the total population of Tunisia by sex for each age group. The darker sets of bars show subsets of the population categories classified as economically active. This type of chart is often referred to as a pyramid chart because of its characteristic shape. The shape, however, derives from the nature of the data used rather than from the structure of the chart itself. While there are several observations that could be made about the data depicted in Figure 8, the purpose of using this format is to show the general shape of the economically active population in relation to its age and sex composition, relative to the overall structure of Tunisia's population.

Figure 8

Economically Active and Total Populations of Tunisia, 1989



Computer Tips

Creating a Two-Way Bar Chart



This two-way double bar chart is not one of the stock options on any graphics programs known to the author, but can be produced with a little ingenuity. One way this chart can be made is by starting a quadruple bar chart (four columns of data in datasheet).

- 1) The data that make the left-hand (men's) bars are entered in the data sheet as negative numbers so that the bars will extend left below the zero point on the numeric horizontal axis.
- 2) The order of the columns of data is also important; the subset data needs to be entered first before the larger figures so that the shorter bars will appear on top of the longer ones. The order of data columns for Figure 8, from left to right, were: 1. economically active men, 2. total men, 3. economically active women, and 4. total women.
- 3) Find the options on your graphics program for setting the gap and overlap between bars in the bar chart. Set overlap to 100% and gap to 0%.
- 4) The resulting chart will look like Figure 8 except that the left side of the horizontal axis will have negative numbers and there will probably be only one set of labels for the vertical axis. These data labels can be modified by ungrouping the chart and editing the individual objects.
- 5) The color or shading scheme may also need to be modified and this may be done in the editing mode.

Figure 9

Urban and Rural Literate Populations and Total Urban and Rural Populations, Egypt, 1986

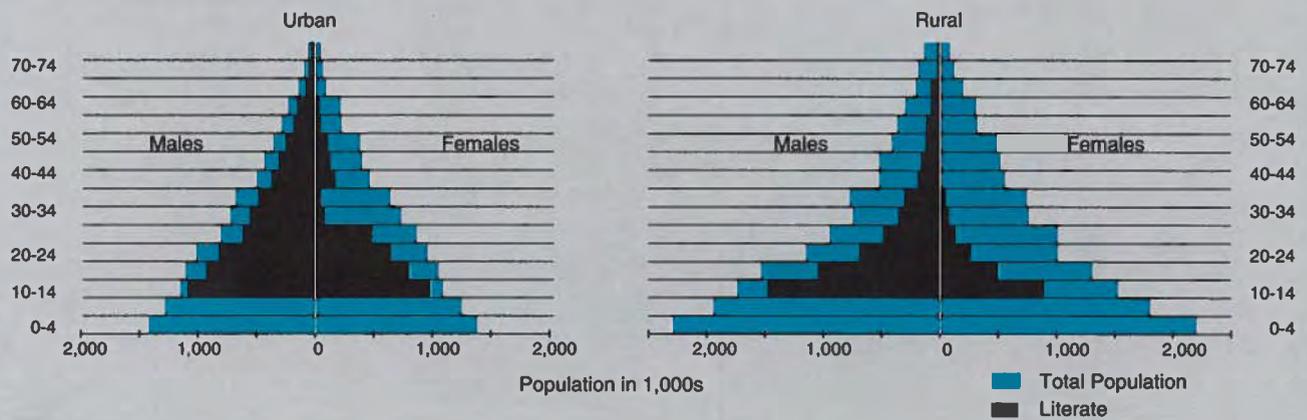


Figure 9 shows another use for the two-way, double bar chart. Here, the inset bars represent the literate population of Egypt by age and sex. The two charts are shown on the same page, one for the rural and one for the urban population.⁵

This format allows additional observations about differences in the composition of literacy by age and sex between rural and urban sectors of the population. The two charts must be in correct proportion to each other. That is, the numeric (horizontal) axis of each chart needs to be scaled the same. By maintaining a proportionate scale across charts, more meaningful and accurate comparisons between the rural and urban popu-

lations can be made. For example, the rural and urban populations of Egypt are close to equal in size; 48 percent of the Egyptian population live in urban areas. In Figure 9, the rural population (the area inside the outer pyramid) looks larger than the area included within the overall urban pyramid. This is largely due to the difference in shape, where the rural pyramid is very wide at the base and rapidly tapering, while the urban pyramid is steeper and almost bulging in the midsection. We can infer from these shape differences that there is much higher fertility in the rural areas than in the urban areas and that there is probably a high degree of rural-to-urban migration, particularly among people in their 20s to 40s. There are substantial differences both in size and shape of the rural and urban literate populations. Much more of the urban population, both men

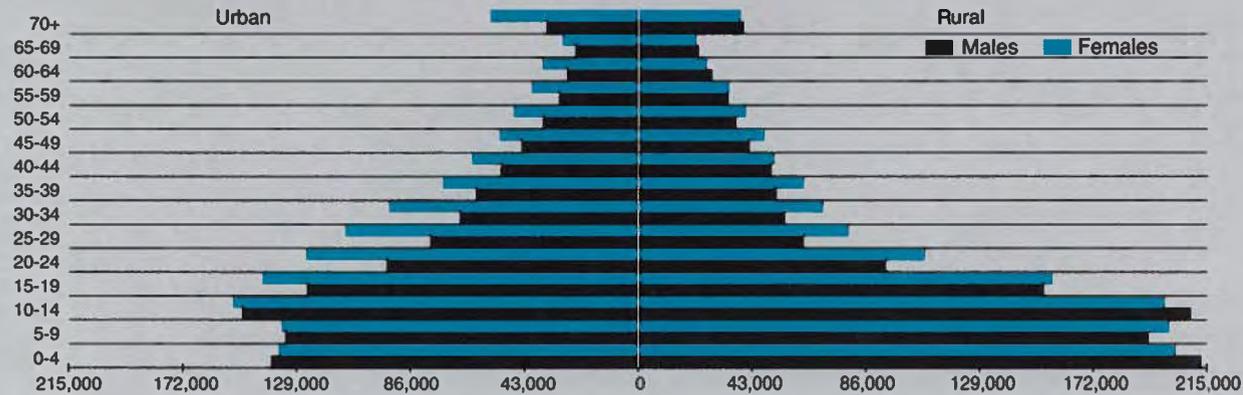
and women, are literate. This is particularly true for the higher age groups. The urban population is also much closer to achieving gender equity in literacy at all ages than is the rural population.

Figure 10 shows another variation on the two-way double bar chart that is useful for looking at differences in sex ratios across age groups. This chart has only population data without any subset population, but it shows rural and urban differences in the same chart rather than with two separate charts. The left-hand side shows the urban population by age and sex of El Salvador in 1991 and the right-hand side shows the rural population.

⁵ These charts were made separately, reduced in proportionate size, copied and pasted onto another page, and arranged so that they stand side by side.

Figure 10

Population by Age and Sex, Urban and Rural El Salvador, 1991-92



Source: El Salvador Ministry of Planning, 1992

Instead of having the men's bars pointing left and the women's pointing right, men's and women's bars are side by side (with no gap) so that their lengths can be compared.⁶

Higher fertility appears in the rural sector, as shown by the longer bars in the younger age groups. More importantly, there are large differences in the sex ratios of both rural and urban populations in the middle age range. In almost every case, there are more women than men. El Salvador has been experiencing high rates of migration out of the country, particularly among males, and has also recently ended a bloody civil war that claimed many lives, especially men's. These events are indicated by the data in Figure 10. The differences in men's and women's bars are greater in the urban than in the rural sector, tentative evidence of a predominance

of female over male rural-to-urban migration, or of international migration by men.

Stack Charts

The stack chart can be very useful for showing relationships involving multiple categorical variables. There are two main types of stack charts; those that show relationships between quantities and those that show relationships between proportions of wholes.

Figure 11 shows an example of a quantity stack chart in which the literacy rates for the Arab states are compared at two points in time. Each of the bars in this chart represents adult literacy in one Arab country. Each bar is composed of two quantities. The dark section represents the adult literacy rate (ALR) in 1970. The light section is the difference between ALRs in 1990 and 1970, or in other words, the increase in rates between 1970 and 1990. The combined length of each

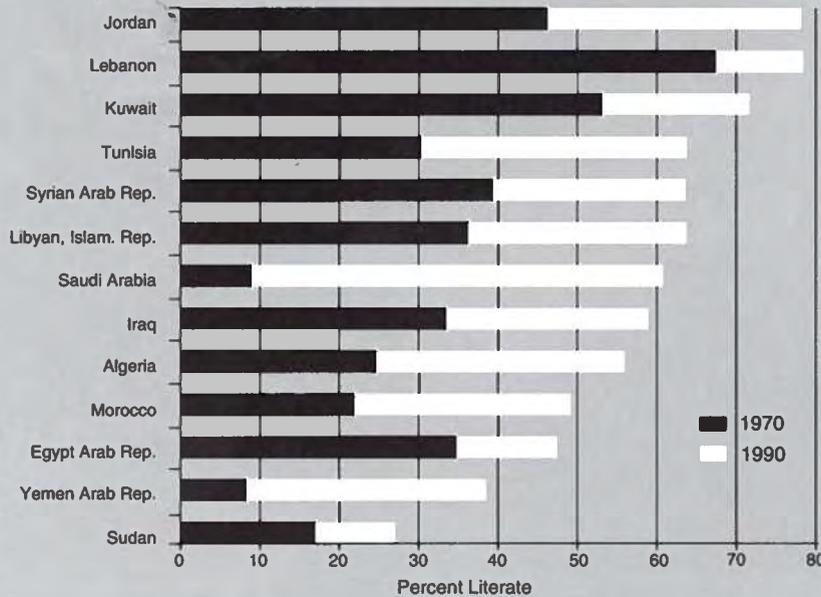
bar (dark and light sections) equals the ALR of 1990.

This format provides an excellent sense of how much the countries shown have improved

⁶ Although Figure 10 appears to be a single chart, it was actually made by splicing two charts together, one for the left side and the other for the right. In these charts the gap was set at 0% but the overlap was also set at 0% instead of 100% as in the previous examples. To make the left-hand chart, a 'Reverse Values' option was used rather than entering the data as negative numbers, but either way will work. The 'Reverse Values' option in this case had the advantage of reducing the subsequent editing required but one still needs to ungroup one of the charts to remove redundant labeling. When splicing the charts together, one should make sure that correct proportions are maintained between the two charts and magnify (zoom in) when aligning the touching edges of the two charts.

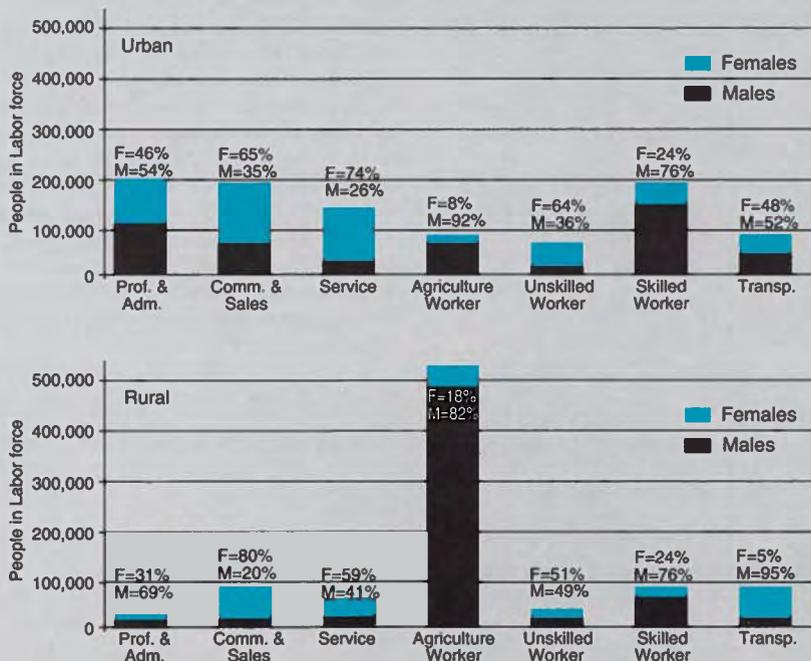
Figure 11 Adult Literacy Rates, Arab States, 1970 & 1990

Developing Country Average 1990 = 65%



Source: World Bank, World Development Report, 1993

Figure 12 Labor Force Distribution by Sex, Residence (Urban and Rural), and Occupational Group, El Salvador 1991-1992

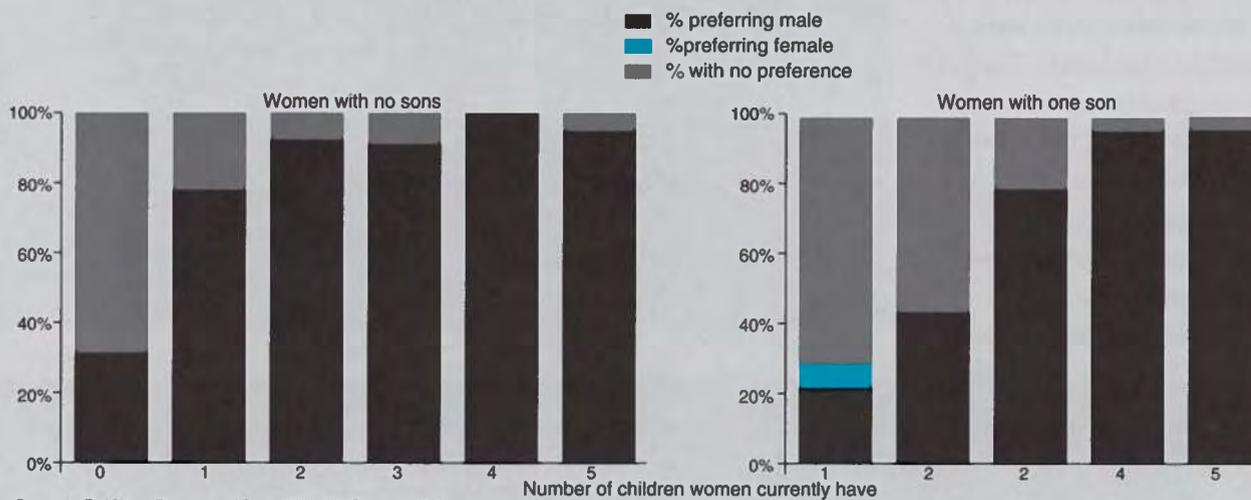


Source: El Salvador Ministry of Planning, 1992

their literacy in 20 years and how they stand now in relation to each other and to the average adult literacy rate of all developing countries.

Figure 12 is another example of how a quantity stack chart can be used. Here, each stack represents the total number of people in each occupational category for the rural and urban populations. The overall lengths of the bars represent the total labor force breakdown across occupations. The sections of each stack reveal the proportions of each occupational category that are male and female. The stack sections depict: (1) how each category is divided by sex, and (2) how males and females are distributed across occupations.

Percentaged stack charts can also compare groups in terms of their proportional breakdowns within a categorical variable. This type of chart is preferred to using multiple pie charts for a more direct visual comparison between groups. In a percentaged stack chart, each of the bars is equal in length, representing 100 percent of the cases in a given category. However, the categories may not be equal in size; the relevant comparison is between the *proportional* differences across categories.

Figure 13**Next Child Sex Preference of Women Without Sons and With One Son, Pakistan 1990-91**

Source: Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1991

Each of the bars in Figure 13 represents all the women surveyed by the Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (1991) with a certain number of children. All of the women in the left chart have no sons, but are divided by the number of daughters they have, from none to 5 or more. The women in the right chart have only one son and are subdivided by the total number of children they have. The first category on the right-hand chart, therefore, includes women with only one child and that child is a boy. The second category on this chart includes women with a son and a daughter, the third category

represents those with a son and two daughters, and so forth.

These proportions show the high prevalence of preference for sons in the Pakistani culture. The most salient observation from the whole figure is that there is only one category in which the proportion of women saying they want their next child to be a girl is large enough to show up on the chart; this is the women with only one son and no daughters. It may be speculated that these women are planning small families and want to have at least one child of each sex. This would certainly be a line of inquiry worth pursuing. Son preference is very strong in Pakistan. What are the implications of this pattern for gender relations?

Line Graphs

As previously noted, line graphs are principally used to show relationships between two numeric variables. Because gender analysis so often involves categorical comparisons between men and women, line graphs are not used extensively. There are, however, some cases where a line graph can be more useful than a bar chart. Line graphs can be used in place of bar charts when the primary objective is to reveal a pattern across categories rather than to compare sets of categories or when there is a perceived need to simplify the bar chart.

Figure 14 shows a double line graph in place of a double bar chart to show, by region, the percentages of husbands and wives questioned in the Egyptian DHS (1992) who agreed that a wife should be allowed to express her opinion when she disagrees with her husband. The patterns emphasized are changes from the most urban, modern to the most rural, traditional regions: (1) the decreasing levels of agreement of both sexes, and (2) the increasing disparity between the husbands' and wives' percentages.

Figure 14
Percentages of Husbands and Wives Who Say the Wife Should Express Her Opinion when She Disagrees with Her Husband, Egypt 1992

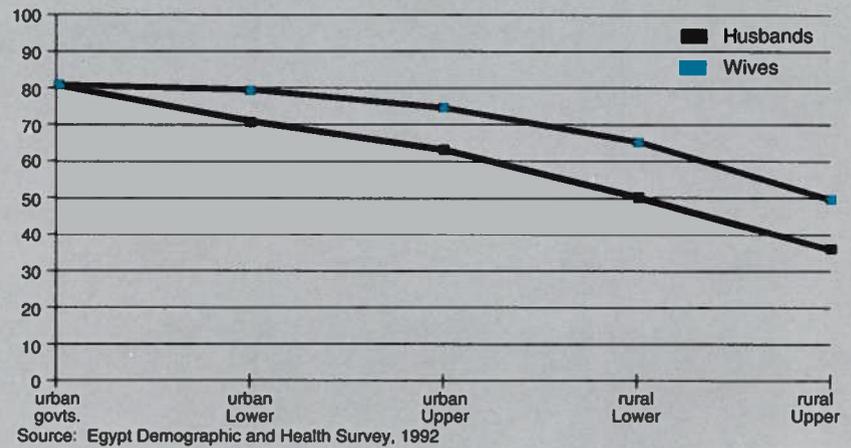
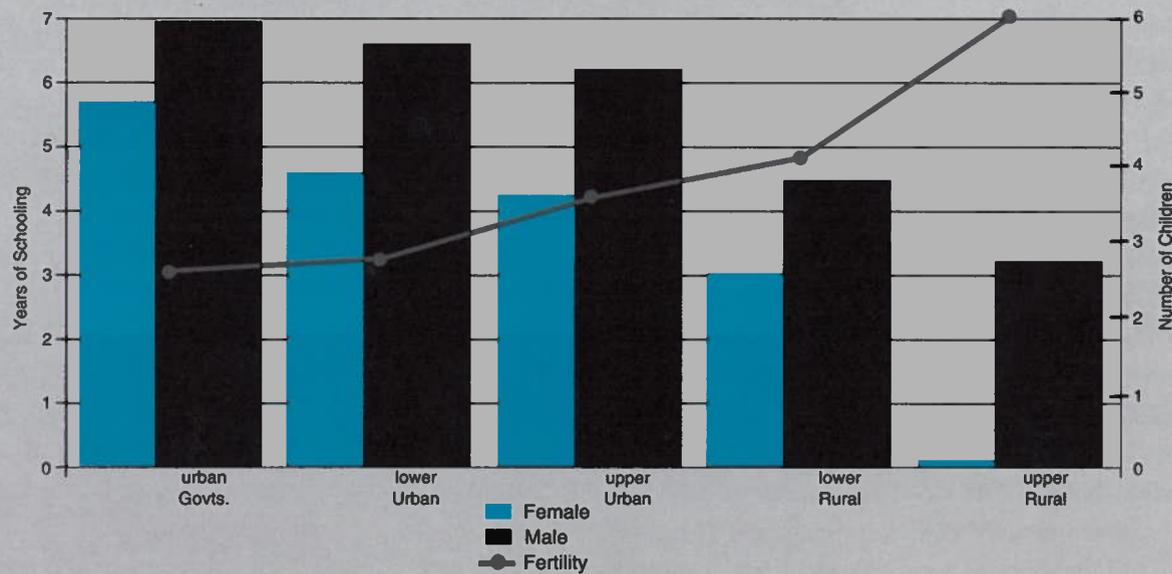


Figure 15
Median Years of Schooling by Sex, Residence, and Total Fertility Rate, Egypt 1992



Combination Charts

Most computerized graphing programs will combine two or more graphs into one and will organize the charts so that dissimilar scales of measurement remain accurate, but

proportionately scaled. In some cases of multivariate analysis, this can be a useful medium, but it may also be confusing.

The graph in Figure 15 is a combination of line and bar graphs which shows the total fertility rates (TFRs) of Egypt's main regions

(line) overlaid on a comparison of gender differences in median years of schooling. The emphasis in this chart is on educational disparities and how they vary across regions.

Also portrayed is the possible correlation between fertility, educational attainment, and gender differences in education relative to strategies for reducing population growth in Egypt.

Pictographs

The last charting example in this tool is a pictograph. A pictograph is a term used to refer to almost any type of graphic representation of quantitative relationships not classified by one of the other types. As with the other types of charts, the pictograph uses geometric area, shape, and volume or quantities of objects to depict relationships. In the pictograph summarizing some of the findings and projections concerning AIDS in Ghana (see Annex Figure 9), two pictographs are included on one page. On the left side of the pictograph the drawing tools of a graphics program were used to construct four rectangular prisms, the respective volumes of which are proportionate to the numbers shown to the right of the drawing. On the right, objects (in this case, women and a man) are used to show a ratio of women to men in reported cases of HIV infection in Ghana.⁷

⁷ The figures were initially obtained from a clipart file that comes with the graphing program. The drawing tools were used to edit the male figure, adding a skirt and long hair to make the female figures. To do these kinds of representations, one needs to become quite familiar with the drawing tools. Once one has mastered the tools, one can use one's imagination to create interesting, accurate ways to portray quantitative relationships.

IV. Summary and Conclusions

This tool has provided a set of practical guidelines about constructing Country-Specific Gender Profiles (CSGPs). The main purpose of these profiles is to assist development practitioners to identify and describe gender issues in development as an important first step toward effectively and efficiently incorporating gender concerns into development activities.

The two basic types of CSGPs described in this document are panoramic and focused. As the terms imply, the panoramic CSGP is broad in scope and rather limited in depth. Its purposes are to provide an overview of gender relations in a specific country and to identify key areas where gender issues may exist that warrant further study. The focused CSGP concentrates on a particular sector of development activity or a particular development goal, and explores the gender issues relevant to that sector or goal. The two types of CSGPs differ in content and structure and also in data sources and kinds of analytical methods.

The second part of this paper focused on using computer-assisted graphics to visually display and conceptualize quantitative relationships to include in a CSGP. Several exam-

ples of quantitative charts were shown and discussed. Each chart was chosen for inclusion in this tool because it represented an aspect of gender issues that could be addressed in a CSGP, and because it showed a particular way of organizing and presenting quantitative data. An example of a completed panoramic CSGP on Ghana is included as an annex to this tool.

Few of the guidelines in this paper should be considered absolute. They represent lessons learned from the author's experiences working with CSGPs. There is, however, room for creativity and experimentation in the field of quantitative data analysis.

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***Annex I: Ghana
Country-Specific
Gender Profile
(A Panoramic CSGP)***



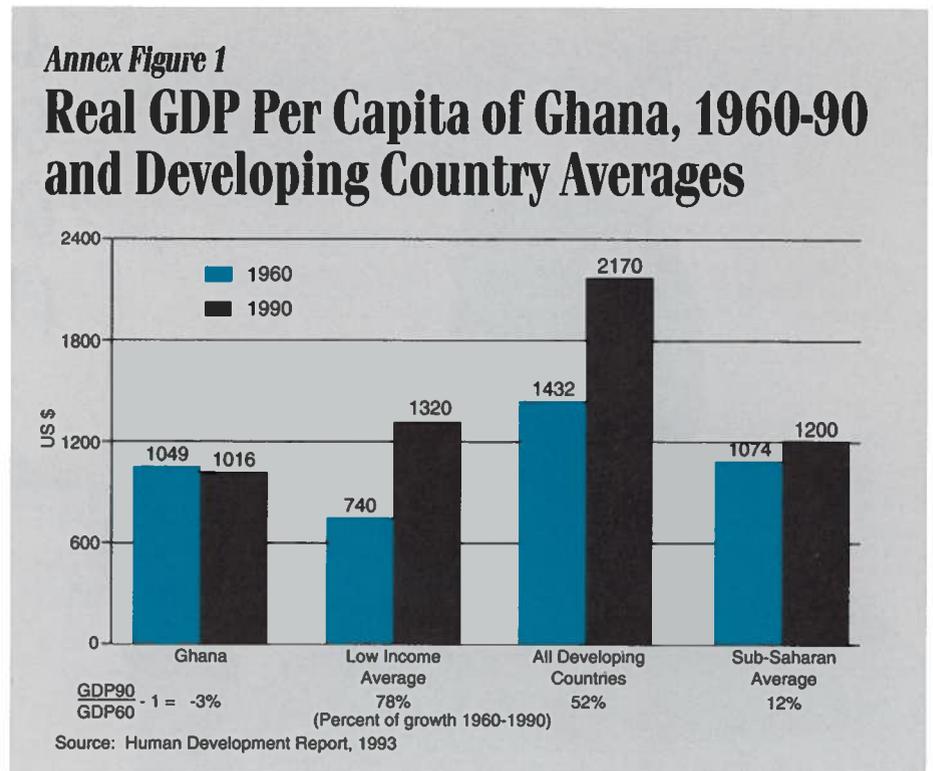
Annex I: Ghana Country Gender Profile

I. Introduction

The purpose of this presentation is to identify and describe key gender issues relative to development goals and strategies in the Republic of Ghana. This profile can be used by policymakers and a wide range of other development practitioners as a general overview of or orientation to the main dimensions of gender issues. The information provided is not of sufficient specificity or scope to be directly useful for formulating development goals or strategies, but can serve to identify key areas where more attention and information are needed and help in formulating relevant research questions concerning gender issues in development in Ghana. Primary areas examined include gender differences in health, education, economic activity, legal rights, and fertility attitudes and actions.

General Background

The Republic of Ghana, located on the western coast of Sub-Saharan Africa, is bordered on the east by Togo and on the west by Côte d'Ivoire. The Atlantic Ocean is to the south and Burkina Faso to the north. There are three main topographical regions: the tropical southern coastal plain; a central forested plateau; and the northern savannah, which claims two-thirds of the country. This northern area, hotter and drier, has experienced prolonged cultivation and soil degradation. Lake Volta, the world's



largest artificial lake, originates in the central savannah highlands and runs east to the upper coastal plains. Ghana covers a total area of 238,537 square km., an area slightly smaller than Oregon.

Ghana's population is divided into four major ethnic groups. The largest, the Akan, make up 44 percent of the population. Over 15 percent of the Ghanaian population are Muslims, and the remainder follow indigenous religions. English is the official language, but several other languages are spoken.

Economic Growth

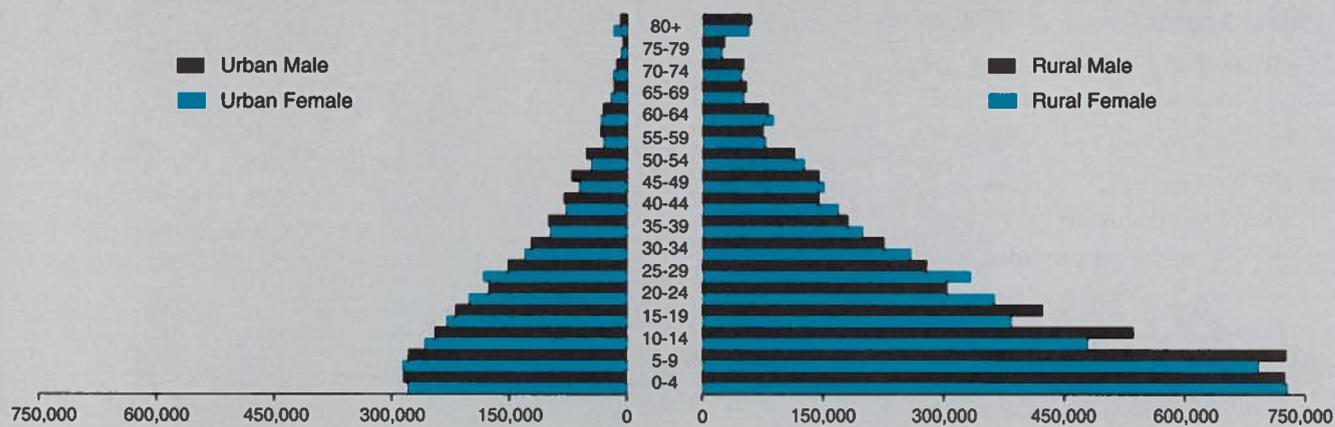
Ghana gained its independence from Britain in 1957, and maintained a stable and flourishing economy for 10 years. From the late 1970s to the early 1980s the country was plagued with severe drought which led to famine. Oil prices also

soared, limiting economic growth, and unfavorable trade terms caused the cocoa industry to plummet. In 1983, when the Nigerian government, whose economy was equally unstable, deported one million Ghanaian oil field workers, Ghana's economy collapsed (Biddle, 1988).

A comprehensive and stringent Economic Recovery Program (ERP) was implemented in April 1983 in an effort to rebuild. Since that year, Ghana's economic progress has been slow and barely felt by the typical Ghanaian. Annex Figure 1 uses Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita as an indicator of economic development in Ghana and as a basis for comparison with other developing country averages.

Annex Figure 2

Population by Age and Sex, Urban and Rural Ghana, 1984



Source: U.S. Bureau of Census International Database, 1993

Between 1960 and 1990, Ghana's GDP per capita declined by 3 percent while in developing countries as a whole, this indicator increased by an average of 52 percent (this figure does not include the Asian NICs). Total GDP of Ghana, however, has been growing at an average rate of 5 percent since 1983 and much of this improvement has been due to a decline in inflation rates (ILO, 1989). To revitalize the stalled economy, the ERP temporarily shifted resources away from family planning and educational programs. These shifts had seriously adverse effects on the quality of educational, family planning, and public health facilities and services.

Rural-Urban Composition

One probable reason for Ghana's economic vulnerability and slow recovery may be that Ghana is still a predominantly agricultural

economy with over half of its current GDP derived from this sector and over 60 percent of the labor force working in agriculture (GDHS, 1988). The majority of Ghana's population still live in rural areas (67 percent) as can be seen in Annex Figure 2 (HDR, 1993).

There are many development problems typically associated with a predominantly agricultural and rural population structure. Economic surpluses to fund development initiatives are not generated from subsistence farming. Commercial agriculture for export, on the other hand, tends to be highly vulnerable to fluctuations of the world market. Lack of physical infrastructure in rural areas limits access to health, education, and family planning services. Rural populations in almost all developing countries have significantly higher fertility and infant and maternal mortality rates and lower levels of educational attainment than the

urban populations. Furthermore, gender differences in educational attainment also tend to be greater in rural areas. Most of these typical rural-urban differences are also evident in Ghana.

Population Growth

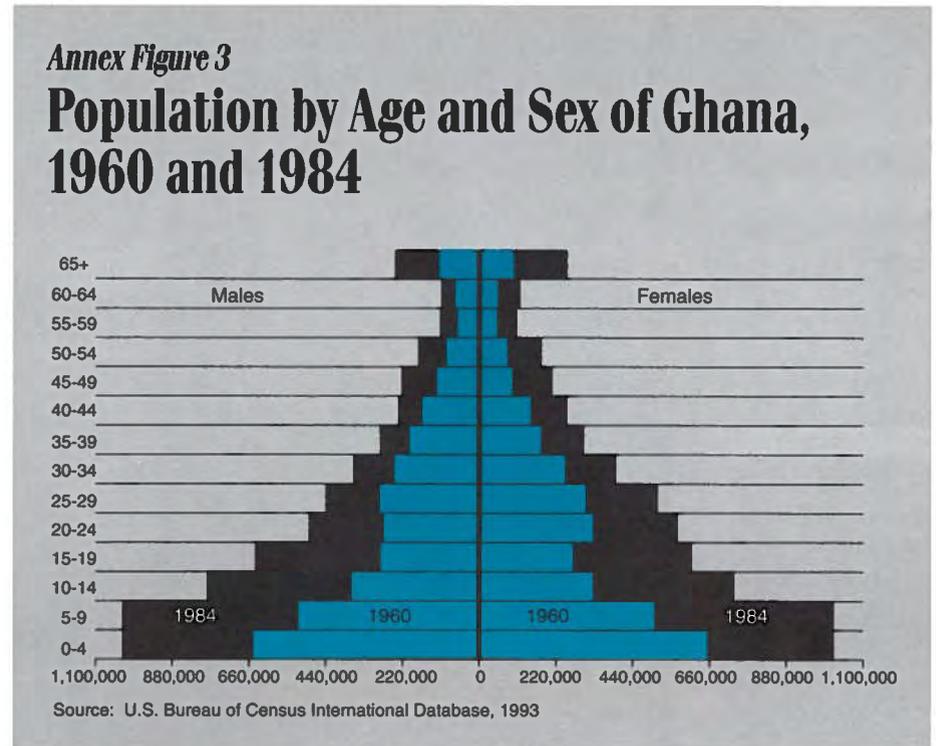
The population pyramid in Annex Figure 3 shows the census populations by age and sex for Ghana in 1960 and 1984. Placing the age-sex distribution of the earlier census on top of the distribution for the more recent census reveals the consequences of rapid population growth in Ghana. The average annual rate of population growth in Ghana during the 1980s was 3.2 percent. The very young population structure depicted in Annex Figure 3 forecasts high growth rates for Ghana for the next few decades as a result of population momentum, even if fertility rates drop precipitously in the near future.

II. Gender Differences in Fertility Attitudes and Actions

Family Planning in Ghana

Ghana's total fertility rate (TFR) in 1960 was 7.0 children per woman. This was higher than the average for all Sub-Saharan African countries (6.7), and for developing countries as a whole (6.3) at that time. Thirty years later, in 1990, the TFR of Ghana had declined by only 12% to 6.2 (HDR, 1993) and rural fertility was still 1.5 children higher than urban fertility (GDHS, 1990).

In 1969, Ghana became the first African country to initiate a national family planning program. The program aimed to reduce the population growth rate from about 3.4 percent (1969) to 1.5 percent by the year 2000. Twenty-five years after the initiation of this program, the growth rate is still between 2.6 and 3.2 percent (sources differ); the program has generally been regarded as a failure (Carrington, 1994). A conference held in Accra in 1989 critically examined the Ghanaian population program policies, citing two major reasons for failure. First, there was a lack of family planning programs in rural areas where they were most needed. Second, the programs targeted only women when, in fact, according to more recent studies (e.g., Yeboah-Afari, 1991),



husbands tend to have the dominant decision-making role concerning when to have another child and how many to have altogether. Husbands are also more likely to have higher fertility aspirations than wives (Yeboah-Afari, 1991; GDHS, 1989). Another issue cited was that many Ghanaians regarded discussion of sexual matters as taboo. Without sufficient communication between spouses, decisions to use family planning services remain a remote possibility. Since the 1989 conference, the Ghanaian government has been actively restructuring its population program to address weaknesses of earlier efforts. This restructuring acknowledges the importance of gender relations and gender differences in fertility attitudes, communication, and actions.

Fertility Aspirations

Annex Figure 4 uses data from the 1988 GDHS to show the percentages of wives, husbands, and couples surveyed who express a desire for no more children. Only 23 percent of the women and an even smaller percentage of husbands (19 percent) wished to have no more children. Among this small segment of the population, there also appears to be a fairly high amount of disagreement between couples about limiting fertility. When couples' responses were matched, only 13 percent of the couples were in agreement that they wanted no more children.

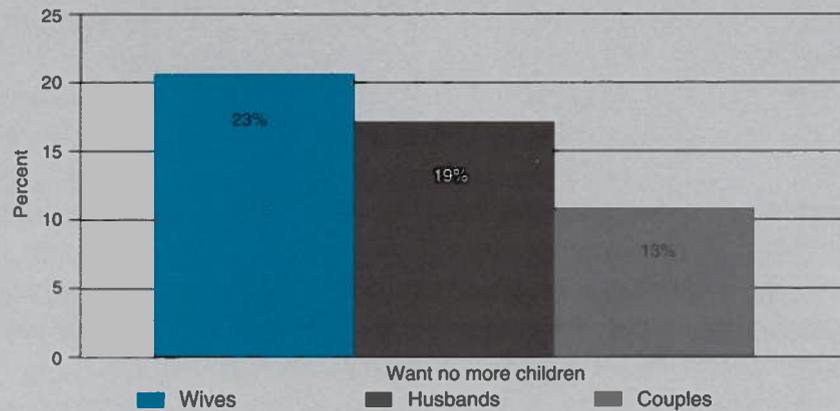
Annex Figure 5 shows husbands' and wives' ideal numbers of children, broken down by educational levels. It can be inferred from the chart that education makes a large difference in ideal family size,

and men at all educational levels have a higher average ideal number than do women. The gender differences range from a low of 1.2 children among those with secondary or higher education to 4.0 children among those without any formal schooling.

In Ghana, there is limited information available on fertility decision making at the household level. The GDHS of 1988, however, shows that less than 20 percent of the husbands and wives surveyed said they had ever discussed family planning with their spouses. Yeboah-Afari's (1991) analysis of fertility survey data concluded that, in a majority of households, husbands appear to have a dominant influence over fertility decisions. Other studies have indicated that women in Ghana can exercise a fairly strong amount of independence in marital sexual relations, especially if the wife knows her husband has AIDS or is having relations with another woman (Smith, 1993).

Annex Figure 4

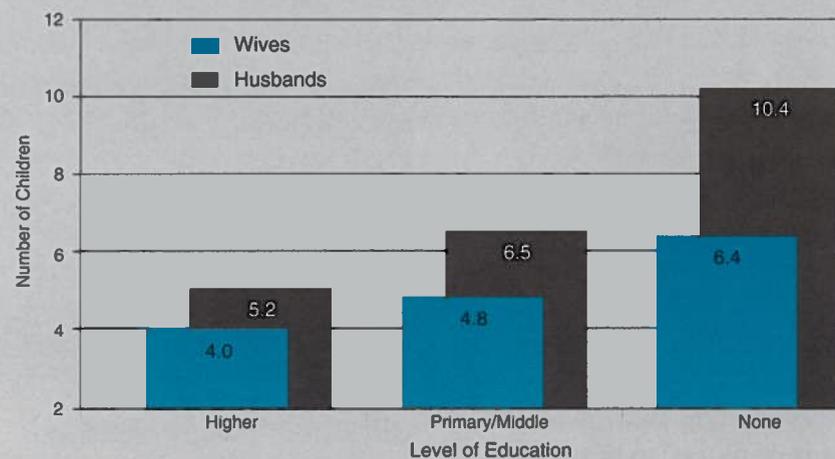
Desire for No More Children, Ghana 1988



Source: Ghana Demographic and Health Survey, 1988

Annex Figure 5

Mean Ideal Number of Children Among Husbands and Wives by Education, Ghana 1988



Source: Ghana Demographic and Health Survey, 1988

III. Gender Differences in Health

Life Expectancy and Mortality

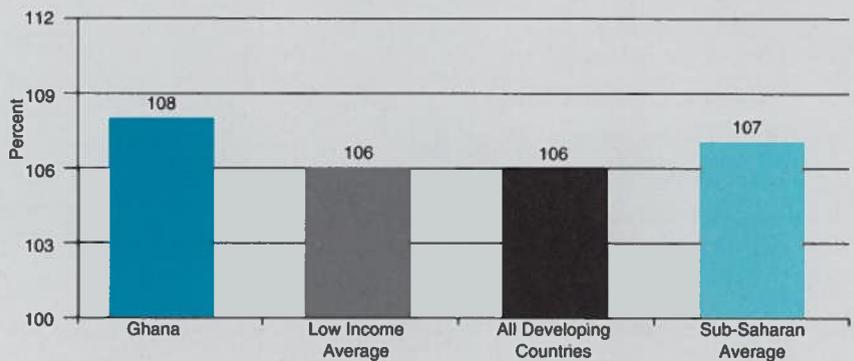
Life expectancy in Ghana (for both sexes combined) is 55 years, which is low by comparison to developing countries as a whole, but four years higher than the average for Sub-Saharan Africa. Women's life expectancy at birth in Ghana is 57 years, which exceeds men's by 4 years or approximately 7-8 percent (HDR, 1993). Based on life expectancies, therefore, there is no indication that either sex in Ghana experiences a relative disadvantage in mortality risk or access to health resources. The average difference in life expectancy between men and women in all of Sub-Saharan Africa is also approximately 7-8 percent. Differences between the sexes in Ghana are compared to relevant developing country averages in Annex Figure 6.

While overall infant and child mortality rates are high in Ghana, differences between males and females are on par with other low-income countries. Annex Figure 7 shows that the male infant mortality rate (IMR) exceeds the female IMR by 15 percent and that male and female mortality between ages 1 and 5 are almost even. Infant mortality rates in Ghana tend to be undercounted due largely to cultural beliefs. Traditionally, rural infants who die hours to weeks after birth are not discussed, as infants are

Annex Figure 6

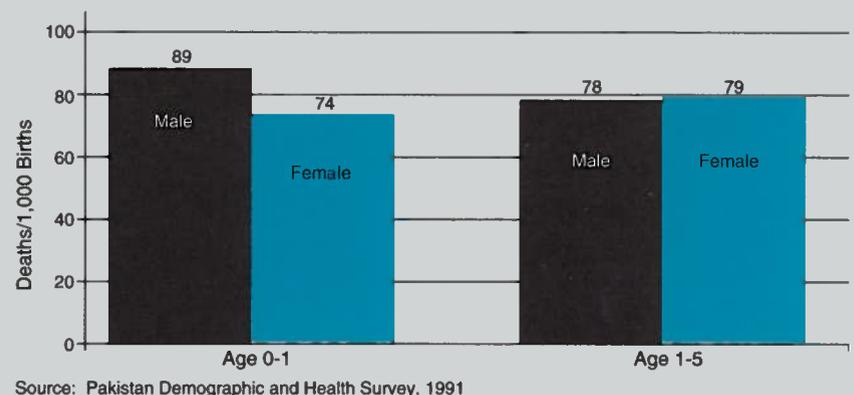
Women's Life Expectancy at Birth as a Percentage of Men's

Ghana, 1990 and Developing Country Averages



Annex Figure 7

Infant and Childhood Mortality by Sex, Ghana 1987-88



considered "visitors" until they reach a minimum age, which varies by each community (GDHS,1988).

Maternal mortality is, of course, a sex-specific mortality risk, and is high in Ghana. Ghana's maternal mortality rate (MMR) of 700 deaths for every 100,000 live births is high-

er than the MMR averages for both the low-income (630) and all developing countries (420); and it exceeds the Sub-Saharan average of 690.

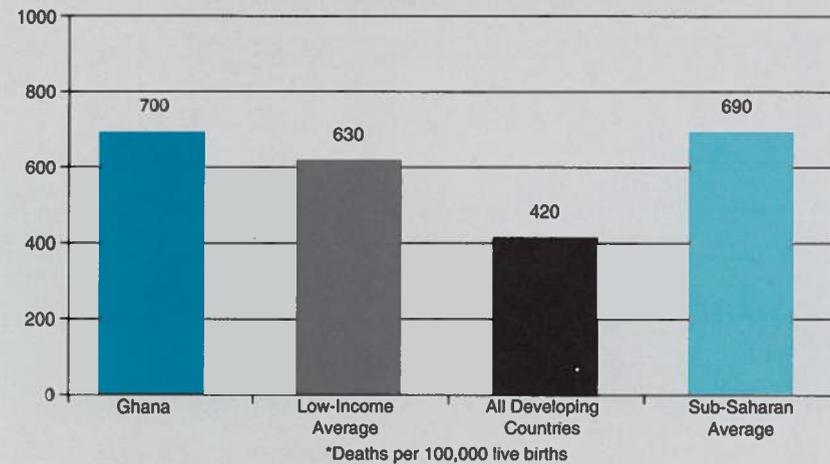
During the 1970s, Ghana's government placed emphasis on developing hospitals and clinics in the major cities. According to a 1991 rural survey, only three percent of Ghana's rural communities had access to a doctor or hospital. Family planning services are available in only 17 percent of the communities. On average, 64 percent of rural women have their children at home using a traditional birth attendant (TBA). The less popular trained midwives or maternity homes are available in 22 percent of communities. Ghana's Primary Health Care (PHC) program, trying to remedy high rural fertility and mortality rates, is providing special training to TBAs in midwifery, pre- and post-natal care, and family planning practices including the dispensing of contraceptives. Midwives are also being trained to encourage family planning and to dispense contraceptives.

AIDS in Ghana

AIDS is a serious and growing problem in Ghana, and one which appears to be affecting women to a greater degree than men. As the figures on the left of Annex Figure 9 show, in 1993 there were just over 3,000 reported cases of AIDS in Ghana but researchers estimated that there were in actuality approximately 10,000 cases and that there were as many as 250,000 cases of HIV infection. Studies predict that by the year 2000 AIDS will infect roughly 1,000,000 adults and approximately 3 percent of all births.

Annex Figure 8

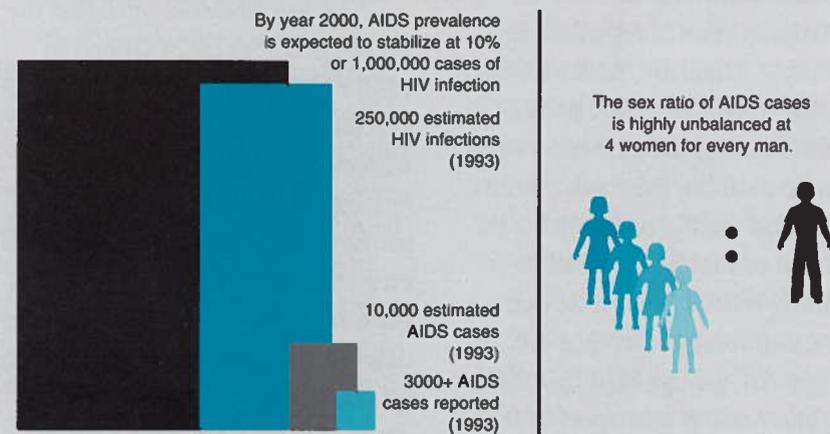
Maternal Mortality Rates *1988



Source: Human Development Report, 1993

Annex Figure 9

AIDS in Ghana: A Summary of Findings



Source: Smith, 1993

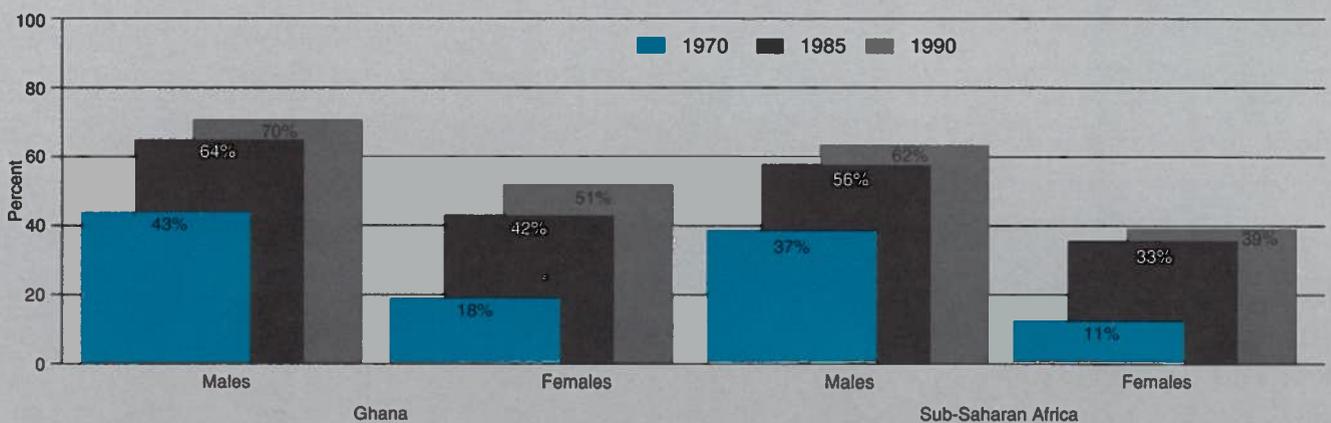
In Ghana and many other parts of Africa, women are currently more likely to get AIDS than men. The sex ratio of reported cases is four women to every man, but a large measure of under-reporting among males is suspected. The first case of AIDS was reported in Ghana in 1986 and was likely brought into

the country by commercial sex workers returning from Abidjan.

Sexual norms and conjugal patterns characteristic of many African cultures contribute to the rapid spread of HIV infections. In Ghana sexual relations with multiple

Annex Figure 10

Literacy Rates by Sex in Ghana and Sub-Saharan Africa 1970, 1985, and 1990



Source: U.N. Statistical Yearbook, 1993

partners are common—including pre- and extra-marital relations. Women having sex for compensation is also common but most of these women are not regarded as prostitutes. There are, nevertheless, estimated to be over 2,000 prostitutes in the Accra area alone. These women are among the main victims of AIDS and are the main agents for the spread of the disease. Military personnel, transportation workers, miners, and foreign travelers are also high-risk groups (Smith, 1993).

While AIDS is a concern of the urban population more than the rural population, other health care problems are particularly salient for the rural sector. As previously noted, these rural concerns center on the accessibility of health care and on sanitation and other infrastructural elements that affect health and living conditions.

IV. Gender Differences in Education

Basic Literacy

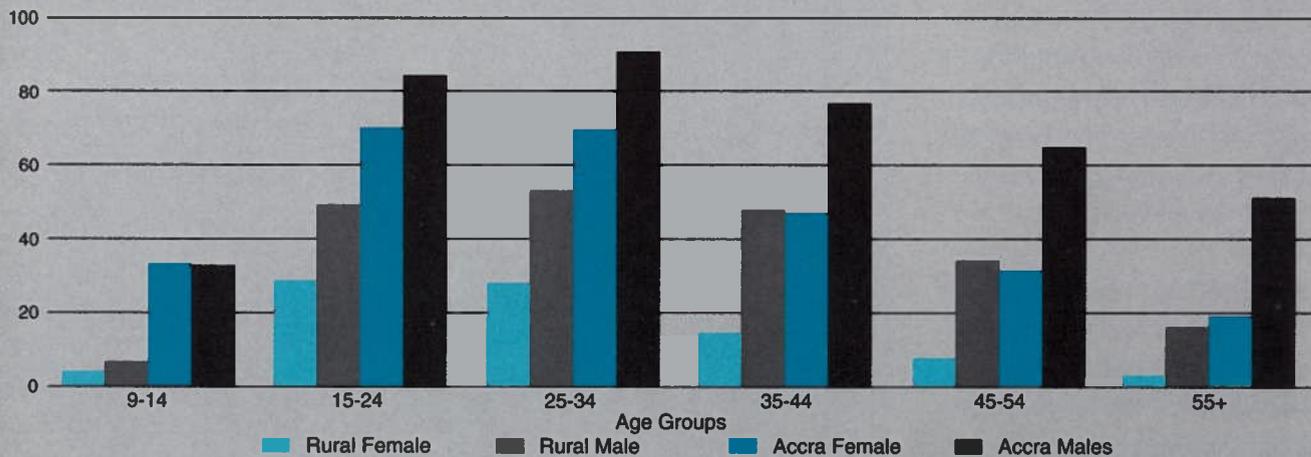
The World Bank estimated the overall literacy rate of Ghana in 1990 to be about 60 percent, with 70 percent of men and 51 percent of women having basic reading and writing skills. Women's literacy as a proportion of men's, therefore, was estimated to be 73 percent, indicating a fairly high degree of equity by developing country standards. Data on literacy in Ghana, however, is somewhat suspect. Using a functional test of literacy, a 1993 USAID study found less than 2 percent of a sample of 12,000 students who could read at an acceptable level, and over half who could not read at all (Carrington, 1994). This raises questions about using official literacy rates to examine gender differences in educational attainment. One might assume that, if literacy rates were inflated in Ghana, the

rate would be similar for both sexes. If this is true, then proportional differences between men and women would be accurate even if actual quantities and proportions within each sex category were not. A systematic sex bias in data collection, however, could render this assumption invalid.

To gain a comparative picture of literacy progress over time, Annex Figure 10 shows the literacy rates of the adult population 15 years and older by sex for Ghana, compared to those for Sub-Saharan Africa for the years 1970, 1985, and 1990. According to these data, the proportion of the female population attaining literacy has nearly tripled in 20 years, while the proportion of literate males has increased by about 63 percent. The data further indicate that Ghana has higher literacy rates for

Annex Figure 11

Literacy Rates by Locality, Sex, and Age Group, Ghana 1987-88



Source: Ghana Living Standards Survey, 1987-88

both sexes than the averages for the Sub-Saharan region as a whole.

The data used to construct Annex Figure 11 are somewhat dated, but show interesting patterns in literacy across sex and age groups and between urban (Accra) and rural populations. Some of the patterns are familiar and expected. For example, for both sexes and all age groups, the residents of Accra have higher literacy rates than their rural counterparts. In every age and residential category, men have higher literacy rates than women and the differences are greater in the rural sector than in the urban sector. Indicative of progress in development, literacy rates also decline with age for both sexes and residential categories. A noteworthy deviation

from anticipated patterns, however, is the peaking of literacy in the 25-to-34 age group instead of in the 15-to-24 age category. There may be two possible reasons for this. First, when the economy collapsed in 1983, the government shifted resources away from education and health programs. A resulting decline in provision of educational services may be reflected in the lower rates of literacy among those at or near school age in the post-collapse period. Second, there is a tendency in Ghana and other agricultural societies of Africa, particularly in the rural sectors, for parents to delay enrollment of children in school.

Quantity and Types of Schooling

Ghanaian women achieve closer parity with men in basic literacy than they do when educational attainment is measured in terms of the mean number of years of schooling received; overall, women receive less than half as much education as men, averaging only 2.1 years to men's 4.8 years.

When school enrollment among persons ages 6-25 is used as an indicator of gender differences in educational attainment, it is not surprising that female enrollment tends to drop off more rapidly and in greater proportions than male enrollment, particularly after the age of 15. In Ghana there is also a tendency to postpone enrollment of both sexes, especially in the rural sector. The percent of rural males aged 12-15 enrolled is greater than

the percent of males aged 6-11. These two age groups are about equal for rural females, but under normal conditions the younger group should be larger. According to the Digest of Statistics (QDS) of 1992, females comprise about 13 percent of university enrollment in Ghana. The largest proportion (26 percent) of female college students are enrolled in Arts and Social Studies.

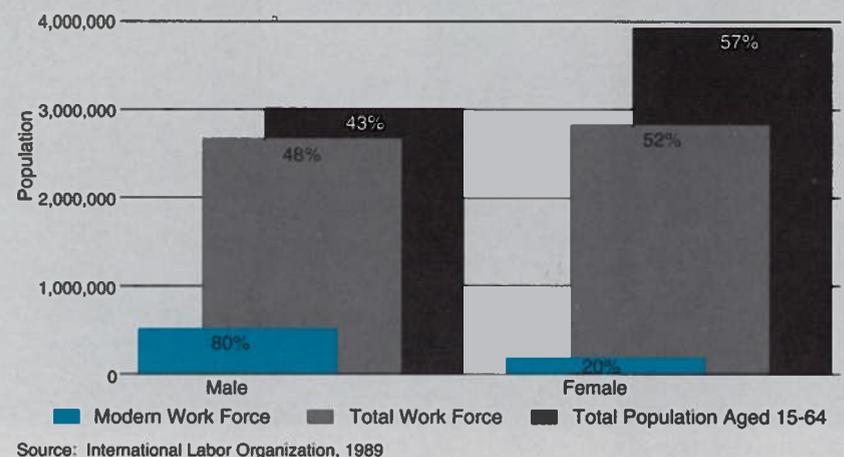
In polytechnic schools, female enrollment comprises 30 percent of part-time students and 23 percent of full-time students. Among the different curricula offered in these schools, female enrollment is highest in Business Studies, where females make up 50 percent of the class.

Educational Quality

Literacy, years of schooling, and enrollment numbers are quantitative indicators of educational attainment, but they do not reflect the quality of education received. Between 1988 and 1993, industrial world donors contributed about \$225 million to Ghana's education programs, but USAID discovered that out of the 64,000 primary-school teachers, over one half still had no teacher training and another 16,000 (or 25 percent) had not finished high school themselves (Carrington, 1994). Other problems such as lack of facilities, textbooks, and other materials also hamper education efforts in Ghana. While it appears that the education system as a whole is in need of improvements, no evidence was found that the quality of education in Ghana systematically varies by sex.

Annex Figure 12

Population, Total Labor Force, and Modern Labor Force by Sex for Ages 15-64: Ghana 1984



V. Gender Differences in Economic Activity

Labor Migration

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO) women make up 57 percent of the population of Ghana between the ages of 15 and 64 (see Annex Figure 12). These data suggest an imbalance in sex ratios that may be due in part: (1) to male-dominated international migration patterns and (2) to greater longevity of women that shows up particularly in the higher age groups. Other data do not indicate sex ratio imbalances this large in Ghana, which raises questions about the accuracy of the data used by the ILO.

Male migration is a familiar pattern in many parts of Africa and it is not unusual to find modest shortages of men in the poorer

countries and corresponding surpluses in the more prosperous countries. Ghana has experienced considerable male emigration in the past, particularly to the Nigerian oil fields, but has also been a host of migrant labor from poorer neighboring countries like Burkina Faso (Okoth-Ogendo, 1989). Current, reliable figures on migration patterns by sex were not found in this research. However, none of the sources reviewed noted or provided evidence of a labor shortage in Ghana. We can, therefore, tentatively conclude that male emigration is not a significant problem in Ghana at this time. There appears to be a high degree of internal migration patterns, according to the Ghana Living Standards Survey (1991). Rural-to-urban migration flows, however, are not particularly

heavy; during the 1980s the urban population growth rate was 3.9 percent, compared to a growth rate for the total population of 3.2 (HDR, 1993). Furthermore, while international migration appears to be heavily male-dominated, internal migration flows do not appear to be noticeably unbalanced between men and women.

Labor Force Participation

In Annex Figure 12, a distinction is made between the total and modern labor forces, the former including all forms of economic activity including unpaid farm labor and the latter including only persons who work for wages and pay taxes on those wages. In the total labor force, women represent a majority at 52 percent. As is typical in many African countries, rural women do a large share of the agricultural work, which accounts for their dominance in the total labor force. In the modern labor force, however, 80 percent of jobs are held by men and only 20 percent by women. The modern labor force in Ghana is a relatively small proportion of the total, employing only about 19 percent of men and 6 percent of women aged 15 to 64.

Among women in the total labor force, 77 percent were classified as “own-account workers” or self-employed; 15 percent worked for no wages (usually within a family business); 8 percent worked as employees (similar to the 6 percent in the modern labor force); none were listed as employers; and less

than 1 percent were members of a cooperative (ILO, 1989). The majority of Ghanaian women are classified as self-employed and are engaged in agriculture, but trading and selling are also common activities for women.

In an analysis of female labor participation rates in Sub-Saharan Africa, Jamison et al. (1991) found that Ghana had higher levels of participation than the average for the region, while male participation rates were about average.

The reasons for these high participation rates are not immediately clear. However, Moncrief (1989) suggests that the prevalence of matrilineal traditions among many of the ethnic groups may afford women more prominent positions and opportunities in the economic and political lives of their communities than in cultures where these traditions are not found.

Male- and Female-Headed Households

In Ghana approximately 25 percent of all households are female-headed. Researchers usually assume that female-headed households (FHH) in developing countries are economically disadvantaged relative to male-headed households (MHH) because adult males usually have more earning power than females. The Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) of 1987-1988, however, compared head of household consumption expenditure levels by sex and area of residence, and found that the consumption levels of the FHH were on average 7 percent higher than the male-headed households. Furthermore, female-headed

households tend to be more numerous in the more prosperous regions of the country. For example, in the forest and coastal areas the proportions of households that are female-headed exceed one-third, but in the poorest region of the northern Savannah, only about 15 percent of the households are female-headed. A literature review uncovered no case studies that addressed the questions of why Ghana has such a large percentage of female-headed households, or why the average consumption levels of these households is higher than that of male-headed households, but these are certainly areas that warrant further analysis.

VI. Gender Differences in Legal and Political Rights

Property Ownership and Inheritance Rights and Customs

Under the statutory laws of Ghana, women have the same rights as men to own land, to write a will and pass property down to their heirs, and to receive land through inheritance. Women often receive land from their birth families or as gifts from their husbands, however, in many cases they do not hold full legal title to this property because the land has not been properly surveyed or legally recorded (Moncrief, 1989). More often, plots are assigned or leased to a woman for use by her family, husband, or village chief and she can do whatever she wishes with the land except to pass it on to someone else. Women typically use such land to grow crops

for family use and sell the surplus in local markets. However, they are reluctant to make capital improvements to such property for fear that the land will be reclaimed by the legal owner and the women will lose their investment (van den Oever, 1986).

Contracts and Credit

Ghana statutory law also permits women to make binding contracts and to obtain credit. Lack of education for both sexes, but particularly for women, inhibits the use of formal contracts for a large portion of the population. While women's formal access to credit is well established, there has been some reluctance by women to violate traditions and pursue formal bank loans for business purposes. Women have also been hampered by a lack of legally recognized collateral for such loans. In many cases, the land that they have received from their families or husbands does not have a clear title and cannot be used to secure a loan. There is evidence, however, that credit opportunities are improving for women and that women are becoming more actively entrepreneurial, especially in agriculture and commerce (Oppong and Abu, 1987).

Marriage and Divorce Laws and Customs

Family law is somewhat complex in Ghana due to the co-existence of four different legal systems: (1) Statutory law, (2) Received Law of England, (3) African Customary Law, and (4) Islamic Law. There are slight variations in these different

types of law that can affect a woman's rights, and the system under which a woman is married becomes the governing system. In both customary and statutory law, women have the right to control their own property and income. A wife is generally obligated to assist her husband in tending his crops but is not entitled to a share of income from those crops. The husband, however, is obligated to provide his wife (or wives) with a plot of land on which she can grow food for family consumption and can produce a surplus to sell at market. The wife is entitled to use the income from her land as she sees fit but is generally expected to provide for the domestic needs of herself and her children from this income.

Under Islam, which includes about 15% of the Ghanaian population, wives must comply with Islamic law and their status cannot be altered by statutory or customary law (Moncrief, 1989). Except under Islamic law, women and men have equitable rights to sue for divorce, and divorce is reported to be rather common in Ghana (Smith, 1993).

VII. Summary and Conclusions

As is typical of a general overview of gender relations in a developing country, the foregoing explorations raised more questions than answers. From the data examined for this CSGP, no severe gender inequities were apparent in Ghana. Educational differences indicate that women are at a disadvantage relative to men, comparable to the

situation in other low-level developing countries. Women appear to have a relatively secure, although not profitable, economic position in Ghana. It may be worthwhile, however, to explore the possibilities of what could be done to increase women's contribution to economic growth, particularly in the areas of commercial agriculture and trade.

This brief overview of development data on Ghana also indicated that gender relations should be given more attention in the design and implementation of population programs. Rapid population growth threatens to undermine Ghana's economic recovery and future growth, and as noted in this profile, there are important gender differences in fertility aspirations, communication, and decision making authority that need to be addressed.

The government of Ghana has experienced stringent conditions since the economic collapse of 1983. It is understandably difficult to convince government officials of the need to be concerned about gender inequities when they are faced with serious economic difficulties. Long-term, sustainable development, however, requires a balanced approach that addresses both immediate problems and problems likely to arise in the future. Paying attention to equity in development—ensuring that both men and women are equitable participants in and beneficiaries of development—pays worthwhile dividends.

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