

**THREE CASE STUDIES OF
TIME USE SURVEY APPLICATION IN
LOWER AND MIDDLE-INCOME
COUNTRIES**

JUNE 2005

**A REPORT COMMISSIONED BY THE GENDER UNIT IN THE
BUREAU FOR DEVELOPMENT POLICY**

AT

THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

PREPARED BY THE INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL STUDIES OF PARIS

(SCIENCES-PO)

PARIS, FRANCE



SCIENCES PO

**THREE CASE STUDIES OF
TIME USE SURVEY APPLICATION IN
LOWER AND MIDDLE-INCOME COUNTRIES
JUNE 2005**

**A REPORT COMMISSIONED BY THE GENDER UNIT IN THE
BUREAU FOR DEVELOPMENT POLICY**

AT

THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

**PREPARED BY THE INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL STUDIES OF PARIS
(SCIENCES-PO)
PARIS, FRANCE**

The information contained in this report was researched and prepared by:

Gabriel Brunnich

Pippa Druce

Mehdi Ghissassi

Mercedes Johnson

Nassim Majidi

Anne Laure Radas

Pilar Rodriganez Riccheri

Camille de Sentenac

Danielle Vacarr

Project Advisor: Jacques Charmes, University of Versailles

Contact in UNDP: Aster Zaoude, Senior Gender Adviser

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations

INTRODUCTION	1
I. The TUS in Benin, Mexico and India: Their Legitimacy and Added Value	2
A. Motivations, Methodology and Main Findings of the TUS	2
B. Legitimacy and Added Value of the TUS	5
II. Uses of TUS on the Country Level	8
A. Reference to TUS in Country Reports	8
B. Impact Assessment of TUS	10
C. Why TUS Have Not Played a More Prominent Role	12
III. Recommendations for Using TUS to Improve the Status of Women	14
A. Explicitly Using TUS to Inform Employment Policy	14
B. Explicitly Using TUS to Inform Economic Policy	15
CONCLUSION	24
Annexes	
I. Benin	26
II. India	71
III. Mexico	92
IV. Questionnaire	116
Reference Bibliography	A

List of Abbreviations

AGDI	African Gender and Development Index
ACGD	African Center for Gender and Development
AGeFIB	Agence de Financement des Initiatives de Base (Benin)
CAGED	Centre Africain pour le Genre et le Développement
CCA	Common Country Assessment
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CN/IFD	Commission Nationale pour l'Intégration de la Femme au Développement (Benin)
CAS	Country Assistance Strategy
DAW	Division on the Advancement of Women
DCF	Direction de la Condition Féminine (Benin)
DEPOLIPO	Déclaration de Politique de Population (Benin)
EBC	Enquête Budget-Consommation (Benin)
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECVR	Enquête sur les Conditions de Vie des Ménages Ruraux (Benin)
ELAM	Enquête légère Auprès des Ménages (Benin)
ENUT-02	Encuesta Nacional sobre el Uso de Tiempo (Mexico)
ERG	Easy Reference Guide (African context)
FECECAM	Fédération des Caisses d'Épargne et de Crédit Agricole Mutuel (Benin)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDI	Gender related human Development Index
GSB	Gender Sensitive Budget
HDI	Human Development Index
IDA	International Development Association
IDISA	Indice de Développement et des Inégalités entre les Sexes en Afrique
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEGI	Instituto Nacional Estadística, Geografía e Informática (Mexico)
INMUJERES	Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (Mexico)
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MFPSS	Ministère de la Famille, de la Protection Sociale et de la Solidarité (Benin)
INSAE	Institut National de la Statistique et de l'Analyse Economique (Benin)
PADME	Projet d'Appui au Développement des Micro-Entreprises (Benin)
PADSA	Programme d'Appui au Développement Agricole (Benin)
PAGER	Projet d'Activités Génératrices de Revenus (Benin)
PASNAREP	Programme d'Appui à la Stratégie Nationale de Réduction de la Pauvreté (Benin)
PNPF	Politique nationale de la promotion de la femme (Benin)
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RGPH	Recensements Généraux de Population et d'Habitation (Benin)
SCGA	Strategic Country Gender Assessment
SNC	System of National Accounts
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TUS	Time Use Survey
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Cultural and Scientific Organization
UNSD	United Nations Statistic Division

Final Report Written by
Danielle Vacarr and Nassim Majidi

INTRODUCTION

The growing recognition of the importance of the role of women in development, and in defining development policy in particular, has been at the source of an increased utilization of Time Use Surveys (TUS) in the global South.¹ Identifying ways to reduce the costs associated with conducting TUS has also recently made it more possible for many of these countries to invest in TUS, a tool historically used predominantly in wealthier countries. Having a better, more complete understanding of women's contribution to national production is now widely considered essential in devising development strategies that address gender inequalities. Making women's "invisible" unpaid work "visible" through the use of TUS is one of the most effective ways of formally acknowledging the important role of women as active contributors to both economic and domestic activities.² Furthermore, TUS also serve to demonstrate, through the use of quantitative data, the disparities that exist between men and women in terms of hours consecrated to various different types of tasks, including economic, educational and leisure activities. Recognizing these disparities that continue to plague the social and economic landscapes of many, if not most countries, is the first step in combating gender inequality, and in improving the status of women in society.

Building on the important work conducted by Columbia University (Costing the Care Economy, 2004) this paper attempts to highlight specific successes and challenges of TUS implementation in the global South. Three countries, Mexico, India and Benin were chosen in order to capture the experiences of Southern countries with different levels of economic and institutional development. This paper is divided into three sections. The first addresses the implementation and added value of TUS paying attention to both common biases as well as best practices for developing countries. The second section focuses on the use of TUS findings at the country level discussing in particular why there has not been a greater utilization of the findings. Finally, the third section provides specific policy recommendations on how TUS findings can be used to improve the status of women in developing countries.

¹ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

² Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

I. The TUS in Benin, Mexico and India: Their Legitimacy and Added Value

A. Motivations, methodology and main findings of the TUS in each country

Motivations

A growing recognition that traditional statistical methods, such as national censuses, grossly undervalued women's contributions to the economy was a primary motivator in conducting TUS for the three countries studied herein. Specifically, these methods fell short in their inability to account for non-market or extended SNA activities in which women carry most of the burden. These activities, while often unpaid, are essential to production. India, in particular after discovering large discrepancies between the results of their national census and a pilot regional TUS, was inspired to investigate these inconsistencies in greater depth by launching a more comprehensive regional TUS.

Mexico, India and Benin all identified among their primary motivations an interest in more accurately assessing women's contributions to the economy, making their participation more visible and quantifiable, and finally identifying gender inequalities where they may exist. The first three TUS from these countries were conducted between 1996 and 1998 (Mexico 1996, Benin & India 1998). This is by no means a coincidence. The 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 helped to raise global awareness on the pivotal role women play in development as well as the need to make their participation more visible in order to promote gender sensitive policy making.

In the case of Benin, this, along with the second Human Development Report which was also gender focused, contributed to fostering an interest in and a commitment to more clearly understanding women's participation in the economy. It is important to note, however, that while gender was already defined as a priority area, it was the UNDP who initiated the TUS and not the Beninese government. This detail may help later in understanding why the TUS findings were not more utilized and appropriated in the Beninese context.

Methodology: Biases and Challenges

All three countries studied in this report used the interview method, in which trained individuals conduct in-person interviews with respondents concerning their daily time use. While the diary method of reporting (in which respondents are given a journal to self-record their activities) is the most common technique in industrialized nations, the interview method is an increasingly popular technique in developing countries in part because there is no literacy requirement. Given the aim of specifically measuring women's time use and the fact that women tend to have higher illiteracy rates than men, particularly in rural settings, the interview method is most suitable to this context.

The interview method can, however, be more costly than other techniques as it often requires hiring and training skilled workers. Benin and Mexico managed to reduce costs by incorporating their TUS with an existing national survey, a technique for reducing the cost of TUS that could perhaps be used elsewhere. In addition to reducing costs this adds legitimacy to the TUS by being incorporated into an established and credible survey. While the three TUS diverged in their classification of activities, they all fell under the general categories of SNA, extended SNA and non-SNA activities, therefore accounting for both paid, non-paid and leisure activities. It is important to note, however, that the category "leisure activities" can be misleading because it does not differentiate between forced leisure (due to forced unemployment) and traditional leisure activities (relaxing). This ambiguity can result in a misinterpretation of the findings and it is therefore important to perhaps refine these categories in future TUS. All TUS studied in this report disaggregate along gender lines, which highlighted inequalities in participation.³

In order to attain the most accurate results with the interview-recall method a number of crucial elements must be respected. Firstly, is the recall unit. In both Benin and India, respondents were asked to recount their activities of the previous 24 hour period. Furthermore, in Benin, if the day selected for conducting the interview happened to coincide with a day entirely dedicated to social activities such as a wedding or bereavement, the interview was moved to another day in the following week. On that day, the activities of the day of the previous week dedicated to social activities would be recorded. Thus, the TUS also captured time dedicated to social activities, which undeniably play an important role in society. Mexico, however, used a

³ The ENUT-02 in Mexico disaggregates between towns with less and more than 2,500 inhabitants, however this crude rural/urban divide is not highlighted in the results.

week long recall period. This method may result in less accurate data given the difficulty of recalling precise activities of a seven day period. At the same time, it does allow researchers to get a more global picture of household activity over the course of a week.

Another important aspect of the interview method is to ensure that it accounts for seasonal variations. Of the three countries studied here only India conducted a series of four visits in order to capture these seasonal differences. The fact that this was not done in Mexico and Benin may have led to biased TUS results. In Benin for example, the fact that the TUS was conducted during the low agricultural season may have potentially underestimated the amount of time that both women and men dedicate to agricultural work.

Additionally, training and monitoring are essential to ensuring culturally competent and gender sensitive interviewers. Furthermore, it is critical to sensitize interviewers as to the importance and validity of women's work as productive economic activity. For example, India's TUS paid particular attention to the competency of their interviewers and provided them with both an initial and follow up training. This proved essential in a country where women's work is still not considered to be economic activity. Unfortunately, this perspective along with the stigma attached to women who work outside of the home caused many women respondents to under-report the extent of their work, which may have biased the results. India's experience underscores the importance of changing these damaging gender stereotypes at all levels of society.

Main Findings

All three countries concluded that traditional statistical findings such as national censuses underestimated both men and women's activities by not including unpaid work. Once this category was included there was an increase in both men and women's activity, with a more significant increase among women. Where previously women were estimated to have spent less time working than men, they now either rivalled or surpassed their male counterparts. In Benin for example, if domestic activities are taken into account, the time women spend working is more than 43% greater than the time men spend working. This is true in urban as well as in rural settings.

Additionally, it was found that women unanimously spent more time on unpaid work, were less engaged in paid activities and approximately half the leisure time that men had. These

results were consistent in both rural and urban settings, but time spent on unpaid activities increased for both men and women proportionally in rural settings. Given women's and girls' large participation in market, non-market and domestic activities, it was also recognized that girls had less time to dedicate to schooling than boys. Again, this was particularly true in rural settings.

Interestingly, while TUS often reveal an increase in women's *urban* paid work, in India the TUS showed an increase in rural paid work as compared to the findings of the national census. This is partially explained by their participation in agricultural activities. India also found that both men and women spent significant amounts of time producing goods and services that in industrialized countries would be purchased on the market.

B. Legitimacy and added value of the TUS

Having briefly viewed some of the basic methodological issues at stake in carrying out TUS in the developing world, we will now assess their legitimacy and added value in local contexts, using our three cases studies. Overall, although the relevance and impact of each country's TUS are different due to specificities of context and resources, a common set of findings can be nonetheless highlighted.

Are TUS representative of the country's reality?

The first question to address when attempting to evaluate the legitimacy of a TUS is whether the survey is representative of the country's reality. First, however, two broad categories can be highlighted and examined: countries' demographics and the borderline between market and non-market economic activities.

National demographics

TUS main source of legitimacy comes from the fact that it reflects national demographic distribution, an element which is essential in statistical tools, but rarely self-evident. In the case of Benin, the TUS approach respected and rendered visible the demographic contrasts involved in economic (whether market or non-market) activities. For instance, Benin's TUS reflected the reality that the active population of the country is constituted of more female than male workers – a reality not revealed by the national census results. Furthermore, as has been stated in the previous section, Benin's TUS informs us of gender biases in education for Benin's youth, both in

rural and urban contexts. As such, the sex, age and rural vs. urban distinctions and disparities present in reality were made clearly visible in Benin's TUS.

The same applies for the other case studies. Considering the 1996 and 2002 TUS in Mexico, the same difference in participation in non-market and market activities is highlighted according to age and sex. This highlights once again a reality not present in other statistical tools, clearly demonstrating that women spend more hours than men on household work. This therefore allows men to perform more paid work, thus leaving women at a disadvantage in terms of time dedicated to paid work and recreation.

The borderline between market and non-market economic activities

Similar findings regarding market and non-market activities are included in Benin's and India's TUS. Women's activities encompass both market and non-market elements, but the borderline between them is not always clearly defined in statistical tools. The TUS highlights the delicate balance between these different sets of activities by identifying the most important non-market activities such as fetching water, which are often not however included in the SNA due to lack of available information. In India, the TUS is clearly needed because women's activities are on the borderline between market and non-market activities much more than for men. In this particular case, the TUS highlights a reality, too often ignored, in which women spend significant time in their households in producing goods and services that would be produced by the market in developed countries.

What is their added value?

TUS most significant added value is that they establish a solid basis of action for policy making, and contribute to the evolution of national and cultural understandings of women's work and women's role in society.

Evolving national and cultural perceptions

It has been noted in all three case studies that TUS results run contrary to many cultural preconceptions maintained by local populations as well as to the understanding of women's role on the national level. As Benin's TUS results indicate, the survey improves the visibility of women's activities in the economy (both the market and care economy), thus enhancing a better overall understanding of their contribution to society. The TUS also reveals obstacles that may prevent the improvement of the situation of women and girls in rural and urban areas, obstacles

that are in some cases due to a lack of appropriation of the concept of gender equality on the national level.

Through providing gender disaggregated data, TUS have therefore been key in raising awareness about misunderstandings regarding women's role in national production. As mentioned in a report by the Economic Commission for Africa, «words need numbers to influence them»⁴. Through the cases studied in this report, we have recognized that TUS have effectively served to bring national recognition of women's role in the country's development.

As such, Benin's TUS was established in the hope of better recognizing women's active role in development. Indeed, similar assessments also apply in the case of India. One of the beneficial results of the TUS was its response to the need to deconstruct preconceived notions regarding women's role as wives and mothers, by addressing the understanding of women's capabilities and contributions to the country's economy. The TUS has made such a reality visible through concrete numbers.

Groundwork for policy decisions

In all three countries, TUS have also been a useful tool in establishing a possible groundwork for gender sensitive public policies that provide women more opportunities to participate in social life, education, and the development process in general. TUS are not revolutionary mechanisms. In Benin for instance, it is a well known fact that women spend a lot of their time fetching water and firewood. Therefore, the added value of the TUS stems from fact that it quantifies such phenomena with statistical precision. TUS represent a possible tool that can be used in linking local realities with policy decisions designed to alleviate the burden of women's unpaid work. Should such policies be instituted, women may have more time to spend on market activities or on the care economy which can have positive consequences in many areas, such as on child health, for example. However, the link between TUS' results and policy making is often unclear, a criticism that is addressed in the annexes.

As mentioned earlier, TUS are excellent tools for providing gender disaggregated data that more traditional surveys, such as national census, fail to provide. This point was previously discussed in the case of Benin, but the same holds true in India. The TUS clearly shows that women's and men's participation in SNA activities is much more significant than what was put

⁴ Economic Commission for Africa, African Center for Gender and Development. 2002.

forward by the Census and the National Sample Survey Statistics (NSSO), this disparity being larger in figures related to women's activities. The TUS therefore overcomes certain limits inherent in other statistical surveys.

Finally, the Mexican case study shows that the TUS can be a complementary statistical tool to be used by policy makers alongside more traditional surveys such as the national census. In this case, the census asks whether certain goods, such as washing machines, are found in the household. This is of particular interest given the large amount of time women spend washing clothes, as demonstrated by the TUS.

Increase awareness for statisticians, policy makers

Building on the momentum developed after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, all of the TUS discussed in this report represent an additional tool for raising awareness and shedding light on women as important actors in the national process of economic development. A specific impact assessment of these different TUS will be discussed in the following section of the present report. However, it can be acknowledged that a goal of TUS statistics can be used as an empirical tool aimed at helping in the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of employment policies. As such, TUS can be a crucial element in alleviating the burden placed on women by leading to policy decisions concerning child care centers and increased domestic supply of fuel and water, to name but a few.

TUS findings can also help decision makers devise policies aimed at helping women participate more equally in the market economy. Such gender-sensitive policies may be much more effective than conventional macroeconomic policies at addressing deeply rooted cultural biases concerning women. As noted in the case of Mexico, as well as in Benin, TUS results served to identify the lack of leisure time enjoyed by women, as well as the amount of time used on such activities as washing clothes. The TUS was a more sophisticated tool to inform policy about such trends than the census, which only highlighted static elements such as disparities in income, without pointing to the probable root causes or recognizing the fact that these disparities have a disproportionate effect on women.

II. Uses of TUS on the country level

A. Reference to TUS in country reports

One of the primary reasons to conduct a TUS is to provide policy makers with the vital statistics they need to support gender sensitive policies and budgets. Interestingly, an examination of relevant country reports including MDG Reports, Common Country Assessments, Beijing +10 reports, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, Human Development Reports and others produced in these three countries revealed a striking underutilization of TUS findings. Despite the cost and investment involved in conducting a TUS and the many national gender focused reports subsequently produced, only two such reports cited TUS findings. While Benin's 1998 Human Development Report dedicates an entire chapter to the TUS findings and methodology, the 2003 HDR makes no mention of how TUS data could be used to devise policy that specifically aims to meet the needs of women. This is particularly surprising given that the 2003 HDR states that gender sensitive policies are lacking. Mexico's National Program for Equal Opportunities and Non Discrimination however, launched in 2001 as a response to Beijing +5, made specific mention of the 2002 TUS and insisted on the necessity of gender specific statistics in order to raise awareness of the status of women in Mexico.

While only two reports analyzed herein directly referenced the TUS, others contained either recommendations that paralleled those made in the TUS or utilized TUS findings without referring directly to the surveys. For instance, Mexico's 2002 MDG Report cites figures dating from 2002 on time dedicated to household work from which one must infer the TUS as a source. Another Mexican report comparing the mandates of various programs recognized the economic value of unpaid domestic work and the need to support women working in the care sector through enlightened policies and budgets. Given this direct mention of the unpaid care sector it is surprising that the report does not cite the TUS. Similarly, the Indian government's 2001 National Policy of Empowerment for Women, a product of their 1997-2002 five year plan, as well as their Common Country Assessment provided recommendations, some of which were identical to those promoted by the TUS.

The absence of reference to the TUS in the majority of these cases is notable, but it is particularly striking in a variety of Benin's national reports. Benin's 2002 Common Country Assessment which focused on gender and development employed a wide range of ground surveys including a survey dating from 1979, and yet no mention was made of the TUS. Similarly, while the briefing note to the 2002 PRSP directly references the 1998 TUS, the final PRSP contains no such reference. Remarkably, the IDA and IMF's Joint Staff Assessment of the PRSP goes on to

suggest that Benin *should produce disaggregated data on men and women and on urban and rural areas*, apparently implying that this had not yet been done. The fact that the disaggregated data from the 1998 TUS remain so underutilized seems to suggest a lack of national ownership of the TUS, a lack of awareness of its existence or perhaps a lack of confidence in the reliability and usefulness of TUS data. These observations may provide important clues in better understanding the underutilization of TUS.

How can this underutilization of pertinent information in major gender related reports be explained? In the case of Mexico, conclusions were drawn that the TUS was not used in the HDR and MDG Report because the information, being already six years old, was no longer current enough. However, this appears to be a weak argument given the relative stability of TUS data over time. In India, TUS results were not used because, having been conducted in only six regions, they were not considered representative of the country's national demographics. In other cases, such as in Benin's PRSP, the lack of any reference made to the TUS as a way to refine poverty diagnosis suggests perhaps either a lack of awareness or confidence in TUS data. While this underutilization is alarming, it is encouraging to note that most gender and development related reports at the country level provide recommendations that echo those of the TUS. This underscores the fact that at the very least, these three countries are aware of the work that needs to be done towards achieving greater gender equity.

B. Impact Assessment of TUS

While the previous section addresses the inclusion or omission of TUS results in national reports, this next section will concentrate on the concrete impact and usefulness of TUS. The level of impact and usefulness of TUS in any particular country is clearly influenced by whether or not they are seen as legitimate and valuable tools in preparing national reports.

Although, as mentioned in the previous section, there is clear added value in carrying out TUS in low and middle income countries, there is also a certain failure to be noted across the board in terms of the utilization of TUS results in such contexts. This failure stems mainly from the fact that TUS fall short of fulfilling expectations and motivations at the heart of their creation, even if they have helped make possible some improvements.

Lack of utilization of TUS

One common trait to all three case studies is the failure of TUS to play a more prominent role in helping to make gender a “cross-cutting development tool.”⁵ This can perhaps be explained in part by a lack of utilization of TUS in each country. In the case of Benin for instance, a lack of appropriation of the concept of gender equality is clearly visible on the national level, along with a lack of awareness of the vital contributions women make to the national economy. One of the inevitable conclusions in this case is therefore that if TUS results are left in the margins (as is currently the reality), improving women’s status may remain an elusive and unattainable goal. This is particularly discouraging in the case of Benin, given the country’s heightened recognition of the need to address gender inequality. Seven years after the completion of their TUS, it is our assessment that there is a significant underutilization of the results as a tool for poverty reduction and development strategies.

This assessment also applies to India. The objectives of the Indian TUS were to infer policy and programme implications, understand patterns of work for employment and welfare programmes, and finally to pay a closer look to the poor in society, as well as to women and children in order to draw useful inferences for welfare policies. Unfortunately, the TUS has not been able to act as a link between macroeconomic models and gender budgeting strategies. This failure is due mainly to problems related to methodology. Indeed, the Indian TUS underestimates the global workforce because of the demographics and geography of the country, as well as due to the lack of a standardized local budgeting system.

Decreased legitimacy of TUS

It is clear in all three case studies, although in varying degrees, that there is an overwhelming lack of inclusion of TUS results in national reports. This is all the more surprising in the case of Benin given the fact that the UNDP commissioned the TUS in the first place as a tool in preparing the Human Development Report of 1998, but failed to clearly highlight its results in the 2003 HDR. No reference to the TUS is made either in the Common Country Assessment’s chapter on gender, development and population, or in the 2002 PRSP. It is undeniable that the lack of visibility and recognition given to TUS detracts from their credibility and legitimacy, especially when the commissioner of the TUS itself does not capitalize on the findings of the survey.

⁵ PRSP for Benin, 2002, Article 219.

This decreased legitimacy of TUS is a cause as well as a consequence of the underutilization of TUS results. Even in the case of Mexico where TUS results were included more often in national reports (as compared to Benin and India), efforts such as inclusion of TUS findings in satellite accounts are still at an embryonic stage. This underutilization of TUS findings in creating satellite accounts may in part account for the fact that the objective of Mexico's 2002 TUS [to render more visible and valued women's domestic work nationally through specific policies and programmes], is unfortunately far from being achieved.

C. **Why TUS have not played a more prominent role**

It has been established that although TUS produce an undeniable added value through their gender disaggregated data, they are costly to carry out and their influence on national reports and policy making remains one of their biggest challenges. This is due in part to a set of theoretical problems, true to TUS as a statistical tool, as well as more practical issues related to the national contexts and decision making processes.

Theoretical challenges: TUS methodology

Part I.A. discusses in detail the biases and challenges inherent in the methodology used in processing TUS in Benin, India and Mexico. Although the methodology used in Benin encountered very few roadblocks, more significant problems have occurred in India and Mexico. In the former case, the interviewer method was the only option available due to the low level of literacy rate among women and to the fact that women remain victims of socio-cultural biases. Indeed, it was concluded that women tend to refrain from reporting all of their information to interviewers due to societal expectations. Since participating in paid work is seen as less respectful for a woman than dedicating her time to household work, many women did not admit to engaging in paid activities, in order to prevent being judged negatively by the community.

As such, the TUS results underestimate the workforce, mainly due to the lack of a reliable investigation method. In Mexico, similar methodological shortcomings have caused the TUS to possess a lesser degree of importance and influence than was expected. The interviewer method has proven to be limited in certain respects; notably regarding the restrictiveness of closed responses, as well as the inadequate questionnaire of closed responses. Finally, a recurrent problem with TUS has also been the lack of updated and recent statistics. Only Mexico benefited from two TUS, in 1996 and 2002 whereas Benin and India must rely on statistics dating from

1998. These numbers have been judged by sceptics as dated, thus excluding them from use in current national reports and policies.

Practical challenges: national and political trends

Aside from these theoretical issues are a set of more practical challenges that have impeded the implementation of TUS results. Despite the increasing awareness of governments and populations worldwide in recent decades regarding women's social, economic and political rights, it is essential that this increased consciousness also be translated into practice by decision makers, something that represents a challenge for many countries. This applies to our three case studies, in varying degrees.

It has been noted for example that although the Beninese government has clearly stated its intention of making policies and budgets gender sensitive, that there has been a subsequent lack of appropriation of the concept of gender equality on the part of decision makers. Gender disparities still plague the economic, social and political contexts in the country, as evidenced by the disparities in income, literacy, and schooling rates, as well as by the number of political positions filled by women.

In India, the lack of appropriation of the concept of gender equality is also due to the attitude of most national economists who are still not sensitive enough to gender issues. Provided that these economists are "re-educated" concerning the interests of gender based economics, we could potentially see a clear evolution on the policy making level. One of the most striking examples of how national policies have in fact served to limit the translation of general gender awareness into concrete policy has been in the judicial system. In Benin for example, although the highly discriminatory Dahomey Code of Customary law was to be repealed as soon as the Persons and Family Code was adopted (it was approved in 2004), given the Dahomey Code's long-standing history in Benin as the de facto code of law, changing people's mentalities and behaviors on the role of women will take a much longer time to achieve.

Questioning the practicality of TUS

The limited financial resources and infrastructure in many countries in the South often limit their ability to carry out TUS as well as to fully capitalize on their findings. In Northern

countries where TUS have been carried out, subsequent implementation of policies has been more efficient because of financial and budgetary resources. In the defense of policy makers in the South, it can be argued that governments often are faced with many other urgent, competing priorities, such as democratization, economic growth, and infrastructure reform, including the restructuring of antiquated judicial systems as noted above. As such, the limited financial resources and the existence of other pressing priorities have created a crowding out effect on addressing gender issues in policy making, thus limiting the use and practicality of TUS. However, it should be recognized that even when facing financial restrictions, there are non-monetary means through which governments can improve the utility of TUS. TUS findings can help refine poverty diagnosis, which can in turn allow them to devise more effective poverty reduction strategies.

III. Recommendations for using TUS to improve the status of women

As lower and middle-income countries strive to address the problems of poverty and gender inequality, TUS can serve as a source of detailed sex-disaggregated data that decision makers can use in devising gender sensitive economic policies, as well as in formulating policies affecting women's employment. By using the data provided by TUS, policy makers can more easily identify priority sectors when making policies that are often constrained by limited resources. Furthermore, if similar methodologies are used in conducting TUS over time, the findings of these surveys may serve as a basis of comparison in order to assess the impact of these policies.

A. Explicitly using TUS to inform employment policy

The results of TUS regarding women and employment very clearly show that there exists a sizeable gender gap to overcome. Governments need to be at the forefront of a shift in policy to make employment more accessible and equitable to women. A legal and institutional framework needs to be established whereby labour laws protect women workers. Equal opportunity laws need to be enacted and enforced and discriminatory practices by employers including dismissal due to pregnancy or breastfeeding must be eliminated. Reforms must also be made to ensure that women have equitable access to economic resources including the right to inheritance and

ownership of land and other property. Similarly, governments should be cautious that international and regional trade agreements do not adversely impact women's economic activities.

In addition to abolishing discriminatory practices, governments need to encourage the creation of pro-women employment policies. Increased women's participation in advisory boards/Board of Directors can facilitate gender sensitive policy making. Some governments, such as that of Bangladesh, even reserve a portion of government positions for women to ensure their equal participation in the public sector.⁶ This may be a relevant model for India where the proportion of women in the public sector is only 14%. In order to address the inordinate burden placed on women who are responsible for both income generation and unpaid care work, policies should be developed that promote the concept of shared family responsibilities. While it may be difficult to enact, child care facilities as well as maternity and paternity leave would greatly reduce the burden placed on women workers.

Increasing access to training and education both before as well as during employment are also essential components to levelling the employment playing field. Regarding this objective, the ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour suggests that enforcing child labour laws along with reducing or abolishing education fees for girls will afford them increased access to education.⁷ In the developing world context, the former recommendation may be difficult to realize as all family members are often mobilized in productive activities to secure the family's livelihood. However, legislation in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child and International Labour Organization standards should be enacted to protect working children, in particular, street children, through the provision of appropriate health, education and other social services.

Finally, governments should support policies that encourage woman entrepreneurs. According to the ILO, women-run businesses are more likely to offer part-time or flexible work, profit sharing, and support services such as child care and reimbursement for tuition.⁸ While sound and stable policies are clearly needed, a non-discriminatory legal framework must also be established in order to create a hospitable climate for women. This includes reviewing existing laws to ensure that they do not discriminate against women. In addition, simplifying

⁶ UNDP, 1993. HDR Bangladesh

⁷ ILO, IPEC website : <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/index.htm>

⁸ ILO website : www.ilo.org/dyn/gender/gender.home

administrative and bureaucratic procedures for business activities as well as ensuring access to credit and capital can encourage woman's entrepreneurship. It is also essential to develop outreach programs to inform low-income women, particularly those in remote areas, regarding opportunities for market and technology access and assistance in taking advantage of such opportunities. Finally, creating associations of women entrepreneurs can create a safe and supportive environment for women to share expertise, provide assistance, and promote gender sensitive policies collaboratively.⁹

B. Explicitly using TUS to inform economic policy

Monetary Policy

Promoting female entrepreneurship through gender sensitive policies and the creation of a hospitable business climate is a necessary but insufficient step to ensuring successful women-owned businesses. In addition to benefiting from a non-discriminatory framework, women need access to credit. This is a particular challenge in developing countries where traditional credit sources' (e.g. banks) selection processes often render low-income people ineligible. In addition to the standard obstacles associated with financial institutions, poor women find themselves at a greater disadvantage due both to their higher levels of illiteracy and laws that forbid or discourage them from owning land or other fixed capital that could be used as collateral. Other practices, such as requiring a male head of household signatory also discourage women from accessing credit.¹⁰

Recent ILO studies in developing countries place the lack of capital, especially in the start-up period, as the largest obstacle cited by women micro entrepreneurs.¹¹ In this context, it is important to encourage traditional financial institutions to adopt innovative policies to reduce transaction costs, redefine risk, rethink minimum deposit requirements for opening a bank account and simplify application and monitoring procedures in order to mobilize credit for low-income women.

In addition to traditional institutions, governments should provide incentives to alternative funding sources, specifically micro-credit institutions that cater to rural and low-income women.

⁹ Center of Concern. *Background Packet WTO +10 meets Beijing +10*. 2004. The recommendations cited are based upon information in this document.

¹⁰ UNIFEM, 2002.

¹¹ ILO, 1998.

These agencies are often more successful at reaching the most vulnerable and remote populations by forging links with non-governmental organizations, instituting mobile credit offices to reduce transaction costs, providing necessary business training and support and hiring staff from client communities to increase cultural competence and legitimacy with the borrowing community. The Beninese government for example has taken significant steps in promoting micro-credit by developing a Decentralised Financial System of micro-credit institutions specifically targeting rural low income women. From 1998 to 2002 alone, the average value of loans has increased by 58% each year.

In addition to improving the economic situation of women, microfinance programs can increase women's social and political standing. Increased participation in business associations or solidarity groups allow women to serve as mentors and to be more connected to and involved in their communities in a leadership capacity. However, recently more and more cases of male family members taking over women's loan money to start their own businesses are being reported. This is why the *SEAGA Guide to Gender Sensitive Micro-Finance* cautions the importance of examining both women's and men's economic and social position in the family and not assuming that an increase in household income translates automatically to an increase in women's well-being.¹²

The successful microfinance program will not only target women, but will have a client-led gender sensitive approach. Once credit is secured, small businesses need support services such as technology training and women's business associations in order to flourish. For example, the SEWA Bank in India provides not only credit but also health and property insurance for their clients.¹³ Microfinance institutions also help clients establish credit so that in the future, women can benefit from larger loans to expand their activities. With socio-economic and gender issues now firmly on the agenda of multi and bi-lateral donors, they should support these activities by providing technical assistance and targeted funding to programs that cater to low-income and rural women.¹⁴

Fiscal Policy

¹² Boros, 2001.

¹³ Nanavaty, 2004.

¹⁴ Center of Concern. *Background Packet WTO +10 meets Beijing +10*. 2004. The recommendations cited are based upon information in this document.

The statistical findings and recommendations of TUS can also be used to inform gender sensitive fiscal policy. By channeling these resources in a gender sensitive manner, the effects of such policies may have a proportionately greater positive effect on women than policies that do not take into account women's time use and their heavy work burden.

Developing countries often however face considerable challenges in raising scarce resources to implement necessary gender sensitive reforms. Traditionally, a government might either reduce state social spending or institute a tax increase to raise needed revenue. Both of these propositions pose unique challenges. Firstly, cuts in social services deeply impact women's lives. As Yassine Fall, Senior Policy Advisor to the United Nations Millennium Project warns, "what happened to gender-based violence, reproductive health, employment and the freedom to choose when governments had to keep public expenditure down and cut the provision of services?"¹⁵ Cuts in such services threaten the wellbeing of women and their families.

Increasing taxes also poses a variety of challenges and potential pitfalls on the road to gender sensitive fiscal policy. Firstly, the informal structure of many developing economies where agricultural and informal workers do not receive a regular wage and are often paid in cash makes creating a stable tax base more difficult. As such, a part of the population cannot be reached by the tax net, due to the weak tax enforcement and administration systems. A large proportion of the population is also simply too poor to pay taxes, which creates a very narrow effective tax base. The narrower the tax base, the higher the rate must be, which can result in greater incentives for tax evasions and corruption – a vicious cycle that paralyzes the country's ability to generate public funds. "In conclusion, in developing countries, tax policy is often the art of the possible rather than the pursuit of the optimal"¹⁶.

Secondly, a lack of human capital necessary to hire well-trained tax administrators; a lack of resources to pay a good wage to tax officials; a lack of infrastructure to keep accurate records (computer, telephone, postal services); and a lack of knowledge on the part of taxpayers on how to keep accounts renders the task even more difficult. Thirdly, many developing countries are marked by an uneven distribution of wealth. Intuitively governments could respond by taxing the rich more heavily than the poor. But, in countries lacking a transparent legal system, the economic and political power of rich citizens may thwart efforts at implementing fiscal reforms

¹⁵ Commission on the Status of Women, 2005.

¹⁶ Tanzi and Zee, 2000.

that would increase their tax burden. Finally, it is important for developing countries to harmonize tax, trade and industrial policies.¹⁷ However, in order to reduce trade taxes, countries must create other sources of revenue. This will be discussed in the following section. However, the shift to reliance on other forms of taxes (such as consumption taxes) has not resolved the problem of budget deficits.

An emphasis on fiscal decentralization has been part of the tax policy of many developing countries in recent decades. This theory consists of allocating expenditure and taxing responsibilities to provincial and municipal levels of government, based on the idea that citizens in a particular region or location can decide on their own preferences and willingness to pay for certain local services. However, this system can have serious equity implications. In many local areas, as was mentioned earlier, there is practically no tax base at all. But most often, taxation has no link with the ability of the taxpayer to pay, hence imposing an unfair burden on the poor and especially on poor women.

In addition to these structural difficulties in implementing taxes, there are often serious negative repercussions on the well-being of women once taxes are imposed. This is true of commodity taxes (VAT, sales, excise). While researchers at the IMF recommend that the VAT should be more systematically incorporated, specifically into the services, wholesale, and retail sectors in order to maximize the revenue raising benefit, these taxes impose a greater tax burden on the poor than on the rich because the poor spend most or all of their income on basic consumption. Again, Yassine Fall warns, “what happened when direct taxes like the value added tax (VAT) was increased on cooking gas, and when user fees had to be paid for health and education, or when the tax on transport was increased?”¹⁸ Again, while these taxes may be efficient in raising revenue, they can result in a decrease in women’s welfare.

The IMF also recommends establishing a selective excise tax system on goods that are “inelastic” in demand such as tobacco and alcohol.¹⁹ However, it is important to note here that while this may have revenue raising potential, it is not necessarily a gender sensitive approach and may therefore fail to address gender inequalities. This sort of taxation can have adverse effects as was the case with a similar legislation, the Alcohol License Fee, in India in the 1980s in the state

¹⁷ Tanzi, 2001.

¹⁸ Commission on the Status of Women, 2005.

¹⁹ Tanzi, 2001.

of Andhra Pradesh. To increase revenue from alcohol licenses, the state government promoted the extension of licensing and distribution, thus creating an increase of consumption of alcohol, especially among poor men, which had a negative impact on household budgets and also led to an increase in domestic violence.²⁰

Governments must be conscious of these challenges and pitfalls when attempting to establish a reliable tax base in order to support a stable and growing economy while supporting efforts to achieve gender equity. According to researchers at the IMF, “the ideal tax system ... should raise essential revenue without excessive government borrowing, and should do so without discouraging economic activity and without deviating too much from tax systems in other countries.”²¹ Gender sensitive economists add that special attention must be paid to establishing a tax system, including the *type* of taxes as well as *amount* of taxation that does not place an inordinate burden on the poor and specifically on women.

However, perhaps more important than the level of taxation is how tax revenue is employed by the government. Indeed, many countries in the South have stressed reprioritization rather than an increase in overall government expenditure.²² This has also been accompanied by a trend in reorienting government activity rather than changing the overall amounts allocated to particular sectors. Yet there are still numerous challenges concerning financial constraints imposed by the macroeconomic environment of developing countries which often do not satisfy pro-poor and gender sensitive requirements. Reaching the audiences targeted by the fiscal initiatives is also a considerable challenge.

In order to integrate a more gender sensitive approach on taxation, one approach could include reforms in the taxation of goods mainly used by women. As the TUS have shown, women generally provide the reproductive and care services to the economy without payment. This is a form of tax in itself, and has been called ‘reproductive tax’ by scholars. Developing countries could for example afford women certain fiscal considerations in terms of tax exemption from goods that they primarily use. These include items of reproductive health and hygiene, items used for childcare, and other items related to household functions such as cooking, mending and

²⁰ Barnett, 2004.

²¹ Tanzi, 2001.

²² UNIFEM, 2000.

washing clothes. It is necessary to establish incentives that benefit poor women directly, and make existing incentive laws more easily administered to the most needy.

Budgetary Policy

Fiscal and budgetary policies are fundamentally distribution policies; attempts to decide how to allocate public expenditures with the revenues collected through taxes. Budgetary policies that take into account the poor and women are not simply about allocating special resources to them; they also constitute a means through which the budget itself can be more equitable. If a government invests in an infrastructure program for public works to create employment, it will benefit both men and women. But for whom does this program create employment? In many countries, construction workers are men, and therefore although the government may have met overall employment objectives through this policy, they may have completely neglected employment opportunities for women. In this section, we will attempt to see how governments can further their development goals through gender sensitive policies and initiatives that follow up on the results highlighted by TUS.

In Benin, the government has taken actions to promote the economic situation of women through targeted budgetary policies. In the Beninese government's Plan of Action (2001-2006), it has addressed the issues of education, health and women's autonomy. The Plan of Action (2001-2006) contains many policies including: supporting the teaching of reading and writing to women and teenagers, implementing a support program for girls enrolling in higher education and reinforcing nutritional surveillance of mothers and children between zero and five years of age. As such, the government has committed itself to increasing the rate of education for girls from 65% to 80% in primary education and from 10% to 20% in secondary education by 2006, through focusing on policies similar to those previously mentioned.

To achieve these goals, the Beninese government has stated that it will continue the construction of girls' boarding houses for secondary education, the strengthening of the activities of the network for girls' education, as well as the provision of grants to primary schools in order to make it possible for the schools to exonerate girls from tuition fees. However, the Beninese government also needs to address other crucial issues that were highlighted in the TUS such as the burden of fetching water and firewood, tasks often assumed by women. In these cases, the government could apply certain public expenditures that have pro-woman allocations but actually

benefit the entire community, such as through the provision of a nearby access to drinking water, fuel and improved energy resources.

In Mexico, TUS results have revealed that women spend most of their time taking care of children and sick household members. The National Program for the Equality of Opportunities and Against the Discrimination of Women, PROEQUIDAD, brings particular attention to the lack of childcare facilities. Consequently, investing in such facilities could potentially have a significant impact upon women's time use. A similar lack of support is to be noted in programs dedicated to the care for the elderly and the sick. To address this situation, in 1996, the Mexican NGO Equidad de Género, Ciudadanía, Trabajo y Familia began to work on public budgets from a gender perspective, and associated itself with another NGO, Fundar, in order to influence budgets and policies. Their first programme was funded by the Ford Foundation in order to help women leaders understand local budgets and use their knowledge in advocacy work.

However, they ran into obstacles related to the itemisation of areas of study, such as reproductive health and poverty, in their budgets. It is therefore important to note that limited changes in budget policies are not always a result of lack of advocacy work or political will. Often it is because policies do not change as a result of single initiatives, and that most often those involved often do not have the power themselves to change budgets. According to Debbie Budlender, "this lack of power is clearly the case for civil society actors."²³

Investing In Gender Sensitive Budget Initiatives

As we have discussed, budgets can impact women and men differently through the provision of goods and services, income transfers and taxation revenues influencing macroeconomic aggregates. It is therefore necessary to question the assumption that budgetary policies are 'gender neutral' in their impact, and to examine the role of gender sensitive budget initiatives in providing a greater consistency between economic and social goals.

There are three major goals to any Gender Sensitive Budget (GSB)²⁴:

- 1) to raise awareness of gender issues and of the impacts of budgets and policies;
- 2) to make governments accountable for translating their gender equality commitments into budgetary commitments;

²³ Budlender, 2004.

²⁴ Sharp, 2003.

3) to change budgets and policies in order to promote standards of gender equality.

Through these goals, GSB can allow governments to obtain efficiency gains by improving budgetary performance and optimizing the use of limited resources in developing countries. The condition for an accurate GSB is first and foremost accurate information and gender-disaggregated data to monitor and encourage government accountability. This is why GSB are seen an important tool for analyzing the gap between public commitments by governments and how the money is in fact spent.

A key weakness of such initiatives has been the absence of clear targets and strategies, as well as monitoring mechanisms and accountability measures. In developing countries, this can be linked to a lack of transparency of governments towards their citizens. It is therefore recommended for GSB to enhance civil society and popular participation in the elaboration and implementation of these initiatives. This requires first and foremost user-friendly data and information. In order for these initiatives to be more readily understood by civil society actors, they need to be linked to training programs that will enhance capacity building on the local level.²⁵

Satellite Accounts

The SNA, which sets the rules for national accounts, states that unpaid care work must not be included in the calculation of GDP, but rather in ‘satellite’ accounts drawn in parallel to the ‘core’ national accounts. Most economists will support this separation although it may involve the risk of having scant attention paid to unpaid care, since it would gain more visibility by being included in the ‘core’ national accounts.²⁶ The Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) favors this separation, while acknowledging its detrimental effects in distorting the magnitude and importance of unpaid care work and most importantly of women’s contribution to national economies.

Mexico has been a frontrunner in developing a satellite account to cost the care economy. A pilot exercise was run using 1996 TUS data. The results of the 1996 TUS were used by the director of the Satellite Accounts at INEGI to estimate the value of unpaid household, with the wider goal of increasing its visibility. INEGI developed two exercises based upon different price sources, in order to assure a greater degree of certainty. Both exercises differentiate between unpaid household work and voluntary community services.

²⁵ Baker. 2002.

²⁶ Murgatroyd. 1997.

In both cases similar results were obtained. In 1996, unpaid household work in Mexico contributed to roughly 17% of GDP, of which women contribute roughly 14% and men approximately 3%. While the results with respect to the proportion of GDP were similar in both exercises, there were significant differences in the value accorded to the activities and therefore in their aggregation by gender, due to the different prices used in each exercise. Based on the results of these two exercises, it would seem that Satellite Accounts have the potential of representing the contribution that unpaid household work makes to GDP. However, in looking at a more detailed break-down of men and women's contributions to this work, the results varied significantly depending on different sources used. We can only conclude that the development of a Satellite Account for household work is in an embryonic stage, and that due to such disparities their validity is, as yet, unsure.

There is therefore a need to work on generalizing the use of Satellite Accounts and making them more relevant in terms of measuring and quantifying the work of women in the unpaid care economy. This is where TUS results will undoubtedly make a difference by clearly demonstrating how women's contributions impact GDP.

As stated earlier, TUS provide data that quantitatively describe many social phenomena that are generally already accepted as common knowledge. However, neither employment nor economic policy is made simply based on common knowledge. Hence the need for quantitative data that TUS provide, as well as the need for increased investment in the development of Satellite Accounts.

Conclusion

The use of TUS in the three low and middle-income countries studied herein speaks to the growing recognition given to the role of women in development, and to the importance of taking into account their work, both paid and unpaid, in development policies. The case studies of Benin, Mexico and India highlight the significant potential added value of TUS. However, as this report has shown, TUS are still a work in progress and their explicit use has been the exception rather than the norm due to a variety of factors.

Nevertheless, TUS remain a relevant and important tool for policy making. Specifically, the wealth of statistical findings obtained through TUS can be mobilized to inform gender sensitive employment and economic policies. The central question that remains is whether the

benefits of TUS outweigh their costs both financially and administratively for governments and international organizations. After our examination of TUS in Benin, India and Mexico, we conclude that the potential for TUS to positively inform policy, as outlined in the recommendations in Part III, remains high despite current trends of under-utilization.

In order to more fully understand the issues affecting this under-utilization, we suggest that a next possible step could be to conduct interviews with economists, statisticians, government officials and policy makers, NGOs, women's organizations and others on the country level to better understand what, from their points of view, are the principle roadblocks that prevent TUS results from being more fully used in policy making. To this end we have prepared a questionnaire (Annex IV, page 114) that may be used to help ascertain not only what these roadblocks may be, but how people on the ground envision overcoming them.

It is clear that increased attention needs to be paid to TUS, and that policy decisions need to capitalize on their results. However, in order to achieve this there needs to be a continuing evolution of perceptions regarding the role of women in general, and specifically as active contributors to national production. There likewise needs to be an increased appropriation of the concept of gender equality on behalf of many decision makers. Should these changes evolve in a positive direction, not only do TUS represent an essential tool in quantitatively recognizing the importance of women's role in the economy, but they may also play a fundamental role in formulating gender sensitive policies and budgets.

Annex I: **Benin**

Prepared by
Gabriel Brunnich and Anne-Laure Radas
June 2005

Introduction

I. Benin's 1998 TUS

- A. Context
- B. Methodology
- C. Conclusions

II. Actions taken to promote gender equality in Benin

- A. Engagements made in national reports
- B. Translation into national strategy
- C. Concrete action

III. Challenges in translating engagements to address gender inequality into action

- A. Insufficient but increasing appropriation of the concept of gender equality by decision makers and political authorities
- B. Lack of capitalization of TUS

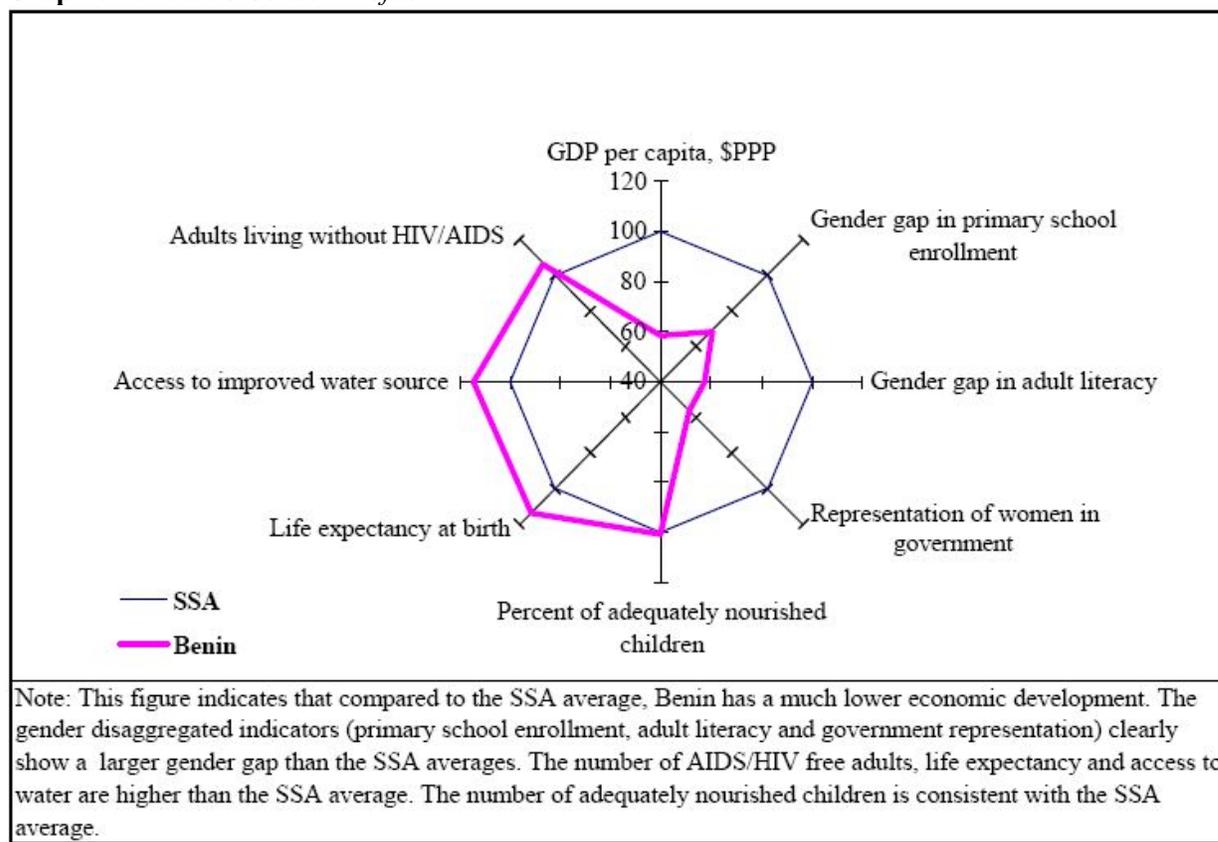
Conclusion

List of Tables
List of Frames
List of Graphics

Introduction

Benin's Gender Profile

Graphic 1: Benin's Gender Profile



Source: SCGA, Benin, 2002.

In 2002, women constituted 51.4% of the Beninese population,²⁷ and it was estimated that over 20% of urban households were headed by women.²⁸ Although there is some variation in rural areas, The Strategic Country Gender Assessment (2002) found that in Kandi as many as “41% of women were solely responsible for themselves and their children.” According to the Report on the Economic and Social Situation in Benin (2002), 57.7% of women were engaged in economic activities, and women’s contributions to the economy accounted for 47% of Benin’s GDP.²⁹ In small-scale agriculture, which accounted for 40% of GDP and employed 70% of the population in 2002, women accounted for 60 to 80% of production.³⁰ The same report also noted that the informal sector provided employment for 86.4% of women.

²⁷ Report on the Economic and Social Situation In Benin, 2002.

²⁸ Strategic Country Gender Assessment, Benin, 2002.

²⁹ Strategic Country Gender Assessment, Benin, 2002.

³⁰ Strategic Country Gender Assessment, Benin, 2002.

Such data has contributed to an increasing recognition on behalf of the Beninese authorities of women as central to the country's development. This recognition came partly in response to the 1998 TUS that served to shed light on the large amount of time women dedicate to activities within the care economy. The findings of the 1998 TUS were used in preparing Benin's 1998 Human Development Report, a full chapter of which is dedicated to analyzing the TUS as an essential tool for socio-economic analysis and policy-making. The findings also reaffirmed the need for women's needs to be taken into account when devising government strategy given their considerable contributions to national production.

Seven years after Benin's first and only TUS was carried out however, whether or not the findings from this survey have in fact been used to inform government strategy remains doubtful. The following annex will address some of the challenges that Benin faces in translating their engagements to address gender inequality into action, including the difficulties of fully capitalizing on the 1998 TUS findings. The annex will also address the methodology, results and context in which the TUS was carried out, as well as the actions that Benin has taken to promote gender equality.

I. Benin's 1998 TUS: Context, Methodology, Results

A. Context

The decision to conduct Benin's first TUS in 1998 emerged during the preparation of the country's second Human Development Report, whose main focus was analyzing the situation of women and on reducing gender inequalities. At this time, there was a steadily growing awareness and recognition of the importance of women in the development process. Three of the most salient events on the international level marking this increasing awareness were:

1. the Fourth Revision of the System of National Accounts in 1993 that mentions and maintains a definition of work that, while still restrictive, is broader than previous definitions in calculating GDP. This more extensive definition also identifies those activities destined exclusively to the auto-consumption of households as economic activities. Referring to this broader definition of work effectively serves to open the possibility of elaborating satellite accounts, which serve to better ascertain women's contribution to production as well as the impact of their contribution on GDP.

2. the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995; and
3. the publication of the UNDP's Human Development Report also published in 1995, which was dedicated to assessing the role of gender in human development.

Benin's decision therefore to focus its 1998 Human Development Report on addressing questions of gender inequalities and the role of women, as well as its decision to conduct its first TUS the same year, similarly indicate a growing awareness of the importance of women's role in the development process, as well as in national production. In effect, Benin is one of the first countries in Africa, and among developing countries in general, to have conducted a national Time Use Survey,³¹ and provides an enlightening case study through which the use (or non-use) of the results of TUS can be studied.

Although the impetus behind carrying out the 1998 TUS was primarily in response to the UNDP's concerns regarding the preparation of the Human Development Report,³² there was already a growing awareness and recognition of women's role in society in Benin. Since the Conference of Live Forces of the Nation (*Conférence des Forces Vives de la Nation*) in February 1990, Benin had been demonstrating a clear commitment to address gender inequalities by undertaking a number of engagements to address discrimination against women and promote gender equality. Consequently, investing in conducting a TUS was clearly not in disaccord with Benin's existing approach to address gender inequality.

Frame 1: *Benin's principal engagements to address gender discrimination and inequality*

- Integration of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (*Charte Africaine des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples*) into the Constitution, adopted on December 11, 1990.
- Ratification of the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (1992); signing of the Optional Protocol; submission of report detailing how Benin is complying with the treaty conditions.³³

³¹ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

³² Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

³³ www.un.org/womenwatch

- Organization of a conference on the integration of women in development (*Colloque sur l'intégration de la femme au développement*) (1992).
- Establishing the National Commission for the Integration of Women in Development (*Commission Nationale pour l'Intégration de la Femme au Développement*) (1993).
- Establishing the Direction of the Feminine Condition (*Direction de la Condition Féminin*) (1996).
- Adopting the Declaration of Population Policy (*Déclaration de Politique de Population*) (1996).
- Establishing the Ministry of Family, Social Protection and Solidarity (*Ministère de la Famille, de la Protection Sociale et de la Solidarité*) (1998).
- Dedicating the 1998 National Human Development Report to analyzing the situation of women and gender inequalities in Benin.
- Adoption of a National Policy on the Promotion of Women (*Politique Nationale de Promotion de la Femme*) (2001).³⁴
- Adoption of law N°2003-03 making different forms of genital mutilation illegal (2003).
- Approval of the Persons and Family Code (*Code des Personnes et de la Famille*) (2004).

Within this context of heightened acceptance of the need to address gender inequality, Benin, in cooperation with the UNDP, agreed to conduct its first TUS. The principal objective of this survey was to compare the situation of women to that of men in order to better ascertain women's contribution to economic and domestic activity. However, it appears that there has been a significant under-utilization of the TUS findings as a tool to refine Benin's poverty reduction and development strategies. A discussion of the (non)use of TUS in national reports such as Benin's CCA, PRSP, HDRs, and MDG Report, will be discussed in detail in part III.

³⁴ Indice de développement et des inégalités entre les sexes en Afrique, 2004.

B. Methodology

While considerable costs, both in terms of time and money, involved in conducting TUS may often deter countries from performing such surveys, in the Beninese context, it was possible to minimize these costs by combining the TUS within the framework of the annual household surveys of urban households (ELAM) in Benin's five principal cities, and a survey on the living conditions of rural households (ECVR). The TUS was therefore able to use both the existing framework and sample selections already used in the ELAM and ECVR surveys.

Conducted since 1990 by the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Analysis (INSAE) and with support from the UNDP, the ELAM surveys include a specific section addressing pertinent structural or cyclical questions and/or addressing a particular issue of importance to official users. In 1998, this section was dedicated to time use.

The 1998 TUS was conducted over the period of March to April (mid-March to mid-April for rural settings, to April for urban settings), a period marked by low agricultural work, a variable that should be taken into account when comparing data between urban and rural settings.³⁵

The TUS was carried out in two stages: the first consisting of selecting the rural and urban areas to be studied; the second consisting of the selection of the families to be studied. With regards to who in the families would be interviewed, age limits of six to sixty-five were established.

Table 1: *Number of households and individuals participating in the TUS*

	Urban Households	Rural Households
# of Households Selected	1,787	1,419
# of Individuals Interviewed	5,834	6,770

It is important to note that results from the TUS are presented according to milieu (urban or rural) and have not been aggregated at the national level as they do not represent the respective weight of both urban and rural sectors of the entire population. However, when calculating the place of non-market activities within GDP, the findings from the sample of the TUS will have to

³⁵ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

be extrapolated for the national level.³⁶ This should not be seen as a problem however, as the TUS results for active men and women between the ages of 15 and 49 can be considered to be representative of average Beninese active adults, and can therefore be used to make national comparisons.

The TUS was conducted in the form of a retrospective survey by interview. The objectives and contents of the survey were presented to the respondents the day prior to the day about which they were to be questioned. At this initial meeting, a date was also set for the interviewer to return to the household to collect information about the respondents' activities (economic, domestic, social and other actions not considered activities such as eating and sleeping) during the course of the selected day. Consequently, in order to take into consideration that particular days regularly carry lighter or heavier work burdens, the interviewers were informed to conduct their interviews in such a way as to collect information relevant to all of the days of the week.

Additionally, if the day of the interview happened to coincide with a day entirely dedicated to social activities, such as a wedding or bereavement, the interviewer was to suggest another day to return to discuss the activities of that particular day.

The meeting between the interviewer and the respondent consisted of walking through the different activities completed by the respondent during the twenty-four hours in question. During the interviews, the interviewer checked off the activities identified by the respondent that corresponded to each fifteen minute slot of the day, beginning when the respondent woke up that morning, and finishing when they went to bed that night; or that corresponded to the events of the previous day, starting at four o'clock in the morning. When activities were done simultaneously, a circle was made around the checkmark. If in verifying the completed questionnaires, omissions were noted, they were systematically corrected by attributing the missing fifteen minutes to the following activity.

The questionnaire was comprised of a list of 63 different activities divided into the following 9 categories:

³⁶ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

1. Market activities
2. Non-market activities
3. Domestic activities
4. Group social activities
5. Social activities of a ceremonial nature and other activities of socializing
6. Transport, traveling
7. Leisure
8. Non-activity
- 8b. Studies and literacy
9. Other, non-classified activities

Finally, as participating in TUS is a rather time-consuming process, participants were given gifts of appreciation, namely T-shirts bearing the logo of the survey to thank them for their participation. The rates of non-responses and of those refusing to participate were low, and it was noted that in general, the survey encountered no particular difficulties.

C. Results

The following section addresses some of the major findings in the TUS. In order to properly interpret the results, they should be understood as representing daily averages over the course of a week.

The results from the TUS are divided into five main categories; with the findings in each of these categories being subsequently broken down according to sex, age, socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the household, the environment and the location of the household.

- I) Time use for all members of the households (6 to 65 years old)**
- II) Time use for youth (6 to 14 years old)**
- III) Time use for active and inactive adults (15 to 49 years old)**
- IV) Time use for active and inactive adults (50 to 65 years old)**
- V) Time use for certain categories particular to the population**

I) Time use for all members of the households

- 1) There are more women than men in the active population, defined as the ensemble of people of a working age exercising an economic activity in the strict sense of the term

(that is to say, activities whose finished product is destined, at least in part, to be sold on the market.)

- a. The TUS identified that the proportion of women present in the active population is greater than 50%, whereas the population census identified only slightly more than 40% of women as being present in the active population. This finding supports the belief that TUS are more accurate than the traditional population census in measuring women's economic activity and consequently in measuring the proportion of women in the active population.
- 2) The average number of hours that women dedicate to economic market activities in the strict sense of the term is less than that of men.
- 3) The deficit in the number of hours that women consecrate to economic market activities is completely compensated by the time they consecrate to economic non-market activities, in both rural and urban settings.

It is in rural settings however where this finding is the starkest: all of women's economic activities (both market and non-market) take up 21.1% of their time over the course of one day; whereas for men, the percent of time they dedicate to economic activities (both market and non-market) is only 19.7%.

The TUS also highlighted that women's principle non-market activity is fetching water. In theory, after the 4th revision of the System of National Accounts in 1993, this activity should be included in the calculation of GDP, or should be in the process of becoming included in calculating GDP. However, in practice, this is not yet the case.

- 4) If domestic activities are taken into account, the time women spend working is more than 43% greater than the time men spend working. This is true in urban as well as in rural settings.

Table 2: % of the day spent working

	Women		Men	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Total time spent working (market, non-market and domestic activities)	29.8%	34.7%	20.7%	24.2%

Time spent on education and leisure activities is, however where we can observe the most flagrant disparities between men and women. These statistics demonstrate the very limited occasions that women have to fulfill their personal desires to grow and learn beyond the confines of the home, given the heavy burden of their daily tasks.³⁷

Table 3: % of the day spent on leisure and educational activities

	Women		Men	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Leisure	3.9%	2.3%	6.8%	5.2%
Education	4.7%	2.2%	7.7%	4.9%

II) Time use for youth (6 to 14 years old)

- 1) Girls and boys in the same setting dedicate the same amount of time to studying at home. However, girls and boys in urban settings spend 2 times more time studying at home than do girls and boys in rural settings.

The TUS also confirms what was already known regarding the disparity of level of schooling between girls and boys: girls' rate of education is much lower than that of boys. These imbalances come from girls' greater participation in economic market and non-market activities, and particularly in domestic activities.

³⁷ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

Table 4: % of girls and boys attending school

Urban		Rural	
Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
49.6%	63.7%	27.4%	41.9%

The TUS further identifies that from a very young age, girls also spend less time on leisure activities than boys do.

- 2) In rural settings, girls and boys dedicate more time to working than studying either at school or at home than do girls and boys in urban settings. Nevertheless, in both settings girls spend more time engaged in work than do their male counterparts.
- 3) In urban settings, uneducated girls and boys spend more time working than educated girls and boys spend both studying and working; in rural settings, uneducated girls and boys spend just as much time working as educated girls and boys spend both studying and working. Furthermore, in rural settings, but especially in urban settings, uneducated girls dedicate practically a third of their day working.

This last observation suggests that the time “saved” by uneducated boys and girls in rural settings by not going to school, is in effect spent working.³⁸ The importance of child labor as demonstrated in these results thus highlights one of the most significant challenges to children being able to pursue an education.

III) Time use for active and inactive adults (15 to 49 years old)

- 1) In rural settings, the proportion of women continuing their studies beyond the age of 14 is insignificant.

Table 5: % of women and men between the ages of 15 and 49 continuing their studies after the age of 14

Urban		Rural	
Women	Men	Women	Men
9.4%	20.3%	0.2%	9%

³⁸ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

- 2) Adult women work 2 to 3 hours more than do men, both in urban and rural settings.
- 3) Given their time spent working, women spend half the time that men do on social and leisure activities, both in urban and rural settings.

The following 6 observations address the situation of active men and women, and can be understood as the standard norms for the active Beninese population. They can therefore be understood to represent trends at the national level.

- 4) Active women and men spend approximately the same amount of time carrying out an economic activity: in urban settings it is 8 hours, 40 minutes for women, and 9 hours for men; in rural settings it is 7 hours, 45 minutes for both men and women.
- 5) If domestic activities are taken into consideration, the time active women spend working is 17% higher than that of men in urban settings and 28% higher in rural settings.
- 6) Active women work almost 2 hours more than men in urban settings, and they work more than two-and-a-half hours more than men in rural settings.

Table 6: Number of hours spent per day on various activities for active men and women between the ages of 15 and 49

	Women		Men	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Work (market, non-market and domestic activities)	11 hours 30 minutes	11 hours	9 hours 45 minutes	8 hours 35 minutes
Domestic activities alone	2 hours 50 minutes	3 hours 15 minutes	0 hours 45 minutes	0 hours 50 minutes
Social activities (including leisure activities)	1 hour	1 hour	2 hours	2 hours 35 minutes

- 7) In urban settings, inactive homemakers spend 2 times more time attending to domestic tasks than their active counterparts, but their workday is less than half of that of active women.
- 8) In rural settings, the workday of inactive women is only 27% less than that of active women.

Therefore, given the broader definition of work used in the 1993 revision of the SNA, a large number of the women in this group (rural and inactive) should be in fact classified as active.³⁹

- 9) In urban settings, the time spent by inactive men to social and leisure activities is two-and-a half times higher than the time spent working.

³⁹ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

However, inactive men, especially in rural settings, also spend more time on domestic activities than do their active counterparts.

IV) Time use for active and inactive adults (50 to 65 years old)

- 1) For active men and women in urban settings, the reduction in time spent on economic activities is entirely compensated by the increase in time spent on social activities. In rural settings however, active women are able to increase their participation in market activities (by means of a secondary activity) given the role of young people in tending to domestic tasks and non-market activities.
- 2) Time spent resting for inactive men and women increases significantly in relation to inactive men and women between the ages of 15 and 49.

V) Time use for certain categories particular to the population

- 1) Regardless of sex, salaried and independent workers in urban settings experience approximately the same duration of work time in exercising their principle market activity.
- 2) Salaried women engage less in domestic activities than independent women. Salaried women also consecrate more time to leisure activities than any other category of women. Nevertheless, salaried women still spend less time on leisure activities than men.
- 3) While non-married women have a lighter workload than married women and spend less time on domestic tasks, non-married women also spend more time than married women on economic market activities.
- 4) In urban settings, 26.1% of the heads of households are women, whereas in rural settings, only 12.5% of the heads of households are women.

Conclusions

Time-use surveys are an excellent way to provide the much needed gender-disaggregated data that more traditional surveys, such as those used for the national census, are unable to offer. The added value in TUSs lies in the fact that they:

1. improve the visibility of women in the economy and in society, and thus provide a better, more complete understanding of the economy and of society; and
2. reveal obstacles that may prevent the improvement of the situation of women.

Simply by taking into consideration non-market activities, women's rate of participation attains that of men; whereas it remained inferior to that of men when only declared market activities were considered.⁴⁰ Furthermore, when all domestic and non-market activities that could potentially be consigned to a third party, and that could therefore be given a market value, are included in the definition of *work*, women's workdays become much more taxing than that of men. This fact can explain to a large extent why women's rate of participation in social and leisure activities is so much lower than that of men.⁴¹

Recognizing the important role that women play in national production is but the first step towards improving their status in society. By formally and quantitatively recognizing what was already known informally, TUS may serve to lay the ground work for gender sensitive public policies that provide women more opportunities to participate actively in social life, in education, in the development process, and in the life of the nation in general.⁴²

II. Actions taken to promote gender equality in Benin

A. Engagements made in national reports

Following the completion of its TUS, Benin has complied with requests from international organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations to publish reports that include national efforts to address gender equality. Among these reports are Benin's Common Country Assessment published in 2002, its Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for 2003-2005; its first

⁴⁰ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

⁴¹ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

⁴² Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

report, published in 2003, on efforts taken to meet the MDGs; and six Human Development Reports, the second of which being entirely developed to addressing gender inequality and the role of women in Benin.

- *Common Country Assessment, 2002*

This document from the United Nations system was prepared in collaboration with the government of Benin. It includes a chapter on Population, Gender and Development that evokes most gender issues in Benin, touching on issues of poverty, health, the structural economic roles of men/women, social and cultural norms, and the duality of the legal system. No mention is made of the 1998 TUS, and no suggestions are made regarding how to concretely address the issues highlighted in the TUS. It appears that this document mostly aims at raising awareness on such issues, rather than on proposing actions to address them.

What is striking in this document however, is that it contains no mention at all to the 1998 TUS whereas it directly uses a wide range of other ground surveys, some of which are over twenty years old, such as the 1979 and 1992 RGPH (general census of the population and dwelling) and the 1986-1987 EBC (study on budget and consumption). Explaining the non-use of Benin's TUS due to the fact that it may be considered "outdated" would, given the use of these other surveys, thus be a rather weak argument.

- *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2002*

Benin's PRSP is a diagnosis of poverty in Benin that determines government objectives and priority measures for reducing the poverty between 2003 and 2005. Development associations, women's organizations, professional associations, religious institutes, central and local administrations, traditional chiefs, external donors, the Economic and Social Council as well as the federation of civil society organizations all participated in preparing the PRSP.

The *Joint Staff Assessment* of the PRSP prepared by the IDA and the IMF declared it to be a credible document, praising it for its comprehensiveness, its effort to make linkages between policy action and result indicators and on the fact that it provided a detailed comprehensive medium-term expenditure framework. The PRSP is based on the 1999-2000 household surveys and on the 2001 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), but contains no direct mention to the

1998 TUS. However, the Joint Staff Assessment suggests that Benin should produce disaggregated data on men and women and on urban and rural areas, apparently implying this had not yet been done.

Benin's Strategic Country Gender Assessment (SCGA) published in 2002, which served as a briefing note for Benin's PRSP and Country Assistance Strategy (CAS), makes several suggestions regarding how gender issues can be integrated into the PRSP. The SCGA directly uses the 1998 TUS in its discussion of the structural economic roles of men and women and makes specific note of women's particular labor and time constraints. The SCGA also analyzes the interdependence of household and market economies, and advocates designing policies on "labor-saving" criterion which could translate into investing in areas such as water and sanitation, transportation, domestic energy or food processing tasks.

Frame 2: *Objectives that should be addressed by the PRSP according to the SCGA*

- Fill the knowledge/data gap concerning men's and women's economic roles and the gender dimension of poverty;
- Increase opportunities for the poor through access to land and finances; addressing the problem of labor and time constraints (particularly in female-headed households) and the lack of infrastructure; promoting gender-targeted agricultural support operations;
- Develop poor people's "capabilities" through better education and health services; address the complex gender dimensions of HIV/AIDS;
- Promote human security for the poor by addressing the issues of law, autonomy, insecurity, household relations, voice, conflict, property rights;
- Include women in relevant participatory processes (notably in preparing the PRSP);
- Enhance public involvement in gender issues (National Gender Policy, support in-country mainstreaming strategies, facilitate the dialogue between relevant ministries and women groups)

The SCGA concludes that the PRSP needs to pay attention to the gender dimension of poverty, most notably addressing the "invisibility" of women's work, and the lack of reliable sex-disaggregated data, so as to be able to build effective strategies.

As mentioned earlier, women's organizations have participated in designing the PRSP, as a first step towards their full integration in participatory processes. Moreover, the PRSP does

acknowledge that the increase in poverty in rural areas has a disproportional effect on women, and addresses the issues stressed above (frame 2).

- ❖ *Gender-inclusive analysis:* Regarding the need for a gender-inclusive analysis, the PRSP defines an action plan for 2003-2005 to refine poverty diagnosis which includes carrying out:
 - a national household survey on living conditions that would address the methodological weaknesses identified in past household surveys;
 - an annual Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ) starting in 2003;
 - participatory poverty assessments; and
 - the establishment of a poverty map and departmental poverty profiles.

But again, the TUS is not mentioned as a way to refine poverty diagnosis. The PRSP also mentions that sexospecific indicators will be made for the follow-up mechanisms.

- ❖ *Increasing opportunities for women:* The government commits itself to increasing opportunities for women through guaranteeing them access to credit through rural credits and microfinance; access to land through the elaboration of a land code enabling women to buy and inherit land; and access to technology and tools through research and building of infrastructure. The infrastructure building initiative would specifically focus on essential infrastructures such as water, energy, transports, and telecommunications.
- ❖ *Capacity building:* The PRSP grants a great deal of importance to improving women's and girls' education (basic education as well as specific professional trainings) and increasing the information regarding opportunities available to them. It also addresses the issue of women's health and of the need to empower women to successfully combat HIV/AIDS in rural areas. The PRSP also acknowledges the impact of women's malnutrition on children's health, however, no commitment is taken on this.
- ❖ *Rights and Socio-cultural norms:* The PRSP stresses the need to alleviate oppressive socio-cultural norms, and the will to promote women's rights. This is to be done partly through facilitating the dialogue between women's organizations and relevant ministries (mostly Ministry of the Promotion of the Family, Social Protection and Solidarity) and

through integrating women in participatory processes. The government also commits itself to improve social protection, notably by creating social security systems.

- *Human Development Reports 1998 and 2003*

As previously mentioned, Benin's 1998 Human Development Report focuses on women's role in human development, and draws a portrait of the Beninese woman and of her access to development opportunities within society. A full chapter is dedicated to the methodology and results of the 1998 TUS. Women are recognized as being accountable for 34.5% of the GDP and 92% of the informal sector. The report also acknowledges that there is a serious problem of sex discrimination in Benin, fostered in part by the weak legal system and by the invisibility of women's work.

Benin's Human Development Report for 2003 dedicates Chapter Six entirely to the issue of the financing of women's activities. While this chapter highlights the importance of raising awareness about women's important role in the economy as well as about addressing women's particular needs, no reference is made to the TUS as representing a source of information that could be used in formulating policy to address these needs. This is surprising given that in Benin's 1998 HDR, an entire chapter is dedicated to the TUS.

The report points out that strong inequalities persist between Beninese men and women and special note is made of the disparities between Benin's Gender Related Human Development Index (GDI) and its Human Development Index (HDI). For example, in 2002 Benin's HDI was 0.421 whereas its GDI ranked only at 0.406.⁴³ Despite the fact that Benin's GDI has been steadily increasing (0.303 in 1992 and 0.352 in 1996), the fact that it remains below Benin's HDI indicates that women still have little access to basic services such as education, health and income generating opportunities.

To fight against this discrimination and to promote the country's economic and human development in which women have clearly been recognized as a central element, the government has decided to specifically address the problem of women's access to financing. Actions taken regarding this issue will be studied in part II. C.

⁴³ http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/cty/cty_f_BEN.html

Indeed, investing in financing women's economic activities has proved beneficial in many ways. First, economic autonomy enables women to better contribute to collective well-being and that of their families. As such, women can dedicate their increased financial resources to improving their family's standard of living both qualitatively and quantitatively. This can take place through being able to purchase greater amounts of food of better quality, being able to afford health care and the ability to pay school fees. Increased economic autonomy for women also contributes to women gaining consideration and respect from their husbands, which often translates in their husbands allowing them more easily to take part in local associations and development initiatives. Furthermore, economic success gives women increased power in the community and improves their social status, which often increases the possibility of them taking part in village decision making.

The report also explores the reasons behind the noticeable gap between women's considerable socio-economic responsibility and the weak financial and material means to which they have access. The weakness of the judicial system due to the dual existence of traditional law based on the Dahomey Code of Customary Law from 1931, and "modern" legislation based on the Napoleonic Code of 1958, is cited as a considerable challenge. Despite the enactment of the Persons and Family Code in 2004, overcoming the long-standing beliefs regarding women's position in society, beliefs that are clearly spelled out in the Dahomey Code of Customary Law, continue to have detrimental effects on the status of women.

In this Code, women are in certain cases considered minors, do not have the right to inheritance from either her parents or her spouse,⁴⁴ and often as a result, have difficulty providing the required guarantees for a loan. In fact, a ground study cited in the HDR found that 231 out of 419 women had been denied loans for precisely these reasons and were thus forced to turn to informal financing.

The 2003 HDR also acknowledges the challenges posed by oppressive socio-cultural norms, and cites the local saying: "Gnon nu Xuessi, Sunnu Glébénu" meaning that home and family are women's domain, and the rest belongs to men.

Despite the government's 1993 initiative to exempt girls from paying school fees, girls

⁴⁴ *Bilan Commun de Pays, Consolider la Démocratie*, 2002.

still end their studies very early, often before obtaining a level of education necessary to get a properly paying job. Low levels of education have also been associated with a lack of assimilation of basic hygiene practices, something which challenges the possibility of leading a healthy lifestyle. Girls are often pushed to terminate their studies prematurely due to a number of factors: expectations that they participate significantly in domestic tasks from a very early age; sexual exploitation; and developing a feeling of dependence towards their husbands, a mentality that may prevent them from even considering the possibility of setting up their own business.

Finally, the report examines the current structures through which women can receive financing and makes recommendations on what should be done by various actors (the state, banks, microfinance institutions) to address this problem. The weak presence of banks in rural areas and the considerable collateral required to receive a loan can explain in large part women's tendency to reach for micro-finance instead. The state is currently becoming involved in helping women in this area, the specifics of which will be addressed in Part II. B.

- *Millennium Development Goals Report, 2003*

In 2003, Benin submitted its first report on the MDGs. There was no explicit reference made to either the quantitative or analytical findings of the TUS in this document. We believe that that if the TUS findings had been more explicitly integrated into the MDG report, this could potentially have helped in setting action priorities. The fact that the ELAM and ECVR surveys were used as an analytical database, but that the TUS was excluded suggests that decision-makers seem weary of relying on this tool.

Despite the omission of any reference made to the TUS, we can nevertheless identify some correlations between Benin's objectives within the framework of the MDG report and the conclusions drawn from the TUS.

- *Methodology*

Benin has made some efforts towards integrating sex-disaggregated data (even though this was not done systematically), and towards adopting a gender perspective on some of the issues. The Report also acknowledges the disproportionate impact of poverty on women; the gender of the head of the household as a determining characteristic; and the different impact of policy on men and women. For instance, public spending in primary education is advocated as a way to

improve the situation of women as they are more often primary school teachers than men, whereas public spending in universities would be proportionately more beneficial to men.

Approaching the MDGs through a gendered perspective is however limited to targets 1 through 6, and varies from intensity from one target to another. On the whole, it appears that integrating a distinctly gendered perspective remains somewhat elusive. For instance, in MDG 1, target 2 (halving malnutrition in 2015), a graphic shows malnutrition among children aged less than three years according to gender, but no use or analysis is made of these findings. Furthermore, gender appears neither among the primary challenges for Benin, nor among programs, policies or main themes of cooperation mentioned. Given that the MDG report is a UNDP document, it is surprising given that it did not pay particular attention to the issue of gender. Moreover, until there is a systemic appropriation of the concept of gender equity, efforts made to address inequalities between men and women risk remaining somewhat superficial.

- *Content*

Concerning MDG 3, two out of three challenges facing Benin appear to have somewhat of a link with TUS results. The first challenge, granting localities with adequate school infrastructures, corresponds with the need to improve girls' education which is highlighted in the TUS. The second goal, recognizing the need to alleviate oppressive socioeconomic and cultural norms, can perhaps be linked to the TUS findings which demonstrate that women bear the greatest burden of care work. (The third challenge, promulgating and implementing the Persons and Family Code, and does not appear to demonstrate any clear link with the TUS results.)

Although the report is quite optimistic on Benin's ability to meet MDG 3 by 2015, it has to be mentioned that the chart evaluating Benin's progress on this goal mentions the country's inability to integrate statistical analyses into policies and resource allocation mechanisms and to evaluate and manage information, challenges that may pose significant challenges to the realization of this goal.

The above analysis of Benin's CCA, PRSP, the 1998 and 2003 Human Development Reports and the MDG Report can lead us to a few conclusive remarks:

1. Unlike some other household surveys, the TUS does not appear to have been directly used in informing or determining Benin's engagements in these reports. The only document

that demonstrates a clear use of the TUS is in the SCGA, a World Bank document. This observation leads us to the conclusion that TUS are still not fully accepted as reliable, useful, or valuable tools by decision makers and political authorities, both at the national and international levels.

2. While the aforementioned documents (with the exception of the SCGA) do not explicitly refer to the 1998 TUS, there are nonetheless correlations between the content of these documents and the findings of the TUS. For example, whereas the TUS quantitatively demonstrates the disparities between men and women regarding the amount of time spent on different activities such as studying, leisure and market and non-market work, the national reports, particularly the 2003 HDR, acknowledge these disparities and propose actions to address them. This suggests that at the present time, the added value of TUS remains primarily in their ability to put what was generally accepted as being true, into quantitative terms, not in highlighting new phenomena.
3. While the specific findings of the TUS do not yet appear to be directly informing policy decisions, the TUS findings *do* appear to have contributed to a general awareness raising regarding gender inequalities and women's role in the economy and in the development process.
4. Even though relatively little has been done in Benin to directly address women's unpaid work, it should be acknowledged that the country has taken many other international and regional commitments to address gender issues.

Notably, Benin took part in the 7th African Regional Conference on Women in Addis Ababa in October 2004. Focusing on the issues to be raised in Beijing +10, the Conference established, among other things, thematic groups to reflect on the issue of how to:

- produce sex-disaggregated data and integrate them into budgetary policy and national accounts;
- create institutional mechanisms for the effective integration of gender equality in policies and programmes; and
- address the issue of women's economic emancipation.

Given that Benin participated in this conference, it can be hoped that the recommendations will be taken into account and help the country in its attempt to better integrate a gender perspective in its policy making. Furthermore, Benin is a member of NEPAD, a partnership among African countries that is actively searching for ways on how to feminize poverty reduction strategies, how to improve women's access to land, technology and agricultural tools, and how to integrate women into decision-making.

Benin has also participated in the African Plan of Action whose principal goal is to assist African countries in adapting the Beijing Platform for Action to their specific situations through national, regional and sub-regional plans of action. Finally, Benin has accepted to participate in the African Gender Development Index, led by the ECA and the ACGD. This index analyses the situation of women in legal, social, economic, and political terms through two indexes:

1. The Index on the Condition of Women, which focuses on the level of women's capabilities and opportunities within the country; and
2. The Table of the Promotion of the African Woman (*Tableau de Bord de Promotion de la Femme Africaine*) which rates countries on their adoption and implementation of major international conventions and norms on women. It is re-evaluated regularly and therefore gives incentives for states to lead an active pro-women policy. Benin reached 52% in 2004.⁴⁵

Consequently, we can assume that there already is a rather strong awareness regarding gender issues in Benin. Whether or not this awareness has been fully appropriated by decision makers however remains dubious.

B. Translation into national strategy

Although Benin's PRSP focuses primarily on poverty and not on gender issues, it does clarify government strategy on addressing the economic situation of women in Benin. Objectives are defined and include: promoting equal access to education and training; improving women's economic autonomy; enhancing women's work; and improving the knowledge and implementation of women's legal and social status.

To achieve these objectives, the government has established a national strategy based on a

⁴⁵ African Gender Inequality Index, Benin, 2004.

gender-centered schedule; on coordinating multi-sectoral plans and programs of action promoting gender equality and equity; on empowering women's human resources; on integrating NGOs and associations' programs; and on program follow-up.

Chapter Seven in the Government Plan of Action 2001-2006 (GPA-II) which is dedicated to Youth, Gender and Development, sets objectives that are slightly different and broader than those in the PRSP regarding the promotion of women; and also defines a four-fold action plan in which the government commits to:

1. addressing the issues of improving the status of women;
2. developing women's human resources;
3. promoting girls' access to higher education; and
4. raising women's awareness about environmental issues. This is to be done through specific actions listed in Chapter II.C

Furthermore, the government of Benin submitted a reply in 1998 to the Division on the Advancement of Women (DAW) regarding the Questionnaire to Governments on the Implementation of the Beijing Plan of Action, a step which suggests Benin's willingness to participate in refining its strategy on improving the situation of women.

Additionally, Benin is planning to create an Observatory on Women and Children, and has launched research projects such as Marie Odile Attanasso's case study on the impact of microcredit on behaviours of Savalou women, an eighteen month- study that started in January 2003.

C. Concrete action

The following frame details some of the concrete action that Beninese government has taken recently to address gender inequalities and support women's empowerment.

Frame 3: *Actions to be taken by the Beninese Government between 2001-2006 as stated in the Government's Plan of Action, Domain number 7, Objective 2: Promoting Women*

- Implement the National Policy on the Promotion of women
- Train women on the process of decentralisation
- Support - advice to locally elected women
- Support the improvement of women's socio-economic and legal status
- Create the observatory of women and children
- Create professional training centers for women and girls who are not sent to/ have left school
- Build and equip girls' military high school of Natitingou
- Support the teaching of reading and writing to women/adolescents
- Reinforce nutritional surveillance of mothers and children between zero and five years
- Reinforce subsidies granted to women and women's groups involved in income-generating activities
- Support/advice to women in managing micro-projects
- Implement a support program for girls enrolling in higher education
- Implement rules to provide girls with grants
- Promote women's enrolment in the doctoral program at the UNB
- Support local women's committees for preserving the environment
- Expand the "women clean town" operation ("*femmes-ville propre*")

Source: http://www.gouv.bj/pag/objectifs.php?code_d=7

During the same period, the government has also committed itself to increasing the education rate for girls from 65% to 80% in primary education and from 10% to 20% in secondary education by 2006. To do so, the government has stated that it will continue the construction of girls' boarding houses for those pursuing a secondary education in Borgou-Alibori, in Zou-Collines, Atlantique-Littoral and Ouémé-Plateau and eventually in Mono-Couffo as well. The government has also committed itself to strengthening the activities of the network for girls' education (*Renforcement des activités du réseau pour la scolarisation des filles*).

In 2001, Benin also adopted the National Policy for the Promotion of Women, which aims at improving women's living conditions through the reinforcement of their economic, social,

cultural and legal capacities. This is to be done through meeting the following objectives:

Frame 4: *Objectives set to meet the goals of the National Policy for the Promotion of Women*

- Promote gender equality in accessing education and training
- Promote women's economic autonomy
- Improve Beninese women's nutrition and health for a sustainable development
- Improve and consolidate Beninese women's knowledge and practice of their social and legal status
- Improve and enhance the value of women's work
- Enhance the value of traditional customs and deeds in favour of the promotion and fulfilment of Beninese women.

Source: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for Benin, 2002.

Benin's Persons and Family Code, adopted in 2002, further provides a stable legal basis for women's development and fulfilment. Within this framework, the government's principal actions to address gender inequality focus on women's education, access to financing and access to land and technology. Among these three areas, education is the sector in which the government has been the most active.

Education

In order to address the fact that girls attend school less frequently than boys, something which is highlighted in the TUS, the government has decided to continue the practice, begun in 1993, of providing grants to primary schools, so as to allow the schools to exempt girls from paying tuition fees. To address the lack of sufficient infrastructure, the government has also decided to build girls' boarding schools for secondary education (six have been scheduled to be built between 2003 and 2005). The government has furthermore made a commitment to promote girls' access to technical learning and professional training (*enseignement technique et formation professionnelle*) so that they can gain skills necessary for jobs that have been traditionally reserved for men only.

The Beninese government is also actively supporting the network for girls' education and the Program of Support to Social Development (*Programme de Soutien au Développement Sociale*) (DEVESOC) along with its Education Project. The government has also decided to

address the issue of literacy through financing a National Literacy and Education Policy for Adults (*Politique Nationale d'Alphabétisation et d'Education des Adultes*). One of the main objectives of this policy is to lower the rate of illiteracy among women and girls from 79.65% (2001) to 60% in 2005 and to 40% in 2010.

Access to financing

Due to the weak presence of banks in rural areas and the considerable collateral that is required to receive loans, women often have difficulties receiving loans and must consequently be financed via informal “tontines” and micro-finance institutions. To respond to these challenges, the government has supported initiatives that stimulate the development of communities with specific programs to finance women (for instance, PAGER, AGEFIB, PASNAREP, PADSA).

It has also promoted the development of the Decentralised Financial Systems (SFD, *Systèmes Financier Décentralisés*), which consist mostly of micro-credit institutions. For instance, FECECAM is a microfinance institution that works mostly in rural areas and gives priority to women in its loan allocation. It has created two specific loans for women: the Very Small Credit for Women (*Très Petit Crédit pour les Femmes*), which is a loan from 10,000 to 60,000 FCFA and that must be paid back within three to six months, and the Credit Savings with Education (*Crédit Epargne avec Education*) loan.

Eighty one percent of PADME (an association which supports the development of micro-businesses) customers in urban areas are women, and have the option of receiving either individual loans or solidarity loans (with an interest rate of 2%). These loans are primarily used to finance businesses such as in trade and handicrafts. From 1998 to 2002 alone, the average value of loans increased by 58% each year. Such initiatives allow women to consolidate their economic activity and to create jobs.

The government has also launched an agricultural program on food security and agricultural activities, a Fund for Investment in micro-productions in agriculture and community projects, a Project of Market Infrastructures, a System of Rapid Alert, and a Project of Nutritional Education that contribute to increasing the productivity of women’s agricultural work. It has also created a Fund for the Support of Social Action that grants loans specifically to women’s groups. The government also contributes some financial support to initiatives made by specialised ministries and development partners such as the UNDP and the WB.

Access to land and technology

The government's actions to promote women's access to land and technology not only take place through the policy of increasing the availability of micro-credit, but the government has also invested in promoting legal reform and research.

The legal reform has centred on the introduction of a new Land Code (*code foncier*) that allows women to own land without their husbands serving as an intermediary. Although this is an important step in increasing women's access to land, it will undeniably take time for this code to become effective given the deeply rooted traditional beliefs that many people continue to hold about women's ability and right to own property. The government has also built Support Centers for the Processing and Conservation of agricultural goods. Two of these centers have been built already, one in Ouesse and one in Ketou. Sixteen more were scheduled to have been built by 2004.

The government has also invested in building Light Units of Community Transformation (*unités légères de transformation communautaires*) that serve to give women access to industrial infrastructure and tools without requiring them to provide investments that go beyond their financial means. Finally, the Beninese government has also made commitments to invest in research, in order to give women and men increased opportunities to benefit from technological advances and improved technological tools.

Concluding Remarks

In preparing this document, we have relied solely upon official reports. We unfortunately did not have access to information that could attest to whether or not these engagements are being carried out, and if so, to what extent. It is not possible then in this report to state which of these commitments to action have been or will be translated into concrete action, and which may be little more than "good-will declarations" made by the government. Furthermore, it should be noted that many of the actions discussed in the PRSP are in fact simply the continuation of projects that had already been underway, such as the project to exempt girls from paying tuition fees which began in 1993.

Given that the 1998 TUS conclusions highlighted that the heaviest burdens for women are fetching water and wood, labour-saving measures such as developing infrastructures such as roads

and improving access to water and to energy sources could have been taken to address this. Although the government indicated that there would be increased spending notably in the water sector, it is unclear whether this was done as a response to the TUS results.

III. Challenges in translating engagements to address gender inequality into action

A. Insufficient but increasing appropriation of the concept of gender equality by decision makers and political authorities

Despite the many engagements made by the government of Benin to address gender discrimination and inequality (see part I.A.), disparities between men and women continue to plague the economic, social and political contexts of the country. For example:

- The estimated earned income for women in 2002 was more than 30% less than that of men;⁴⁶
- The literacy rate of women over the age of fifteen (25.5%) is less than half of that of men (54.8%);⁴⁷
- Only 0.2% of women in rural settings continue their studies after the age of fourteen (9% for men);⁴⁸
- Only six out of eighty-three seats in Parliament are held by women;⁴⁹ and
- The Dahomey Code of Customary Law (*Coutumier de Dahomey*), established in 1931, continues to serve as the de facto code of law. This profoundly discriminatory code obliges women, among other things, to obey their husbands and remain faithful to them (the same requirement is not expected of men), strips women of any legal standing, and considers women's consent to be married as merely a "secondary formality."⁵⁰

In a United Nations press release from May 1999, the minister of justice in Benin affirmed that the Dahomey Code of Customary law would be repealed as soon as the Persons and Family Code was adopted.⁵¹ The Persons and Family Code was approved in 2004, however as Ms. Geneviève Boko Nadjo, the Coordinator of Women, Law and Development in Africa in Benin

⁴⁶ http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/cty/cty_f_BEN.html.

⁴⁷ <http://devdata.worldbank.org>, Benin Data Profile 2002.

⁴⁸ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

⁴⁹ http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mi/mi_results.asp?crID=204&fID=r5

⁵⁰ Dahomey Code of Customary Law, 1931.

⁵¹ <http://www.unhchr.ch/hurricane/hurricane.nsf/0/23B950D04BE1FD2E8025677D0059A631?opendocument>

(WiLDAF/FeDDAF-BENIN) observed in October 2004, changing the mentalities and behaviors of both men and women in light of this new code will not happen over night. To address these challenges, a national dissemination campaign has begun to promote the appropriation of the much more equitable legal framework provided by new code.

- *Common Country Assessment, 2002*

The Common Country Assessment for Benin completed in January 2002 states in no uncertain terms that if the problems related to gender inequality continue along the current trajectory, that not only will women's personal growth and development be compromised, but that in fact that the entire democratic process in Benin will be put at risk.⁵²

The challenges Benin is facing in translating its engagements regarding gender equality into action are multiple. Limited resources, long-standing beliefs about women's traditional position in society, weak institutional capacity,⁵³ and a long list of other priorities such as democratization, decentralization, economic growth and infrastructure reform,⁵⁴ have unfortunately all contributed to a crowding-out effect on addressing gender issues.

In addition to these challenges however, perhaps one of the greatest challenges facing the struggle to end gender discrimination and attain gender equality in Benin is what the CCA report recognizes as a "...weak appropriation of the concept of equity and gender equality by decision makers and national and traditional political authorities."⁵⁵ If at the state level and among policy makers, there is not an active, substantive and continual endorsement of promoting gender equity and equality, than the likelihood that official engagements will be translated into concrete action remains uncertain.

- *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2002*

The lack of appropriation of the concept of gender equality by those in positions of authority can be observed in Benin's PRSP. Although the PRSP emphasizes the fact that that women have suffered disproportionately to the increase in rural poverty, no mention is made about

⁵² Common Country Assessment for Benin, 2002, p. 44.

⁵³ PRSP for Benin, Joint Staff Assessment, IDA, IMF, 2003.

⁵⁴ PRSP for Benin, Joint Staff Assessment, IDA, IMF, 2003.

⁵⁵ Common Country Assessment for Benin, 2002, p. 43.

addressing this feminization of poverty in the PRSP's strategic framework. This framework is based upon four central themes, none of which make any reference to having a gender focus. The PRSP does however emphasize the notion that gender is a "cross-cutting development tool" (*outil transversal de développement*)⁵⁶ and yet it does not explicitly recognize attaining gender equality as one of the priorities in reducing poverty.

Recognizing attaining gender equality as one of the priorities in reducing poverty is nevertheless strongly encouraged in the *Joint Staff Assessment* of the PRSP conducted by the IDA and the IMF. The *Assessment* recognizes that although the PRSP identifies the lack of equity between women in certain areas, there is a lack of concrete action aimed at addressing deeply embedded and pervasive structural barriers that keep women in a position of disempowerment.

"...while the PRSP points to gender disparities in some key sectors, it does not propose actions to tackle the persistence of systemic legal and sociocultural barriers to women's empowerment, which affect their ability to contribute to economic growth and development."

- PRSP for Benin, Joint Staff Assessment, IDA, IMF, 2003, p.7-8.

Although the PRSP does include conservative medium-term targets for assisted birth, prenatal consultations and contraception,⁵⁷ there are no proposed targets to address the problems of maternal mortality and access to reproductive health services. The lack of specific targets for these last two areas is surprising given the attention given to them in the CCA report published one year earlier, which details at great length numerous initiatives aimed at reducing maternal mortality and promoting reproductive health.

The *Joint Staff Assessment* also recognizes that there needs to be a heightened gender focus of sectoral strategies in order to meet the targets set for gender equality. In terms of women's legal standing, the PRSP makes no reference either to the Persons and Family Code, or to how Benin envisions implementing a gender-responsive legal framework. The IDA and IMF

⁵⁶ PRSP for Benin, 2002, Article 219.

⁵⁷ PRSP for Benin, Joint Staff Assessment, IDA, IMF, 2003.

conclude that in order for Benin to achieve its proposed goals, that the lack of concrete, targeted and realistic measures needed to reach these goals must be addressed.⁵⁸

- *Human Development Report, 1998*

Of the country strategy papers researched in this report, Benin's 1998 Human Development Report, dedicated to analyzing the situation of women and on reducing gender inequalities, is the only document to make explicit use of the 1998 TUS. This is not at all surprising as it was during the preparation of the 1998 HDR on women, that the suggestion was made for Benin to conduct its first TUS.

The 1998 HDR dedicates an entire chapter to addressing women's time use and to detailing the findings of the TUS. Recognizing that women's contribution to economic activity has been and continues to be underestimated, this chapter states that there remains much to be done in order for women's contribution to GDP to be correctly apprehended. Three major areas posing particular challenges in accurately measuring women's contribution to economic activity are identified.

Frame 5: *Challenges in measuring women's contribution to economic activity*

1. Women's work is among the most difficult to measure given that it often takes place in the informal sector (at the home or in the street) and according to an intermittent schedule which allows them to engage in domestic activities simultaneously.
2. In many countries, women engage in secondary activities that are rarely included in surveys (for the aforementioned reasons), and when they are, they are rarely taken into consideration in preparing the National Account.
3. Women's domestic work remains incompletely, and sometimes not at all, considered as an economic activity.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ PRSP for Benin, Joint Staff Assessment, IDA, IMF, 2003.

⁵⁹ HDR for Benin, Chapter 5, 1998.

Dedicating the 1998 HDR to addressing the situation of women and gender issues, and in particular dedicating an entire chapter of the report to the TUS, are very positive steps towards an appropriation of the concepts of gender equality on a national, institutional level. And yet, it appears that this heightened focus and awareness of gender inequalities and of women's contribution to economic activity has neither been extended to other national reports nor does it appear to have led to significant concrete improvements in the status of women in Benin.

It is incontestable that Benin has made many important steps towards addressing gender discrimination and inequalities between men and women (see part I.A.). However, it nevertheless remains unclear the extent to which the gender focus of the 1998 HDR goes beyond the scope of the HDR itself. This observation suggests that there remains considerable work to be done before there is a true appropriation of the concept of gender equality by those in positions of authority on the national level.

- *Human Development Report, 2003*

Chapter Six of Benin's 2003 Human Development Report focusing on the financing of human development is dedicated to analyzing the different opportunities of financing productive and income generating activities initiated by women.⁶⁰ The HDR recognizes that there are deep gender inequalities in Benin which are exacerbated by the additional heavy burden of housework carried by women. It is further noted that promoting an integral development process and economic efficiency will not be possible if these inequalities are not addressed.

Addressing these inequalities, the Report argues, can take place through investing in policies that increase women's access to financial resources. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of microcredit as representing a promising opportunity to address the financial needs of women, especially in light of the fact that women remain excluded from being able to take advantage of services offered by classic financial institutions. The Report underlines that improving access to financial resources can serve as a means to increase women's financial autonomy and also guarantee their access to and capacity to use primary goods.⁶¹ Increasing women's financial autonomy not only gives them the means necessary to increase the living

⁶⁰ HDR for Benin, Chapter 6, 2003.

⁶¹ HDR for Benin, Chapter 6, 2003.

conditions of their families, but also improves their status within society, an essential element in dismantling deeply entrenched gender inequalities.

However, socio-cultural obstacles, the weakness of the judicial system in protecting women's basic liberties and the *absence of state policies specifically informed by women's specific needs*⁶² (italics added by author), are among some of the most significant challenges that negatively affect women's access to financial resources. Having limited to no access to such services, including savings and credit, effectively prevents women from increasing their productivity and revenue, and consequently, their wellbeing and that of their families.

The Report clearly states that unless traditional mentalities about the role of women and the highly discriminatory de facto legal framework evolve, that national policies aiming to increase gender equality, such as the National Policy on the Promotion of Women and the mechanisms proposed to increase financing for women's activities, will be ineffective in improving the status of women and the opportunities available to them.⁶³

Another area that the HDR addresses is the need for the state to significantly increase spending on sectors that particularly affect women, such as girls' education, reproductive health, and community-based initiatives, in particular those focusing on increasing women's productive activities, particularly in rural settings.⁶⁴

The lack of state policies specifically informed by women's specific needs as well as the insufficient state spending in sectors particularly affecting women suggest that even in the midst of an increasing awareness regarding gender issues, that public authorities have yet to truly appropriate the concept of gender equality. The fact that the 2003 HDR recognizes as problematic the lack of gender sensitive policies and budgeting, is therefore an essential step towards building a more equitable Beninese society. For it is only through clearly recognizing weaknesses and areas for improvement, that progress can be made in addressing them.

The sign of having truly integrated and appropriated this concept will arguably be when policies are designed based upon the needs of women and when significant resources are directed

⁶² HDR for Benin, Chapter 6, 2003, p. 126.

⁶³ HDR for Benin, Chapter 6, 2003.

⁶⁴ HDR for Benin, Chapter 6, 2006, p. 131, 139.

towards implementing these policies that specifically aim at addressing the challenges facing women.

- *Millennium Development Goals Report, 2003*

Benin's MDG Report acknowledges that poverty disproportionately affects women more than men, both in depth and severity. And yet, in stating the numerous poverty reduction initiatives in which the Beninese government has made a commitment, there is no specific mention made of addressing gender inequality, or of including a gender focus within any of the stated initiatives.⁶⁵

Beyond addressing each of the eight MDGs, some of which naturally focus on promoting gender equality, nothing in the report suggests that the Beninese government has integrated a generalized gender focused approach to meeting the ensemble of the MDGs. If, as the PRSP states, Benin has recognized gender as a cross-cutting development tool, its cross-cutting nature does not come across in the MDG report. In order to affectively address issues of gender inequality and disparity, raising the issue of gender cannot be reserved only to the goals making specific reference to women and girls. A "thread" of gender awareness must be woven into all eight goals. Until this happens, efforts made to address gender inequality risk being unnecessarily compartmentalized, thus significantly limiting their scope and effectiveness.

In reference to Goal Three, to promote gender equality and empower women through the elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005, and to all levels of education by 2015, the MDG Report states that Benin appears to be on the right path to achieving this goal, and cites some concrete efforts made by the government to address gender disparity in education. However, the *Joint Staff Assessment* of the PRSP prepared by the IDA and IMF suggests otherwise and states that whereas full primary school enrollment does seem possible for boys by 2015, it is much more uncertain for girls given the present gap between girls' and boys' enrollment and the current pace for girls' primary school enrollment.⁶⁶ The divergence between the conclusions reached by these two reports regarding gender inequality should be more fully analyzed.

⁶⁵ MDG Report for Benin, 2003, p. 4.

⁶⁶ PRSP for Benin, Joint Staff Assessment, IDA, IMF, 2003, p. 5.

And yet, the clear disparities between the percentage of girls and boys attending school recognized in the 1998 TUS, do suggest that in fact a great deal of work must be done in order for all girls to be enrolled in primary school by 2015. The Beninese government has been undertaking initiatives to address these disparities, such as exonerating girls from needing to pay school fees. However it is arguably a bit premature to maintain that Benin is on the right path to meeting the goal of promoting gender equality and women's empowerment by 2015, in light of the many deeply entrenched barriers to gender equality present in the economic, social, legal and political contexts of the country.

As stated in the *Joint Staff Assessment* of the PRSP, there needs to be more of a concerted effort to address the “legal and socio-cultural barriers to women's empowerment.” Without this kind of engagement aimed at dismantling the discriminatory nature of the socio-cultural milieu, specific steps taken to address gender disparities in particular sectors, such as education, risk producing limited and contestable results.

B. Lack of capitalization of TUS

The lack of appropriation of the concept of gender equality on the national level, and the general lack of awareness of the vital contributions women make to the national economy constitute major challenges in Benin's successfully translating its engagements to address gender inequality into action. Official recognition of women's contribution to society and national production is the first step in making policy decisions that improve women's status. However devising such policies cannot happen if:

1. there are not gender-disaggregated data clearly demonstrating women's contributions to the economy and society; and
2. there is an under-utilization or a lack of utilization of existing gender-disaggregated data.

As the Economic Commission for Africa has stated, *words need numbers to influence them.*⁶⁷ TUS are the ideal means through which to provide these necessary numbers. Should these numbers remain left in the margins however, improving women's status may remain an elusive and ultimately unattained goal.

⁶⁷Economic Commission for Africa, African Center for Gender and Development. 2002.

- *Common Country Assessment, 2002*

The 2002 CCA for Benin, a document prepared by the United Nations System in Benin in collaboration with the government of Benin, the community of international funders and civil society organizations, states that addressing the problems of gender inequality, population growth and development, requires not only an institutional, judicial and social environment capable of developing effective policies and programs, but that it also requires having dependable statistical data.⁶⁸ Several surveys that provide such data are mentioned, including the ELAM, ECVR and the national census, all of which have significantly contributed to having a better perception of Benin's demographic and socio-economic landscape. And yet, no mention is made of the 1998 TUS.

This is particularly surprising given that it was the UNDP that commissioned Benin's TUS in preparing the 1998 Human Development Report. As stated earlier, TUS formally and quantitatively recognize the important role that women play in national production, which, it is argued, is one of the first steps in improving their status in society. The fact therefore that no reference is made to the TUS in the chapter of the CCA specifically devoted to gender, development and population, represents a key opportunity lost.

Had the CCA integrated the TUS in its analysis, not only would this have shed light on the situation of women in Benin and on their contribution to national production, but it would also have added credence and legitimacy to TUS as a means of better understanding the role that women play in the national economy. In fact, omitting any reference to the 1998 TUS arguably has the opposite effect: if the UN does not utilize time use surveys that it has itself commissioned, what does this imply about the credibility and legitimacy of TUS?

Despite the lack of mention of the TUS, the CCA acknowledges that poverty is not gender neutral, and that it does have a disproportionate affect on women, making particular reference to the rural exodus as particularly affecting the women of certain regions (Mono and Couffo). The CCA further recognizes that gender disparities exist in many domains, including in terms of education (one out of two girls between the ages of 6 and 11 do not attend school), as well as in terms of resource distribution between men and women.

⁶⁸ Common Country Assessment for Benin, 2002, p. 40.

The CCA correctly recognizes that women's participation in economic activities is less than that of men; and yet no mention is made of the fact that this deficit is completely compensated by women's non-market activities, and that if domestic activities are taken into account, women spend much more time working than men.⁶⁹ By painting such an incomplete picture of how women spend their time, it is very difficult to envision the creation of policies that could fully integrate a gender sensitive focus and that would therefore be most effective in addressing the disproportionate effect that poverty has on women.

- *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2002*

The poverty profile presented in Benin's PRSP for 2003-2005 is based on the findings of the 1990-2000 household surveys as well as on the 2001 Demographic and Health Survey. No mention however is made of the 1998 TUS as serving as a way to refine poverty diagnosis.

While the TUS was used in the Strategic Country Gender Assessment that served as a briefing note for the PRSP, the omission of any specific reference to the findings and added value of the TUS in the PRSP itself is, as is the case with the CCA, a lost opportunity to capitalize on the data collected in 1998. Explicitly using the TUS to refine Benin's poverty diagnosis would have demonstrated that women, which the report states are disproportionately affected by poverty, carry a larger burden of work than men, but that this work is often unpaid and unrecognized. Recognizing women's "invisible" yet considerable contributions to national production could potentially serve to put pressure on decision makers to approach poverty reduction policies in a way that is gender sensitive.

Implementing policies that specifically aim to lighten the unpaid work burden of women or that help women integrate into the formal sector would arguably have a proportionally higher impact on poverty reduction than devoting funding to sectors that do not affect women in particular.

⁶⁹ Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin, 1998.

- *Human Development Report, 1998*

As stated earlier, Benin's 1998 Human Development Report includes the use of TUS data much more than any of the other reports discussed in this study. Not only is there a specific chapter dedicated to detailing the methodology and results of the TUS, but the findings from the TUS clearly inform the final section of the report that addresses Benin's priorities in promoting women and addressing gender inequality. The final section of the HDR acknowledges that given the considerable amount of time women dedicate to non-remunerated domestic activities in which their productivity remains weak, that investing in improving women's productivity represents an effective way to reduce poverty as well as increase economic growth. It also recognizes that investing in sectors that particularly affect women such as education, health and reproductive health, access to land, financial resources and information "...constitutes a capital part of any development strategy while at the same time contributing to social justice."⁷⁰

Maintaining this firm commitment to addressing gender inequalities is surely a challenge, especially in light of the many other competing priorities that developing countries, such as Benin, must keep at the forefront of their development and poverty reduction strategies. However, as the 1998 HDR itself states:

"The human development paradigm based on the individual would hardly have any sense at all if it did not fully integrate the problem of equality between the sexes."

-Human Development Report, 1998. p. 129.

It is essential that this idea remain at the forefront of all social and economic policy decisions and that it serve as a guiding principle in national development and poverty reduction reports. Highlighting the urgency of addressing gender inequalities through statistics that quantitatively demonstrate the extent to which disparities between men and women pervade the market, non-market and domestic spheres is, as this HDR demonstrates, an essential tool in promoting an effective and meaningful human development paradigm.

⁷⁰ HDR for Benin, 1998. p. 130.

- *Human Development Report 2003*

Despite the many insights that Benin's 2003 Human Development Report provides about the socio-cultural and legal barriers negatively affecting women's access to financial resources, and about ways that the state can and needs to address these barriers, there is no discussion as to how TUS can play a role in this process.

Reference is nonetheless made to Benin's 1998 HDR, and the fact that it recognized that women's contribution to GDP accounted for 34.5%.⁷¹ The 2003 HDR also relies on the 1998 HDR to provide statistics regarding the sectors in which women work and the percent of women participating in economic activities.

However, in Chapter Six, dedicated solely to addressing the issue of financing women's activities, it was surprising to find no discussion on how TUS could be used to develop policies that are truly informed by the specific demands placed on women. While it is stated that such policies are lacking, no mention is made regarding how TUS gender-disaggregated data could be used to devise policy that is much more linked to the specific needs of women.

One of the most effective tools that can be used to ascertain what women's specific needs are and where future responses can be most effectively directed, is through conducting time use surveys. As stated earlier, TUS serve to make visible how much time and in what sectors women spend their time, and provide information from the ground-level that can be used in devising gender sensitive national policy. Informing policy in this way is arguably the best approach of insuring, in as much as possible, that policy in fact does correspond to the actual needs of women.

While it is undeniable that deeply rooted socio-cultural and legal barriers must also be addressed, dismantling them is a very long-term process. Action must also be taken in the present so as to affect positive change for women currently. Furthermore, developing, and more importantly implementing gender sensitive policy on the national level can play a key role in modifying long-standing socio-cultural barriers. Moreover, the data from TUS should be accorded a much more central role in devising national policy, particularly if such policy hopes be effective in responding to the specific needs of women.

⁷¹ HDR for Benin, 2003. p. 134.

- *Millennium Development Goals Report, 2003*

No reference is made to the 1998 TUS in Benin's Millennium Development Goal Report. Data provided in a chart on MDG follow-up indicators in the Report suggest that perhaps data from the TUS was used to provide information for Goal Three, regarding the proportion of girls to boys in primary, secondary and higher education. However, if in fact the TUS was used, and if it was, to what extent it was used, is not at all clear.

In reference to MDG Goal Three, to promote gender equality and empower women, the MDG report can claim only an average capacity to gather data, work with and analyze statistics. It is further identified that Benin's capacity to integrate statistical analyses in the elaboration of policy and resource allocation mechanisms is "weak,"⁷² as are its evaluation mechanisms and information management capacities.

It would therefore seem appropriate for the United Nations system to be more attentive to ensuring the presence of sufficient national capacities to work with and analyze statistics, as well as to integrate statistical analyses in the elaboration of policy and resource allocation mechanisms. Ensuring the presence of these capacities seems all the more relevant given the role that the UNDP played in encouraging Benin to conduct the 1998 TUS. It appears however that there has been very little, if any, follow-up on the part of the UN in terms of the use of the 1998 TUS data.

As with any "good," simply ensuring that it is present is not enough. Ensuring that people, or in this case, a country, has the *capability* to be able to use this good is equally, if not arguably more, important. In the case of TUS, this would mean ensuring that the country is equipped with sufficient statistical analyzing capacities, as well as sufficient capacities to integrate statistical analyses in the elaboration of policy and resource allocation mechanisms, not simply ensuring that the TUS is carried out.

Conclusion: Possibilities for increasing the appropriation of the concept of gender equality and the use of TUS

While many barriers continue to challenge the appropriation of gender equality on the national level and the integration of TUS data in national poverty reduction and development

⁷² MDG Report for Benin, 2003.

strategies, the Africa-specific Easy Reference Guide (ERG) aimed at mainstreaming gender perspectives and household production into national statistics, budgets and policies⁷³ designed by the Economic Commission for Africa and the African Centre for Gender and Development holds much promise in addressing these challenges.

Once completed, the ERG will offer a “compendium of methodologies, materials and tools to improve the skills of statisticians, national accountants and policy analysts in the collection, analysis and use of gender-disaggregated statistics for integrating women’s and men’s unpaid work and household production into sound policy making, implementation and evaluation.”⁷⁴ This document will also outline how to construct a gender-aware model that countries can use to measure the effects of policies on poverty reduction and the productivity of household production. In effect, the guide will serve as an Africa-specific handbook for “carrying out time-use surveys, preparing national accounts of household production and for integrating household production into poverty reduction strategies.”⁷⁵

Frame 6: *The aims and goals of the Easy Reference Guide*

The **aim** of the ERG is to show African countries how they can:

- estimate the contribution of household to economic production; and
- integrate this information in policy formulation using national accounts and government budgets.

The **goal** of the ERG is to:

- build capacities of national statisticians, national accountants, policy analysts and development advocates in the collection, analysis, and integration of time-use gender-disaggregated data and of statistics on household production into national accounts and national budgets.

By providing both justification for time-use and gender-disaggregated data as well as the methodologies and tools needed for generating such data, the ERG represents a key resource in

⁷³ Economic Commission for Africa, 2003.

⁷⁴ Economic Commission for Africa, 2003.

⁷⁵ Economic Commission for Africa, 2003, p. 14

addressing the challenges of the lack of appropriation of the concept of gender equality and the limited use and capitalization of TUS in Benin, as well as in other African countries facing similar challenges.

List of Tables

Table 1: *Number of households and individuals participating in the TUS*

Table 2: *% of the day spent working*

Table 3: *% of the day spent on leisure and educational activities*

Table 4: *% of girls and boys attending school*

Table 5: *% of women and men between the ages of 15 and 49 continuing their studies after the age of 14*

Table 6: *Number of hours spent per day on various activities for active men and women between the ages of 15 and 49*

List of Frames

Frame 1: *Benin's principal engagements to address gender discrimination and inequality*

Frame 2: *Objectives that should be addressed by the PRSP according to the SCGA*

Frame 3: *Actions to be taken by the Beninese Government between 2001-2006 as stated in the Government's Plan of Action, Domain number 7, Objective 2: Promoting Women*

Frame 4: *Objectives set to meet the goals of the National Policy for the Promotion of Women*

Frame 5: *Challenges in measuring women's contribution to economic activity*

Frame 6: *The aims and goals of the Easy Reference Guide*

List of Graphics

Graphic 1: *Benin's Gender Profile*

Annex II:
India

Prepared by
Mehdi Ghissassi, Mercedes Johnson and Camille de Sentenac
June 2005

Introduction: Time Use Surveys, a useful tool for work statistics despite roadblocks

I. Indian Pilot TUS 1998/1999: Context, Methodology, Conclusions

- A. Context: The case for Indian women
- B. Methodology
- C. Objectives of Time Use Surveys
- D. Findings
- E. National Sample Survey Organization and the decennial Census of the Population
- F. Conceptual, Methodological, Definitional and Cultural Problems with different surveys and what is being done to remedy them (in TUS, NSSO and National Census)

II. Engendering Macro-Economic Policies from TUS

- A. Planning for employment and skill training with TUS
- B. Macro-economic policies in India: the needs
- C. Gender Budgeting: concepts and methodologies

III. India's strengths and weaknesses in promoting women in relation to the CCA, UNDP MDGs for Asia and the Pacific

- A. MDGs for Asia and the Pacific
- B. Ninth and tenth five-years plan
- C. The Common Country Assessment, CCA, India, 2000

Labor force statistics are recognized as being a useful source of information for a general audience, but also as a basis for analyzing the labor market. They are an empirical tool that helps in the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of employment policies for various target groups.

In India, labor force statistics are traditionally gathered by the Census of Population (CP), and by the National Sample Survey Statistics (NSSO), of which both are governmental institutions. But in the 90s, Time Use Surveys (TUS) conducted by researchers in different regions or villages began to show that the conventional labour data that the NSSO and the CP gathered tended to underestimate women's participation in the economy⁷⁶. Time Use Surveys indeed are more comprehensive than other conventional surveys, as they account for people's activities 24 hours per day, whereas the other type of surveys do not.

In 1998, after examining the results of the regional TUS in India, as well as the TUS conducted in developed countries, the Indian Department of Statistics decided to conduct a pilot TUS in six regions of the country. The objective was to more adequately assess the economic activity by estimating the overall value of goods and services produced in the country, by taking into account not only marketed activities (SNA activities, included in the GDP) but also non-remunerated activities (Extended SNA activities: production for self-consumption for instance) that contribute to people's well-being.

The TUS conducted in India brought out very interesting results and a more accurate picture of the economic reality; however, their level of accuracy is questioned. For example, in comparison to more traditional NSSO and CP data, the sample used for the 1998 TUS was narrower, and consequently its results cannot be used as scientific evidence for the whole country. Yet, the merits of the TUS are not to be discounted completely given that the Indian Statistics Department estimated that the Indian GDP might be 11% greater if we include women's work as it was calculated by inclusion of extended SNA activities⁷⁷.

⁷⁶ Most comprehensive regional Time Use surveys : *Time Allocation Study in some villages of Rajasthan and West Bengal*, Jain and Chand, 1982.

Time Allocation study in Tamil Nadu, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Tamil Nadu, 1996.

⁷⁷ Pandey, « Quantifying the value of unpaid activities of women »

I. India Pilot TUS 1998/1999: Context, Methodology, Conclusions

A. The case for Indian women

In India, the percentage of women workers represented in the workforce is very low because most of women's work is non-economic work, such as household work, production for self-consumption, voluntary and social work, etc. It makes it difficult for national statistics to properly quantify women's work, and to incorporate it into the system of national accounts. TUS can make a substantial contribution to this end, as they make it possible to link, at the level of individual respondents, data on time spent on economic activities of various types with data on time spent on non-economic activities.

B. Methodology

The Indian pilot TUS was conducted from July 1998 to June 1999, on a sample of about **18 600 households spread over six states** (Haryana, Madhya, Pradesh, Gurajat, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Meghalaya). Each state was chosen to represent a geographical region. In all, 52 districts were selected for the survey. The survey was conducted in four rounds to capture the seasonal aspects of the time use.

In order to correctly capture and organize women's activity (economic and non economic) the activities were classified in three categories, namely **System of National Accounts (SNA) activities** (primary, secondary and tertiary activities – classified in market-oriented economic activity, and non-market economic activities within SNA production boundary), **extended SNA activities** (household maintenance, care for children, sick and elderly, community and organizational volunteer work), and **non SNA activities** (learning, personal care, leisure time...).

Within those categories, men and women were differentiated, as well as the people living in rural or urban areas.

C. Objectives of Time Use Surveys

The objectives of the TUS as laid down by the Technical Committee are cited below:

1. To develop a conceptual framework and a suitable methodology for designing and conducting time use studies in India on a regular basis. Also, to conceive a methodology to estimate work force in the country and to estimate the value of unpaid work in the economy in a satellite account.
2. To collect and analyze the time use pattern of people in the selected states in India in order to have a comprehensive information about the time spent by people on marketed and non-marketed economic activities covered under the UN-SNA 1993, non-marketed non-SNA activities covered under the General Production Boundary and on personal care and related activities that cannot be delegated to others.
3. To use the data in generating more reliable estimates on work force and national income as per SNA 93, and in computing the value of unpaid work through separate satellite account.
4. To infer policy / programme implications from the analysis of the data on:
 - a) Distribution of paid and unpaid work among men and women in rural and urban areas.
 - b) Nature of unpaid work of women including the drudgery of their work.
 - c) Sharing of household work by men and women for gender equity.
5. To analyze the time use pattern of the poor to understand the nature of their work so as to draw inference for employment and welfare programmes for them.
6. To analyze the data of the time use pattern of the weaker sections including the poor, the child and women to draw inferences for welfare policies for them.⁷⁸

The objectives number 4,5 and 6 are relevant for our project, and will serve as the basis upon which we will make all of our assessments of their utility, and later with regards to other surveys.

⁷⁸ *Gender issues in the measurement of paid and unpaid work - country report: India, conducting the Time Use Survey, the Indian experience*, United Nations Secretariat, Statistics division

D. Findings

Transforming the data brought about by the TUS into general and relevant conclusions is a hard task, as it implies synthesizing and classifying the figures collected. Instead of summarizing all of the findings, we have focused on the findings that affect women, which we have classified in the box below. We have also created three graphs to better demonstrate the repartition of time-use for both men and women, and then for men and for women only.

Three main ideas can be drawn from the results of the TUS. First of all, **people in India use significant amounts of time in producing goods and services in their households that would be produced by the market in developed countries.** Second, men are three times more represented in SNA activities than women, and women are ten times more represented in extended SNA activities. This finding explains why it is necessary to differentiate between men and women when collecting labor statistics.

As the graphs below show, if we look at the repartition of time-use for both men and women, the proportion of SNA and extended SNA activities seems to be equal, conveying the idea that each individual spends as much time in both. But it gives a biased representation of reality, as **the repartition of time-use for each individual, between SNA and extended SNA activities mainly depends on the gender of the individual.** Thanks to this differentiation, TUS give a new perspective to women's participation in the economy.

Finally, the TUS overall showed that, by taking into account both SNA and extended SNA activities, the time spent in economic activities by both men and women tended to be far superior than what the traditional statistical tools found.

The main findings of the time-use surveyed are described in the box below, and represented on the three graphs.

Participation in SNA activities is twice as high for men than for women

- Both men and women's participation is significantly higher than what was brought about in the NSSO data and Census, and this increase is much larger for women. **SNA activities represent 18% of time use**, and is primarily agricultural.
- **Women's participation in SNA activities is lower than men's**: on average, men spend 42 hours in SNA activities, about twice as much as women (19 hours on average).

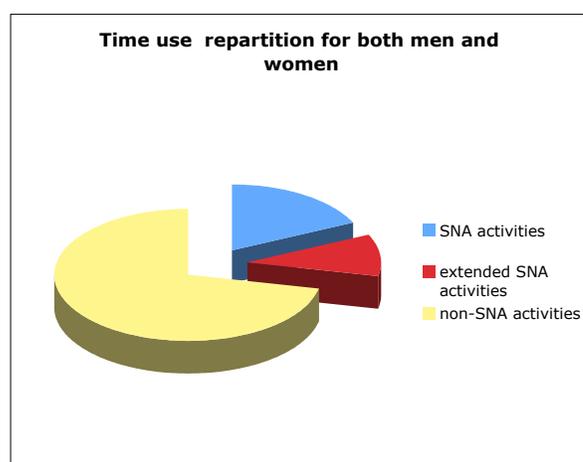
- **Difference in the participation of women in SNA activities in rural and urban parts of the country:** the percentage of women involved in SNA activities in rural areas is up to 13%, versus 5% in urban areas. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon is that women in rural areas generally participate in agricultural activities.
- As regards payment, the survey showed that no payment was made for 38% of the total amount of SNA activities, with 33% for men and 51% for women. If women prevail in unpaid work in all the states surveyed, the percentages were varied greatly depending on the region: the percentage of time spent by females in unpaid activities was highest in Haryana (86%) and lowest in Tamil Nadu (32%).

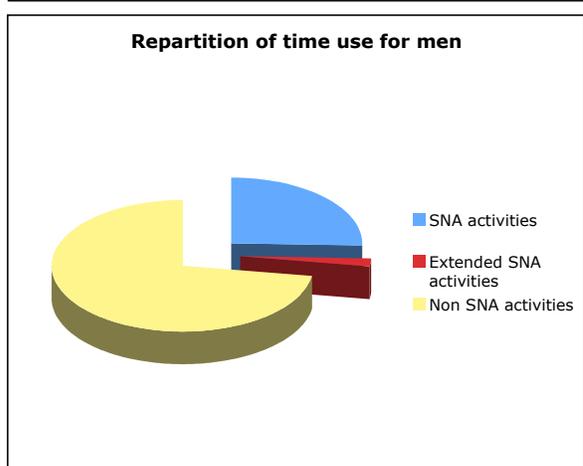
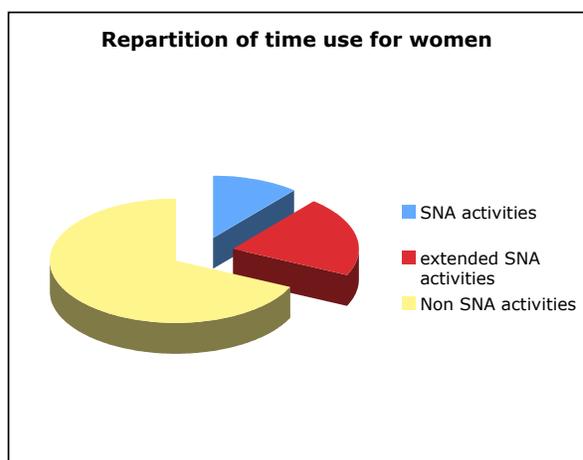
Participation in extended-SNA activities, ten times higher for women

- Women spend considerably more time in extended SNA activities than man: men spend about 3.6 hours as opposed to 34.6 hours for women, about ten times less.

Participation in non-SNA activities

- Non-SNA activities represent on average 71% of time use
- Men on average spend 8 hours more than women on personal activities.





E. National Sample Survey Organization and the decennial Census of the Population

There are two key sources of work force data in India: the decennial Census of the Population and the quinquennial surveys of the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). Since its independence, India has undertaken 4 Censuses (1951 to 1991) and 5 quinquennial NSSO surveys (1972-73 to 1993-94). The NSSO survey has been found to be more flexible in its definitions of work and therefore tends towards a more representative estimation of the work force. It is also worth noting that it is on the basis of these surveys, and the NSSO survey in particular, that the Indian government forms its policies. The NSSO methodology resembles that of the TUS, for example in its classification of “work”:

“...the term ‘work’ has been defined as “any productive work for which remuneration is paid and is market related”, and “worker” is a person employed in “work”. If a person worked for a major part of the reference year he/she was a “main worker”, and if he/she worked for less than half a year he/she was a “marginal worker”. In the case of the NSSO

surveys a person is a worker if he/she is engaged in any “economically meaningful activity”. This includes general activities of women done within the sphere of household activities, such as livestock, fodder collection, food grains processing etc.”⁷⁹

The difference between the Census investigator and NSSO investigator, to give another example, is that the first is expected to ask a respondent whether he was a worker or not, while the NSSO investigator asks about the activity that the person is engaged in. In this sense the NSSO methodology is also like that of the TUS. Furthermore, the International Conference on Labour Statistics included “all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of economic goods and services” in the work force. The Indian SNA (1993) has chosen to include this production in national income accounts, on the basis that this work is on step away from being exchanged on the official market, and because its exclusion undervalues the GDP and living standards of the country.

The Indian government Census has made consistent efforts to correctly depict the economic situation in India. In fact, since 1991, the National Census methodology changed in the following ways: 1) to take into account a longer reference period so as to better capture women’s seasonal work, 2) the term “seeking work” was replaced by “availability for work if it becomes available”, 3) a distinction was made between recipients of incomes and unpaid family workers, 4) data regarding “Heads of Household” were classed by gender and 5) the clause “including unpaid work on form or family enterprise” was asked in tandem with the question “Did you work any time at all in the last year?” in the classification of workers from non-workers.⁸⁰ The people undertaking the census were specially trained in order to capture a maximum of detail regarding the work that is actually done in the country. For more in depth information concerning these censuses, see the footnote.⁸¹

⁷⁹ HIRWAY, Indira. “Estimating Work Force Using Time Use Statistics in India and its Implications for Employment Policies.”

⁸⁰ Ebit.

⁸¹ The first Economic Census of 1977 was engineered so as to capture the size of, and the participants in, the informal sector by focusing on small non-agricultural businesses. It was followed by the Survey on Unorganized Manufacturing Enterprises in 1978-79 (NSS 33rd Round) and later, the Survey of companies engaged in Trade, Hotellery and Restaurant activities as well as the Transports and Services sector (1979-1980). A second Economic Census was done in 1980 and a third in 1990, followed by censuses focused on companies in manufacturing, trade, hotels, mining, etc. The fourth Economic Census was undertaken in 1998-1999 by the CSO in collaboration with the Directorate of Economic and Statistics of States and Union Territories and aimed at taking account of irregular activities by doing interviews at shorter intervals, an is therefore concentrating on participation specific to different activities. While the 55th Round of NSSO has chosen to focus on informal non-agricultural Enterprise other than the industrial ones covered in past

F. Conceptual, Methodological, Definitional and Cultural Problems with TUS and what is being done to remedy them

TUS have a unique ability to circumvent many socio-cultural biases. Indeed, because the data consists of comprehensive information about activities in a 24-hour period, no activity is likely to be left-out and TUS collect data on unpaid activities falling under the General Production Boundary. The aim in this sub-section is not to list all the issues faced during the survey, but only to give an overview of the complications which arose while conducting the survey in India, and which are likely to arise when conducting a time-use survey in other developing countries.

First of all, as regards the methodology, the **interviewer method** (one day recall method) for data collection was the only option, as the level of literacy is low in India, especially among women. Moreover, there was difficulty in measuring the exact amount of time spent on each activity, as clocks are not followed religiously, especially in rural areas.

Social bias was also an issue when it came to interviewing women. In order to circumvent this problem, investigators were hired and specially trained to perform interviews with women. It was, however, difficult to indoctrinate all of the interviewers with the idea that domestic work might be considered as economic activity, and therefore interviewers' bias is a source of inaccuracy in the survey. Furthermore, under the prevailing socio-cultural values in India, and this is also true in many developing economies, women are not expected to involve themselves in paid activities outside the home, and working women are frequently held in low esteem in society. This stems from the fact that a high prestige is assigned to conventional domestic work for the family inside the home. As a result, women tend not to report or under-report to interviewers.

Finally, it is important to keep in mind that agriculture is the biggest economic activity in India, and that women play a predominant role in this activity. Because this work is predominantly seasonal, intermittent and uncertain, the **interviews were undertaken in four**

censuses, from July 1999 – June 2000. The survey will integrate “household consumer expenditure, employment – unemployment and informal non-agricultural enterprises.” This survey has been very successful in measuring less significant participants in the informal sector, however, it does not cover such informal work as that done by servants, plumbers and other “petty services.” Source: HIRWAY, “Estimating Work Force Time Use in India and its Implications for Employment Policies.”

rounds in an attempt to capture the seasonal element of this work. In this sector, as well as others such as family enterprises, informal sector activities, women are seldom paid. Again, household work and economic work, in this context, are frequently confused. Even at the operational level it was not easy for Indian statisticians to capture their work and net them as workers due to methodological problems.

As the result of those factors, and despite the efforts to mitigate them, it's likely that the Indian TUS underestimated the global workforce, and especially women's work. In fact, the UNIFEM – Academic Project (Premi and Raju 1993, Hirway 1993) concluded: “the efforts made for improving the statistics on female workers cannot be rated as successful. Though some regions and pockets showed an increase in the workforce participation rates of women, the macro data could not show a significant increase.” **It highlights TUS's major drawback: the lack of reliable investigation methods, maybe more problematic than for traditional work-force statistics.**

II. Engendering Macroeconomic policies from TUS

In the “Report of the International Seminar on Time Use Studies” that took place in Ahmedabad in December of 1999, all the countries involved, including India, agreed that the TUS were very much needed. They felt that the data generating concerning household activities was indispensable for the development and implementation of good policies. Such implications are useful in gender equality (by highlighting the work that women do) as well as employment policy and policy advocacy in general. Although the actual results of the TUS are not what they could be, the governments seem willing to work out the problems.⁸² Given the similarities between the TUS and the NSSO, the two might combine forces to maximize resources and coverage.

A. Planning for employment and skill training with TUS

One of the major successes of the time use survey, with regard to labor and employment policy, is its ability to prove empirically that participation in SNA activities is much more important it is shown to be in the Census and the NSSO data. This increase is, of course, much more significant with regards to women. It is worth noting that the increase is observed in all the

⁸² « Report of the International Seminar an Time Use Studies. » 1999, Ahmedabad.

sectors of the economy (since the distribution of men and women workers across the three sectors of the economy is quite similar to the distribution as per the Census data) which implies that under estimation exists in all sectors of the economy. Furthermore, a large proportion of the population is engaged in SNA activities, which are predominantly agricultural, and among this population 36% live below the poverty line. Policy makers should take note of this while planning for employment and skill training.

The summary results also clearly show that women spend a lot of time in collecting activities; collecting fuel, fodder, water, leaves, bamboo, fruits and vegetables, etc. In fact, women spend seven times as many hours at this activity (14.8 hours a week, compared to 2.17) than men in urban areas. In rural areas the gap is much larger. Furthermore, with the increasing degradation of environment in the country, they seem to be traveling long distances, which has implications for their health and safety also. All of these factors have important implications for protecting the environment. Furthermore, in an attempt to reduce the drudgery of subsistence work, whilst protecting and promoting the livelihood of the people doing it, such gathering activities that are highly labor intensive would be capable of generating massive employment.

Though women work in large number in SNA activities, the number of hours they put in is much less than men's contributions. This trend is the same for rural women in comparison to urban women as well. This seems to be due to the large burden of extended SNA responsibilities placed on women as well as the limited scope that they have in the formal labor market. An important implication of this is that women don't have the same capacity to capitalize on opportunities for work that men do, namely because they have a larger burden of work at home. Women could be encouraged to participate for longer hours if their extended SNA work were reduced, for example, through a more equitable sharing of this work between men and women.

However, a very interesting fact brought about by the time use surveys was the significant level of free time of both men and women. In fact, approximately 75% of the population spends little under 10 hours talking or gossiping.⁸³ Leisure time is significantly elevated in rural areas (in terms of people enjoying this free time, but also in absolute number of hours). These trends point very strongly to an under employment in the region.

⁸³ Hirway. "Estimating Work Force Using Time Use statistics and its Implications for Employment Policies."

This finding however does not invalidate the necessity to designing and implement employment programs that incorporate a plan for an increased sharing in extended SNA activities. A failure to do so would only increase their burden. Such programs are therefore not likely to be successful. It is thus necessary that the government direct its energy on the reduction of SNA activities, for example, by ensuring a supply of fuel and fodder, as well as a relative proximity to a water source. Secondly, child-care service should be provided. Above and beyond these basic necessities, before women will really be free to engage in the official economy, their value as potential “bread-winners” must be recognized.

▪ ***Macroeconomic Policies and Women in India: the Needs***

Dr. Govinda Rao, Director of NIPFP (National Institute of Public Finance and Policy), has highlighted the difficulty of obtaining economic data in a country like India due to its massive population and its large rural population. In addition to this, local budgets are not at all standardized. For these reasons, and as we have previously mentioned, governments are forced to use micro-level data (taken from a study of 3 to 4 villages) at the macro-economic level.

Another difficulty that Dr. Rao points out, and that is more general to the collection of financial data, is the relative incompatibility between the techniques for collecting aggregates (GDP, national consumption, savings, investment, prices and the trade balance) and the assessment and evaluation of gender issues like discrimination. The fact that the entire country suffers from various inefficiencies in the allocative process, and especially those that disfavor women, puts a significant amount of pressure on policy makers to reconcile the two.

In this light, it is as possible and necessary to show how women are faced with difficulties at various levels: they are disfavored or unable to capitalize on the benefits of macro-economic policies (for reasons discussed above); they suffer more from poverty (they are the ones who stay home and have to make the household “work”); they are undereducated, have fewer “professional skills”; if they are not cut off from credit, their access to it is limited and risks being usurped by their male counterparts; they therefore have fewer assets and less independence.

In light of this information, the need to link to create a greater compatibility between macro-policies and gender budgeting, in such a way that gender budgeting might be more effective. Econometric models capable of linking the two would provide policy makers with the

analytical research and empirical studies that they need during the decision making process. India is criticized for putting too great an emphasis on union budgets and neglecting state and local budgets, despite the importance of state budgets (85% of expenditure on women and health comes from state budgets)⁸⁴.

Other points that need discussion include the fact that administrative costs are fairly high. This is particularly important given that this money could be used in other areas, such as poverty reduction and capacity building. Perhaps for this reason, the Indian government is becoming increasingly devoted to transparency. In an increased attempt to educate the civil society so that it can participate more in government work, the NIPFP is training journalists on budgets in Karnataka so that real issues can be raised at state level.⁸⁵ A well-educated, fairly objective press is an excellent way to inform society, also through explanation of such issues as budgets.

B. Gender Budgeting in India: Concepts and Methodologies

Professor Nirmala Banerjee points out that one of the biggest difficulties that policy makers face when creating budgets is assessing the effects of policies on women, especially given that economic policy affects people differently according to their gender, age and membership to distinct cultural groups. Gender Budgeting is a useful tool for measuring this impact.

In order to use Gender Budget, spendings on women-oriented programs first need to be tracked, and classified into relief measures, gender reinforcing measures, equality promoting measures, etc. Once this is done, it is necessary to look at the goals that were hoped to be achieved through these policies in comparison to what was actually achieved. Such a practical approach would account for the inefficacy of gender budgets on girls' education, for example, who are not sent to school for various reasons (lack of proper clothes, distance from the school or lack of women teachers) and then see which factors could potentially be affected by policies.

This suggests the need for tailored policies. Each area of concentration requires a scheme suited to its own needs hence the importance of having a broad based program that is flexible, area specific and demand driven. Furthermore, a better understanding of local needs and incorporation of local studies will help in the process of creating unique policies. As far as women are

⁸⁴ *Report on Fourth South Asian Regional Workshop on Gender Analysis of Budget*

⁸⁵ *Report on Fourth South Asian Regional Workshop on Gender Analysis of Budget.*

concerned, their increased participation as well as involvement, which imply a general level of awareness regarding these policies, could help to create more adequate budgets. It is also important to be able to capitalize on the results of other surveys.

On a final note, it is worth mentioning that some national economists are still not sensitive enough to gender needs. Their “reeducation” concerning the interest of gender-focused economics and budgets will help to propel the process.

III. India’s strengths and weaknesses in promoting women in relation to the CCA, UNDP MDGs for Asia and the Pacific

A. Promoting the Millennium Development Goals in Asia and the Pacific

One of the key difficulties in creating a common set of goals and measuring their achievement is the persistent problem of imperfect international statistics. As we have shown, the TUS have helped to solve many of these problems, and have also been useful in highlighting trends that they do not directly measure, such as female stereotyping.

Fortunately, accuracy is something that the Indian government takes very seriously, despite the difficulty that it faces in measuring such a massive population. In this vein and in an effort to increase its accountability, the Indian government is planning to use its renowned state of the art technology to create a computerized administration system that will force the government to be disciplined at the same time as increasing efficiency. This system will be used mainly for the backlog in the judicial system. Some states have now set up “fast-track” courts, facilitated by the existence of this technology. A more efficient and reliable government and court system is an excellent way to promote equality in that it guarantees a much higher degree of accountability to those who wish to propagate gender discrimination.

The Millennium Development Goals and Women

It is not surprising that three of the eight MDG are directly aimed at the empowerment and betterment of the lives of women. Women occupy central roles in society, and their

well-being has been proven a countless number of times, even though many would not like to admit it, to be central to the evolution and well-being of the society as a whole. Below we have listed the three main goals concerning women and explain their importance in relation to the TUS. It is important to keep in mind that the advancement and equal treatment of women is important for the attainment of all the MDGs.

i. Universal primary education

Universal primary education, of which the “target” is to ensure that “children everywhere, boys and girls alike will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.” Progress towards this goal is “slow” and the achievement of 100% scolarisation is considered unlikely, even though many countries are expected to reach the target.

Some think that this target may even be aiming too low. Considering that many of these countries are on the fast-track to industrialisation, primary education is not enough to create the “brains” needed for these countries. The example of China has also shown that, by placing the bar high, the country will do what is necessary to attain it. China has gone past the goal of primary education to make obligatory nine years of education, and is very close to achieving this goal.

Education issues are of the utmost importance for women and girls, not only because they have a natural right to it, but also because investing in women equals investing in the society. Financing in the education of women and girls has a very positive impact on the lives of the people in their families, as it helps to improve child health and nutrition, reduces infant mortality and sluggish demographic growth. It also helps to increase productivity in all economic sectors. Given all of the benefits of educating women, it is very surprising that one would persist in sticking girls and women into fixed gender roles, which do not allow for such equal treatment.

ii. Promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women

The goal is to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education. The UNDP sees this goal as “good” or “probable”, although many countries will need sustained attention. One way of attaining this goal would be to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005, and at the other levels of education by 2015, this can be done, for example, by achieving equality in educational enrolment.

Parity in education translates into building the footbridge to gender equality. The fact that discrimination against women is deeply embedded in many societies, as we have shown in India, makes this goal very difficult. This is particularly difficult in countries where there is a preference for males, and thus one has a tendency to invest more in boys than in girls. This trend can be seen by the health of the children; it has been shown that even in homes where food is plentiful, some women and girls suffer from malnutrition because the nourishment of men and boys takes precedent over that of the females. Other evidence of this trend can be seen in the stereotyping of women and girls into traditional female roles.

This is very prevalent in India, as women's work done outside of the home or for the market is not valued, rather they are expected to stay within the home, or do other jobs that are not traditionally considered as partaking in the official economy. The TUS have been very efficient in highlighting this tendency because they have shown the very high levels of participation by women in these activities (agricultural, domestic, voluntary, subsistence sectors).

The UNDP seems optimistic, however, and points out that more women are holding paid jobs, that are outside of the agriculture sector. In India this employment has risen by 16% since the late 1990s. Its progress, however, is slow compared to 39% in China and 46% in Sri Lanka.

iii. Improvement of maternal health

Goal n°5, which is the improvement of maternal health, is considered as being “poor” or “unlikely”. The target was to reduce the maternal mortality ration by 75%. The reasons for this poor achievement is, again, the fact that many countries pay too little attention to women's health issues.

iv. Women and the other goals

The achievement of the other MDGs is also directly linked to the achievement of the goals listed above given the key roles that women play in society, and the setbacks that leaving them “out of the loop” would entail for the country.

v. Fundamental Values

Stress is put on the “fundamental values,” namely freedom, meaning that “men and women have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger and

from the fear of violence, oppression or injustice, and equality (and that) no individual and no nation must be denied the opportunity to benefit from development. The equal rights and opportunities of women and men must be assured.” The focus here is less on the ways in which people spend their time than on the different ways in which the government and international organisations are able to provide basic services that guarantee a minimum standard of living. The focus could be oriented on the ways in which people could use their time.

MDGs and Time Use Surveys

The indirect merit of the TUS with regards to the MDGs is their ability to highlight the cultural and technical roadblocks to compiling an accurate set of work-force statistics. The surveys have proven not only the difficulty of compiling accurate work statistics in a country the size of India, but also the fact the bias of surveyors that limits the accuracy of statistics. This bias translates into a residual stigma regarding women since their work outside the home is not valued. This information is also useful at the macro-economic level in that it highlights the ways in which the government could better provide basic services such as maternal health and secondary education. These are very important first steps to combating gender prejudice.

The interest of the TUS here is, again, the measurement of the ways in which women spend their time. Only when this is understood might one seek to understand the daily lives and existence of women in these countries. Such statistics allow us to discern the activities that are taking time away from women’s schooling for example. However, as pointed out, the TUS are less helpful in measuring the roots of discrimination against women. With this in mind, one can only hope that if and when women have the possibility to work in “real” economic sector activities, socio-cultural values will not hold them back from actively participating in this sector.

B. Promoting women through the five-year development plans⁸⁶

In the ninth five-year plan (1997-2002) the Indian government clearly recognized human development as the ultimate goal of his developmental efforts, and, in particular, women’s empowerment was made a priority. Parallel to this plan, a **National Policy for Empowerment of**

⁸⁶ *Tenth five-year plan 2002-2007, Chapter 2-11, “Women and children”, Government of India Planning Commission, Yojana Bhavan, Sansad Marg, New Delhi-110 001*

Women was adopted in 2001 to eliminate all types of discrimination against women, to ensure gender justice, and to facilitate women's empowerment. Our goal in this section is not to review all the initiatives undertaken during the ninth five-year plan, but to list a few initiatives that are actually linked to the TUS, and that matched the recommendations made after the TUS.

i. Special initiatives and achievements during the ninth five-year plan

Increase women's participation in SNA activities

As we saw in the findings of the TUS, women's contribution in SNA activities is three times inferior to men's activity. The Indian government has been involved in initiatives aiming at increasing the number of women in all sectors of economic activity, and in particular in the public sector though the percentage of women is still very low: the proportion of women has risen from 11% in 1981 to 14.6% in 1997.

Gender budgeting

One of the main findings of the TUS is the necessity to adopt a gender-budgeting perspective. In the ninth five-year plan, the adoption of Women Component Plan, even if it's not directly linked to the TUS, ensures that benefits from other developmental sectors actually reach the women who need them and is not spent wholly on non-gender sensitive programs. Other measures include facilitating access to credit for women. And in 2000-2001, the government decided to introduce gender budgeting to attain more effective targeting of public expenditure on a broader scale, to minimize very common negative consequences of previous budgets. Such initiatives were not presented as a direct result of the TUS, but they definitely come from the same trend, and can be analyzed jointly.

Women in the rural world

Another finding of the TUS was that women's participation in SNA activities is higher in the rural world because many of them work in the fields. The state department of agriculture in 2000 also launched projects designed to mainstream gender concerns in agriculture, in order to better empower women, and to give them necessary training to work in the agricultural world, as wells as to have access to micro-credit.

Women in non-agricultural SNA activities

The program of Indira Mahila Yojana, launched in 1995, was recast in 2001 to empower women by raising awareness and helping them to achieve economic strength through micro-level income-generation activities.

SHG: self-help groups

The SHGs were created during the ninth year plan, and over a million of those groups exist now. They aim at giving women a place where they can articulate their needs, and share their perspectives. The tenth year plan will go on encouraging those SHGs.

ii. Commitments of the tenth plan to empower women

The main goal of the tenth five-year plan is to implement the recently adopted National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (2001), and to further develop the programs created during the ninth year plan, in particular by strengthening the partnerships between NGOs, civil society and the government, at a local and country level.

The goals of the tenth five-year plan, as listed below, are three fold: they focus on social empowerment, on economic empowerment, and on gender justice. Below is an extract of the tenth five-year plan:

- Social Empowerment - to create an enabling environment through various affirmative developmental policies and programmes for development of women besides providing them easy and equal access to all the basic minimum services so as to enable them to realise their full potentials.
- Economic Empowerment - to ensure provision of training, employment and income-generation activities with both 'forward' and 'backward' linkages with the ultimate objective of making all potential women economically independent and self-reliant; and
- Gender Justice - to eliminate all forms of gender discrimination and thus, allow women to enjoy not only the de-jure but also the de-facto rights and fundamental freedom on par with men in all spheres, viz. political, economic, social, civil, cultural etc.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ *Tenth five-year plan 2002-2007, Chapter 2-11, "Women and children"*

These plans show that even if the situation of Indian women has not evolved as it should have, great emphasis has been put on gender initiatives in the last five years, and is planned to be enhanced.

C. India country review, United Nations Development Program, June 2002

The Indian country review was made in 2002 to evaluate the first Country Cooperative Framework for India (CCF-1, 1997-2002). The CCF-1 and the ninth five-year development plan are highly congruent, especially for gender mainstreaming.

The TUS were not explicitly quoted in the Indian country review, but the country review recommendations as regards gender issues match the conclusions drawn from the main findings of the TUS. In particular, the CCF-1 emphasizes the need for consulting gender specialists when programs are formulated, so as to ensure that a gender perspective is taken for each development program. Under the CCF-1 only a few programs were reviewed by gender experts, and it should be extended to all programs in the CCF-2.

Another concern was the need for women to gain an adequate share of the benefits of economic growth, by exploring the linkages between macro-economic policies and women's lives. The TUS seem to be an excellent tool for such research, though the Indian country review didn't mention them.

D. CCA, Common Country Assessment, India 2000

The Government of India (GOI) has shown a commitment to solve the problem of poverty and related aspects, which cover many social sectors such as education, health, employment, housing, status of women, etc.

As we mentioned in the section on development plans, the Indian government made women empowerment and the promotion of gender equality one of its top priorities. Even if India has ratified the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW), the *Convention of the Rights of the Child* (CRC) and many conventions on international labor standards (*Discrimination -Employment and Occupation- Convention*, 1958 and *Equal Remuneration Convention* of 1951) and although the Indian Constitution grants women equal rights with men, gender inequality is still prevalent in the country.

The Government of India recognizes a phenomenon called the feminization of poverty: over 90 % of women workers are in the informal sector, particularly in subsistence agriculture, without any social security. Women are discriminated even in terms of wages notwithstanding the *Equal Remuneration Act* being in force. While macro-economic policies, trade liberalization and structural adjustment processes have created new opportunities in the economy, they have tended to further marginalize women who, given their low skill and productivity levels, are unable to utilize such opportunities.

Although women contribute significantly to economic processes, particularly in terms of working on farms as well as their contribution in food processing and marketing, much of their work goes unnoticed and unpaid. The Government of India has taken many initiatives to change societal attitudes towards women and to empower women : In 1985, the Government of India set up the *Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD)* within the Ministry of Human Resource Development. In 1992, the *National Commission for Women* was established, and in 1996 a *Draft National Policy for the Empowerment of Women* was drafted.

The Government of India uses TUS and national statistics surveys to know more about women and their condition. National surveys are conducted for example to gather data on women's health. These surveys lead to many discoveries about Indian women's health care such as the fact that thirty-seven percent of births to women in the last four years before the survey did not involve any antenatal care while 13 percent received care at home from a health worker, 40 percent from a doctor, and nine percent from other health professionals. To explain this, women were asked questions during the interview process.

The Government of India has moved positively and rapidly to create a policy initiative on the critical issues of the social sector. The 1996 *National Policy for the Empowerment of Women*, and other similar policy statements on other issues have made the Government of India a willing participant in achieving the objectives of a just society but he is trying to tackle very difficult issues that are rooted in the country's culture.

Annex III:

Mexico

Prepared by
Pippa Druce and Pilar Rodriganez Riccheri
June 2005

INTRODUCTION

I. EXISTING TIME USE SURVEYS IN MEXICO

- A. Methodology: biases and challenges
 - i) Time Use Survey 1996 Methodology
 - ii) Time Use Survey 2002 (ENUT 02) Methodology
- B. Main findings
 - i) Time Use Survey 1996 Results
 - ii) Time Use Survey 2002 (ENUT 02) Results
 - iii) Challenges in comparing Time Use Surveys undertaken in Mexico
- C. Evaluation of the TUS' legitimacy
 - i) An accurate portrait of trends in Mexico?
 - ii) Comparison of Time Use Surveys and National Census in Mexico
 - iii) Costs and Benefits of the Time Use Survey process

II. TUS-RELATED ENGAGEMENTS ON COUNTRY, REGIONAL AND GLOBAL LEVELS

- A. Human Development Report for Mexico 2002
- B. Mexico's Engagements for Beijing +10
 - i) Follow up of Mexico's Beijing + 5 Engagements

- ii) The Consensus of Mexico (*Consenso de México*)
 - iii) Comparative table of engagements on country, regional and global levels
- C. Forthcoming Millennium Development Goal Report for Mexico

III. APPLICATIONS OF TIME USE SURVEYS: CHALLENGES AND OBSTACLES

- A. Addressing the Imbalances: Policy implications and challenges
- i) The unequal distribution of household chores between the sexes
 - ii) Lightening the load of Childcare
 - iii) Care for sick household members
- B. Towards a Satellite Account for Unpaid Household Work
- i) Pilot exercise using TUS 1996 data: Main Findings
 - ii) Legitimacy of Pilot exercise and future challenges

CONCLUSIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

According to the *Human Development Report for Mexico* published in 2003, Mexico is ranked in 43rd place out of 70 countries on the gender equality index. Since the Platform for Action Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, Mexico has made considerable efforts to promote gender equality, through the creation of institutions, the planning and implementation of programs and active participation of civil society. However, as the 2003 *Human Development Report for Mexico* illustrates, gender equality is still a goal to strive for. Women have lower literacy rates than men, disparities exist in primary and secondary schooling rates, and women earn significantly less than men. Mexico is aware of these disparities and has displayed a firm commitment to overcoming them in the overall objective to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. The MDG's are reflected in the fields of human and social development as stated within the National Development Plan 2001 - 2006 (*Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, PND*).

In accordance with the PND, a national institute for women: Inmujeres was created by the law published the 12th of January 2001, coming into effect on the 8th of March 2001. Inmujeres then developed a National Program for Equal Opportunities and Non Discrimination 2001 - 2006 (*Programa Nacional para la Igualdad de Oportunidades y la No Discriminacion*). This program continues on from the National Plan for the advancement of women 1995 - 2000 (*Programa Nacional para el Adelanto de las Mujeres*) that was implemented in order to carry out the stipulations of the 297th paragraph of the Platform for Action of Beijing, on the elaboration of National Plans for Action.

I. EXISTING TIME USE SURVEYS IN MEXICO

There are two existing time use surveys in Mexico, the first dating from 1996, the second from 2002. There was an additional TUS carried out in 1998 by INEGI (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática*) of which the results remains unavailable. In general terms, both TUS aim to record all domestic and extra-domestic activities undertaken by women and men as well as the time dedicated to these activities.

The first TUS undertaken in Mexico was the **National Survey of Work, Contributions and Time Use 1996** (*Encuesta Nacional de Trabajo, Aportaciones y Uso de Tiempo 1996*). This

survey was initiated by the National Statistics Division for Mexico; INEGI. The 1996 TUS was undertaken as a direct consequence of the Platform for Action at the IVth World conference on Women in Beijing. Inmujeres, backed by UNIFEM then required INEGI to continue the TUS after the first survey in 1996. The second available TUS is entitled **National Survey on Time Use** (*Encuesta Nacional sobre Uso del Tiempo 2002; ENUT-2002*), this time carried out as part of the National Survey of Household Income and Expenditures (*Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares 2002; ENIGH-2002*) hence reducing the costs involved with the survey.

The specific goals outlined for ENUT-02⁸⁸ were firstly to identify and to quantify gender differences and inequalities in time use at a family and social level, secondly to present inputs that contribute to the valorisation of unpaid domestic work carried out by both sexes aged 12 and above, and finally to allow for a greater visibility of women's work in the home, and measuring the contribution of women to household production of goods and services destined for household consumption.

A. Methodology: biases and challenges

i) TUS 1996 Methodology

The TUS carried out in 1996 used a sample size of 5000 households. Household members aged eight and over were interviewed about the previous week's activities, using closed questions. The questionnaire enquired about socio-demographic characteristics, occupation of household members, household revenue and expenses. Activities included as "informal" were broken down into five broad categories; household chores, care services (of children, the sick and the elderly), family activities, community and other services. Household chores include cleaning the home, washing dishes and clothes, ironing, meal preparation, rubbish disposal, collecting water and fetching firewood. Family activities involve activities such as knitting, embroidering, making garments and transporting household members. Community services are limited to volunteer activities beneficial to the community, and other services includes activities such as paying bills, bank transactions, household shopping, upkeep of land and household repairs.

⁸⁸ INEGI. 2003. Encuesta Nacional sobre Uso del Tiempo 2002. México.

ii) ENUT 2002 Methodology

The ENUT-02 attempted to enlarge the sample size, interviewing 6126 households, yet the actual sample was reduced to 4,783 households due to various reasons such as non-response or absences. Much attention was paid to the margin for error, the survey is considered to have 90% certainty. The age range for the ENUT-02 reduced; the first interviews household members aged 8 and above, while the 2002 TUS interviews household members aged 12 and above. We must assume that children aged 8 to 11 were unable to provide reliable or relevant data for the purposes of this survey. Data collection methods remain unchanged in both cases, employing an individual interview style, in which the interviewee is required to recount the previous week's activities and the time dedicated to each activity. This method may be the best adapted to the range of households as it caters to illiterate populations, however the interview style is associated with recall problems.

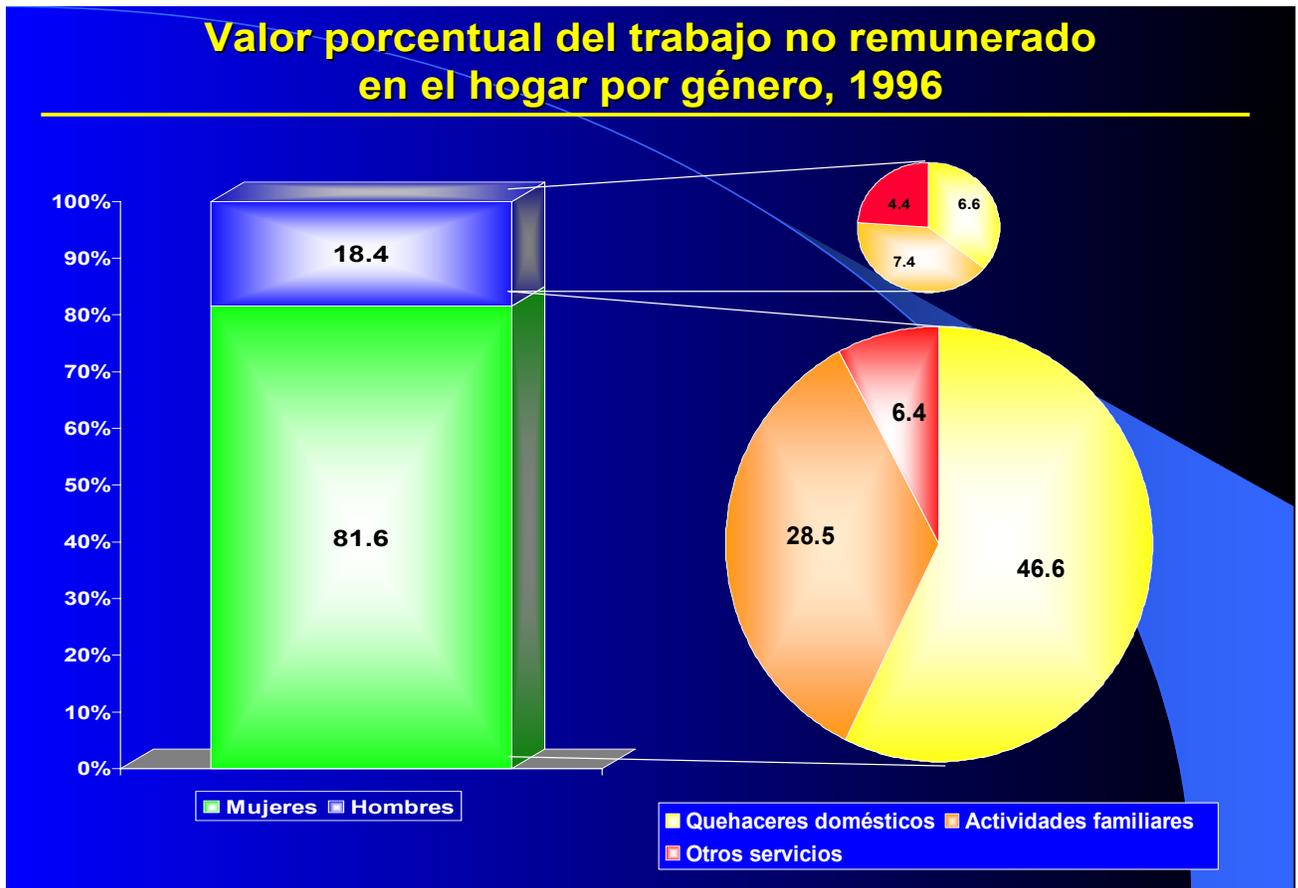
The questionnaire for the ENUT-02 expands on that of the TUS 1996, enquiring about time spent looking for work, the production of goods to be sold at market, etc. Activities included in the ENUT-02 that do not appear in the TUS 1996 include education, care and support of handicapped persons, support of other households, leisure, culture and training. The ENUT-02 also made a point of detailing activities undertaken by non household members, which was also aggregated by age, sex, relationship with head of household, time spent during the activity, pay conditions, etc. The collection was made between 18th of November and the 13th December 2002, corresponding to wintertime, and hence could have lead to certain distortions. Both surveys claim to represent a typical cross section of Mexican society, with respect to ethnicity and the rural/urban divide, the second specifically chose an even split of households from towns with more or less than 2,500 inhabitants. However, it remains unfortunate that neither survey disaggregates statistics according to urban/ rural settings⁸⁹, as has been done in Benin for example. The ENUT-02 pays attention to margins for error as well as providing a detailed breakdown of results, thus making it the most relevant for eventual application in terms of policy, rather than that of 1996.

B. Main findings

i) Time Use Survey 1996 Results

⁸⁹ The reasons behind this exclusion have not been clarified.

The TUS carried out in 1996 remains unavailable for public viewing. The few results included in this report were taken from a presentation made by María Eugenia Gómez Luna; expert on TUS for INEGI during a Conference held in Santiago de Chile in December 2003⁹⁰. These results demonstrate a there is a strong division of household labour in terms of gender, above all in care and economic activities. For example women undertake 83.7% of all childcare activities, and 76.4% of care for the sick and elderly. Women also do the household shopping (73.5%), and shuttle household members to and from the home (75.7%). With respect to work within and outside the home, women do 87.8 % of total household work, while men will carry out 74.3% of work outside the home⁹¹. Of unpaid work, we were able to access the following results⁹²:



⁹⁰ María Eugenia Gómez Luna. December 2003. El Trabajo No Remunerado en el Sistema de Cuentas Nacionales. Una aplicación del a Encuesta de Uso del Tiempo. El Caso de México. Presentation for the Reunión de Expertos en Encuestas sobre Uso del Tiempo. Santiago de Chile.

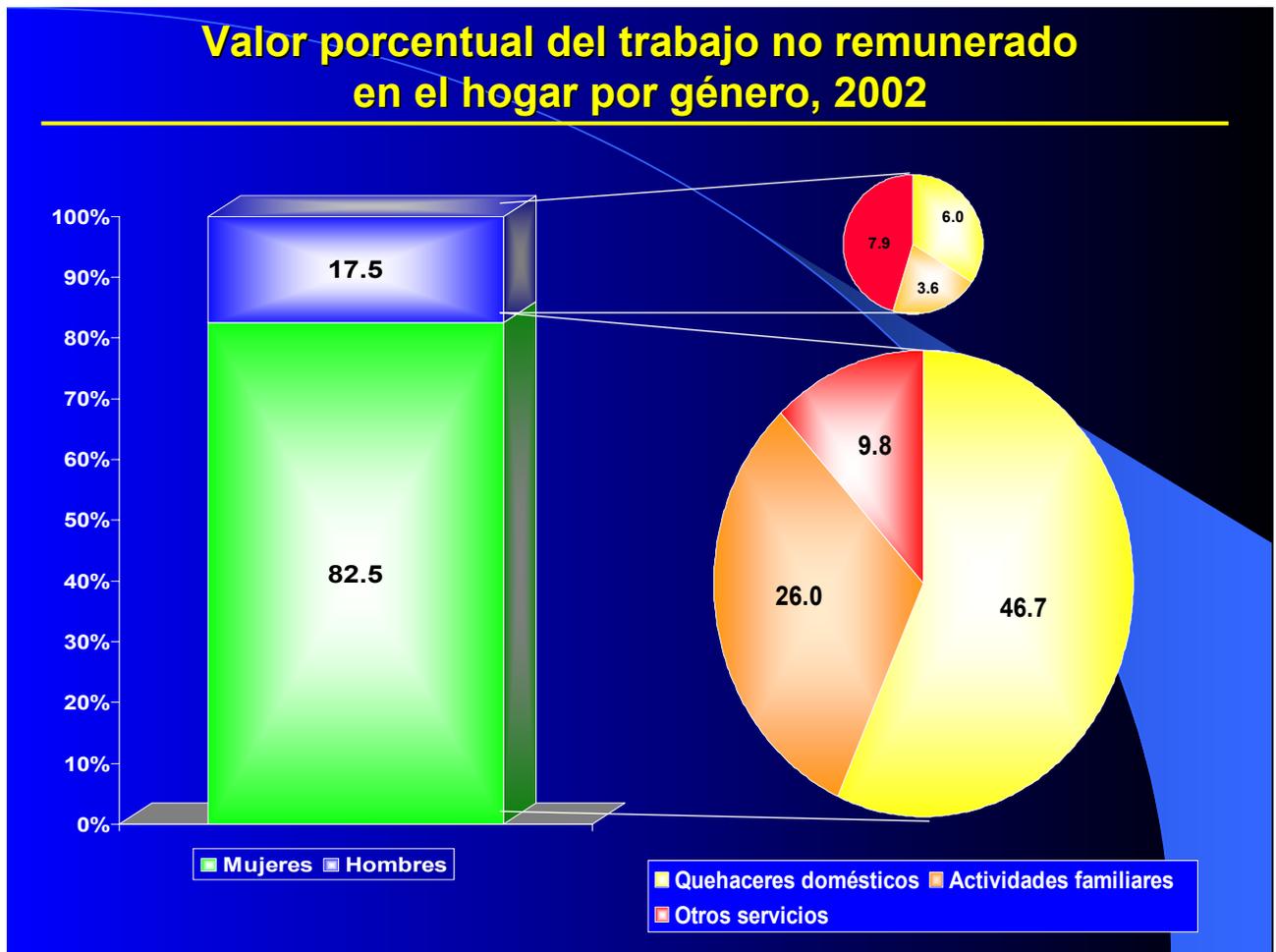
⁹¹ The fact of this work being paid or unpaid was not specified in the presentation.

⁹² María Eugenia Gómez Luna. December 2003. El Trabajo No Remunerado en el Sistema de Cuentas Nacionales. Una aplicación del a Encuesta de Uso del Tiempo. El Caso de México. Presentation for the Reunión de Expertos en Encuestas sobre Uso del Tiempo. Santiago de Chile.

This graph details that 81 % of unpaid household work is undertaken by women, of which most time is dedicated to household chores (*quehaceres domésticos*) representing 46.6 % of unpaid household work, followed by family activities (*actividades familiares*); 28.5 %, and lastly other services (*otros servicios*) representing 6.4% of time dedicated to unpaid household work undertaken by women.

Men on the other hand contribute to 18.4% of household work, of which 8.8 % is dedicated to household chores, followed by 7.4 % towards family activities and then 4.4% towards other services. It is unfortunate that care activities are not included in this breakdown.

ii) Time Use Survey 2002 (ENUT 02) Results

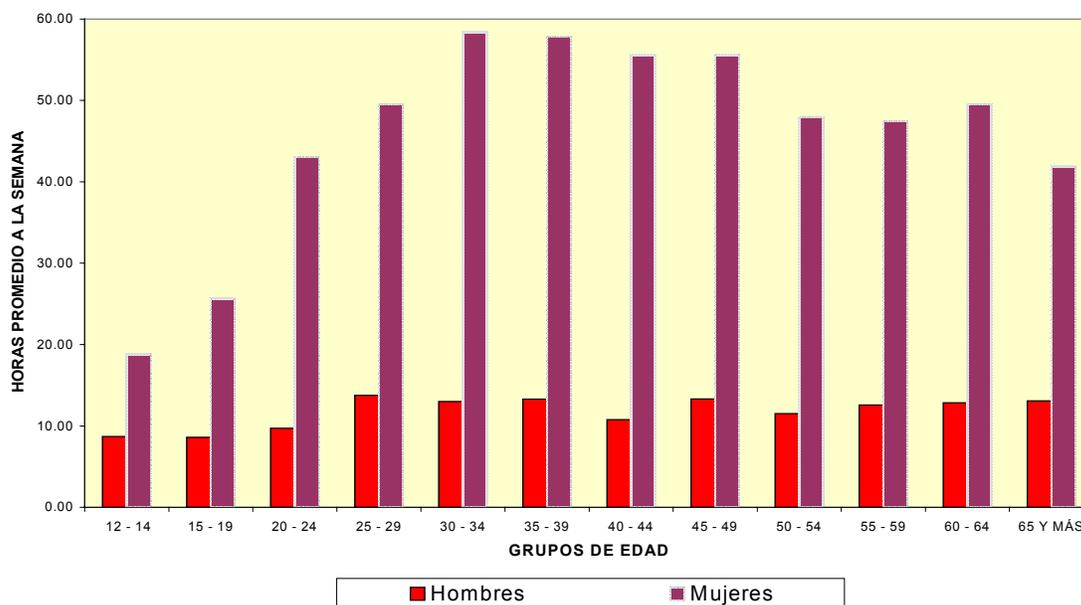


This graph demonstrates that 82.5 % of unpaid household work is undertaken by women, of which 46.7 % is dedicated towards household chores, then 26.0% to family activities, and lastly 9.8% on other services. In contrast, men undertake 17.5 % of unpaid household work, of which 7.9 % is dedicated to other services, then 6.0% to household chores, followed by 3.6% to family activities.

ii) a) Differential participation in household work according to age and sex

According to the ENUT-02, the division between the sexes with respect to household work is highly marked, with women dedicating between 18.8 and 58.4 hours per week, contrasting sharply with men's participation; between 8.6 and 13.8 hours per week. Also, from the age of 20, women will work more than 40 hours per week in the home, a load which increases to over 55 hours per week between the ages of 30 and 55. The following graph details Average Hours per Week Dedicated to Household Work according to Sex and Age group.⁹³

GRÁFICA 2: HORAS PROMEDIO SEMANALES DEDICADAS AL TRABAJO DOMÉSTICO, SEGÚN SEXO Y GRUPOS DE EDAD



⁹³ María Eugenia Gómez Luna. December 2003. El Trabajo No Remunerado en el Sistema de Cuentas Nacionales. Una aplicación del a Encuesta de Uso del Tiempo. El Caso de México. Presentation for the Reunión de Expertos en Encuestas sobre Uso del Tiempo. Santiago de Chile.

This graph neatly illustrates the unequal distribution of household work, equating to more than 50 hours of work per week for women (in purple) aged 30 and over. It is also interesting to note that this trend begins from a young age (girls aged between 12 and 14 will dedicate 175% more time than their brothers on household work; (refer to Bii) c). This trend is reinforced in the age bracket 20 – 24, again between the ages of 25 and 30, and increases further between the ages of 30 to 35. This upward trend could be attributed to an increased load of household work as women marry or have children.

ii)b) Breakdown and distribution of activities according to gender

The breakdown of household work by the ENUT-02 reveals that the most time consuming activity is meal preparation, taking up 13.7 hours per week on average. In second place we find childcare and care for other household members, representing 11.6 hours per week. Cleaning of the home involved 11.4 hours per week. In third place, we find care for handicapped people (8.2 hours per week), and lastly mending and washing clothes, taking up on average 5.9 hours per week.

Wide disparities in participation between the sexes stand out in various activities; for example cleaning the home, in which women dedicate 229% more time than men, (15 and 4.6 hours per week on average respectively). Women also dedicate more time than men to childcare, spending 13.8 hours per week looking after children, compared to 7.7 hours by men. With respect to care of handicapped persons, women dedicate 10 hours while men dedicate 4.8 hours per week on average. It is important to underline that childcare and care of handicapped persons are the two activities that men dedicate most time towards. The greatest gap is recorded with respect to mending and washing clothes; in which women dedicate 274% more time than men (7.6 hours per week and 2 hours per week respectively). These disparities between women and men can attribute these differences to well established gender roles in Mexican society.

ii) c) Household work according to position in household

As mentioned previously, girls will spend 175% more time than their brothers on household work, working 25.9 hours per week as opposed to 9.4 hours for boys. This last result is possibly the most shocking; illustrating that gender roles are enforced from a young age and will

be considerably reinforced during adolescence and adulthood, as can be seen from the graph included above.

ii) d) Economic activities and leisure time

The ENUT-02 reveals significant disparities between the genders with respect to paid work; in which men dedicate almost more 10 hours per week to paid work than women (49.1 hours and 39.9 hours respectively). Also, men spend more time travelling to work (6.6 hours) than women (4.9 hours). Amongst the explanations, we can postulate that women work more from home, or work closer to the home in order to fulfil their load of household work and to be closer to their children.

With respect to recreation, culture and social time, men dedicate roughly 22 hours per week, and women 19.1. Men practice more sport than women (8.7 hours as opposed to 7.6), watch more television (13.3 as opposed to 12.4), and dedicate 42 minutes more than women to reading and listening to music. Furthermore, men spend more time with their family and friends than women (7.7 hours per week compared with 5.9 hours). These differences between the sexes in amount personal time (playing sport, reading, watching television, listening to music, spending time with family and friends etc.) may not be very significant, but are a crucial statistic in order to assess quality of life of Mexican households.

iii) Challenges in comparing Time Use Surveys undertaken in Mexico

As the results for the ENUT-02 are highly detailed compared with those of the 1996 TUS, it remains difficult for us to make an extensive comparison with the TUS 1996. Nonetheless, Gómez Luna includes a brief comparison between both TUS in her presentation; demonstrating that no significant change has been made in the division of unpaid household work, according to the TUS 1996 women carry out 81.6% , as compared with 82.5% according to the ENUT-02. Also, the breakdown of unpaid work for each sex was extremely similar in both TUS. We can conclude that the division of household work between the sexes has undergone no visible change, and that the general trends highlighted by the TUS are stable. We can attribute this fact to the highly cultural nature of the division of household work, as a reflection of deeply engrained gender stereotypes in Mexico.

C. Evaluation of the TUS' legitimacy

i) An accurate portrait of trends in Mexico?

The TUS demonstrate marked disparities between the sexes in terms of contribution to unpaid household work. Along with the attention paid to margin for error, we can allow ourselves to assume that the results describe current trends and provide a reasonable portrait of Mexican households.

With respect to the methodology, there are some well documented problems associated with the interview method that requires individuals to recall their previous week's activities and time spent dedicated to each activity. Amongst these problems we can include difficulties of recall and the inability to record multi-tasking. As previously mentioned, with respect to the season in which the TUS were carried out, we are only aware of the collection dates for the ENUT 2002, carried out in November/ December. This season corresponds to wintertime in Mexico. While winters in Mexico are generally mild, this seasonal bias may translate into certain distortions with respect to time spent caring for children, for the sick or elderly, or greater time spent collecting flora and fauna (e.g. firewood) than would be recorded in warmer months.

ii) Comparison of TUS and National Census

In Mexico there is a decennial nation-wide census, the last was carried out in 2000. The National Census aims to provide an accurate snapshot of Mexico and the characteristics of its population and households. Questions regarding economic activity only refer to paid work, and therefore exclude all unpaid household activity from its scope. A specific section addresses women but concentrates mainly on questions concerning infant and maternal mortality. It remains clear that the Census is unable to provide a dynamic portrait of the general trends in Mexican households. The TUS are therefore vital in providing insight into the distribution of work within the home. This data is much more revealing with respect to gender roles, snags to equitable workloads for both genders etc.

iii) Costs and Benefits of TUS process

The literature from INEGI stresses the importance of the fact that the 2002 TUS is carried out under the umbrella of the National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure, creating a

visible link between TUS and economic data that reinforces the value and eventual applications of the TUS. Also, the fact of including the ENUT-02 within another survey reduced overall costs and economises time in the sample design and the actual survey. We can forward an interpretation of the incorporation into another survey as an evolution of the use and perceived legitimacy of TUS in Mexico.

II. TUS-RELATED ENGAGEMENTS ON COUNTRY, REGIONAL AND GLOBAL LEVELS

A. Human Development Report for Mexico 2003

In 2003, Mexico published the first Human Development report. As the information for this report was compiled and written up in 2002, it does not employ statistics generated from the ENUT 2002, nor from the TUS 1996 ; perhaps due to the fact that this data was not sufficiently recent to include. However, the document mentions that economic inequalities tend to affect women most, citing statistics produced by INEGI; using the National System of Accounts of Mexico, the Bank of Economic Information, dating from 2000. The fact that the TUS have not been carried out on a regular basis has led to their exclusion from important reports such as Human Development and Millennium Development Goal's Reports, as their data will not be sufficiently current to include. The fact that they were not used then reduces their legitimacy and diminishes their potential role in providing vital statistics.

In the fourth chapter of Mexico's Human Development Report dedicated to inequalities, the report states that gender, civil status and number of children are among the principal factors determining the decision to participate in the job market. The report highlights that women regularly participate less than men in the job market, a trend that remains largely unchanged between 1989 and 2000. The fact of having more children correlates with greater participation in the job market for men and reduced participation for women, again a trend largely unchanged since 1989. Married men will work more than unmarried men, while married women will work less than unmarried women, although this latter trend is less marked in 2000 than in 1989⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ PNUD. 2003. *Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano*, México 2002. p 94

B. Mexico's Engagements for Beijing +10

For the Beijing + 10 Conference, Mexico produced various documents, including a detailed report in response to the Beijing + 5 questionnaire, a report on the region wide Consenso de México and produced a sophisticated overview of the different mandates undertaken by various programs (PROEQUIDAD, Beijing, Beijing + 5, MDG's, Consenso de Mexico etc) with respect to their common goal of promoting gender equality and women's empowerment.

i) Follow up of Mexico's Beijing + 5 Engagements⁹⁵

With respect to institutional development, this report highlights the actions taken through the National Development Plan 2001 to 2006 (*Plan Nacional de Desarrollo*), and more specifically the actions undertaken by PROEQUIDAD ; the National Program for Equal Opportunities and Non Discrimination 2001 - 2006 (*Programa Nacional para la Igualdad de Oportunidades y la No Discriminacion*), launched in 2001. This report specifically mentions the use of the 2002 TUS, and insists on the necessity for gender-specific statistics in order to raise awareness of the status of women in Mexico.

The National Women's Institute; Inmujeres, signed an agreement with the National Department of Statistics; INEGI (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática) in June of 2001 committing to their engagement in the planning and execution of programs related to gender specific statistics. This commitment has lead to the generation of various statistical surveys focusing on gender; amongst which we find the ENUT 2002. In addition INEGI has elaborated a Guide to Gender Sensitive Budget Analysis *Guía para el Análisis de Presupuestos*, numerous systems of gender sensitive indicators (*Sistema de Indicadores para el Seguimiento de la Situación de la Mujer, Sistema Interactivo de Seguimiento de la Convención sobre la Eliminación de todas las Formas de Discriminación contra la Mujer, Sistema Estatal de Indicadores de Género, etc.*), the National Survey on Family Dynamics (*Encuesta Nacional sobre la Dinámica de*

⁹⁵ Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres. April 2004. Respuestas al Cuestionario enviado a los gobiernos por la División para el Adelanto de la Mujer de las Naciones Unidas sobre la aplicación de la Plataforma de Acción de Beijing (1995) y los resultados del vigésimo tercer periodo extraordinario de sesiones de la Asamblea General (2000). México.

Relaciones Familiares) and various publications and bulletins designed to raise awareness on gender issues in Mexico.

ii) The Consensus of Mexico (*Consenso de México*)⁹⁶

The Consensus of Mexico was signed at the Ninth Regional Conference of on Women of Latin America organized by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC/ CEPAL) that took place in Mexico D.F, in June of 2004. The Consensus contains a series of engagements and goals with respect to women, adopted by the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. It is consistent with the previous engagements declared at the Beijing conference and aims to help achieve the MDG's.

The engagements to be undertaken by the governments include amongst others; to adopt measures in political and legal fields that will ensure the full development and advancement of women such as to guarantee their full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental liberties as men's equals, to incorporate gender mainstreaming into the planning, implementation and evaluation of public policies and budgets, to fight poverty, to promote job creation for women, to recognize the value of domestic and other unpaid work, to protect and support women working in the informal sector, to consider gender with respect to trade relations, to encourage female education, to promote a culture that respects women, to revise and implement legislation that guarantees sexual and reproductive rights as well as access to health care, to reinforce efforts in the fight against HIV/AIDS, to adopt measures against violence against women, to guarantee the respect of women's property rights, to promote women's participation in public decision making, and to promote international cooperation in order to fulfill the objectives outlined in Beijing.

This document remains largely declarative, and in doing so fails to outline clear and precise measures to be undertaken in order to put these goals into practice in terms of public policy. The text also fails to set concrete goals such as reduction of women's illiteracy or maternal mortality rates by a specified percentage. However, we must recognize that this text is a consensus adopted by countries with extremely varied situations, rendering the establishment of precise criteria on a regional level problematic.

⁹⁶CEPAL. 2004. *Consenso de México*. México.

iii) Comparative table of engagements on country, regional and global levels
(Articulación entre CEDAW, BEIJING, METAS DEL MILENIO y CONSENSO DE MEXICO)

This highly detailed document was carried out by Inmujeres with the support of the Department for International Affairs. It aims to compare mandates of various programs from the country to the international level aiming to promote the advancement of women. Major categories include poverty, Education and Training, Health, Violence, Armed Conflict, Economy and Employment, Power and Decision Making, Human Rights, Message Dissemination, Environment, Young Girls etc. Under the section for Employment, we come across ways to move beyond TUS and draw policy conclusions, at the country, region and global levels.

At the country level, the “Strategic Line” 3.9 (*Líneas Estratégicas*) of PROEQUIDAD 2001 – 2006 that aims to “Promote the valuing of domestic work and the equitable distribution of family chores⁹⁷”. This engagement is reinforced at the regional level through the Consenso de México. The seventh point of this consensus engages to “Recognize the economic value domestic and other unpaid work, to ensure the protection and support of women working in the informal sector, especially in relation to care services of children and of the elderly, and to implement policies that allow a reconciliation between family and working life, involving both women and men in this process⁹⁸.” Similarly, these efforts are part of the overall framework detailed by the “Specific Objectives for the Platform for Action of Beijing – 1995”, of which point F6 aims to “Promote the reconciliation between men and women of responsibilities with respect to work and family⁹⁹”.

This objective was further elaborated under the “New actions undertaken at Beijing + 5” in 2000. Amongst these New Actions we can list point 82 a) that engages to “Promote and protect

⁹⁷ “Promover la valoración del trabajo doméstico y el reparto equitativo del as cargas familiares” *Articulación entre CEDAW, BEIJING, METAS DEL MILENIO Y CONSENSO DE MÉXICO*, Inmujeres, 2004.

⁹⁸ “Reconocer el valor económico del trabajo doméstico y productivo no remunerado, procurar protección para las mujeres que trabajan el sector informal, particularmente en relación con los servicios de cuidado de niños y niñas y personas adultas mayores, e implementar políticas que permitan conciliar la vida familiar y laboral, involucrando a hombres y mujeres en este proceso” *Articulación entre CEDAW, BEIJING, METAS DEL MILENIO Y CONSENSO DE MÉXICO*, Inmujeres, 2004.

⁹⁹ “Fomentar la armonización de las responsabilidades del as mujeres y los hombres en lo que respecta al trabajo y la familia” *Articulación entre CEDAW, BEIJING, METAS DEL MILENIO Y CONSENSO DE MÉXICO*, Inmujeres, 2004.

workers rights and to adopt means to eliminate the structural and legal barriers as well as existing stereotypes in relation with equality of the sexes in the world of work, concerned with ... inequality in the division of family responsibilities between women and men.¹⁰⁰” This is complemented by point 82 b) that calls to “Promote programs that allow women and men to reconcile family and work responsibilities and to encourage men to share equally with women child care and tasks within the home”¹⁰¹ Points 82 c, d and e elaborate upon these engagements, aiming, for example, to promote policies and campaigns that raise awareness about the equitable distribution of household work and childcare between the sexes.

C. Forthcoming Millennium Development Goal Report for Mexico

In 2005, Mexico will publish their first report on the progress in attaining the Millennium Development Goals for 2015. We managed to obtain a preliminary version, which we cannot at this stage include in citations or in the bibliography. With respect to objective 3, promoting gender equality and empowerment of women, Mexico has already reached the specific target of eliminating inequalities in primary and secondary education. Under participation in economic activities, the report highlights the systematic undervaluing of household work, as well as the uneven distribution of tasks between women and men in the home.

The report cites figures that data from 2002 on time dedicated to household work, (that men on average dedicate 7.4 hours per week to household work, while women dedicate 37.1 hours per week¹⁰²) however the preliminary MDG report does not explicitly refer to the 2002 TUS. We must therefore infer the use of the 2002 TUS for provision of statistics. The report also highlights the double burden on women who also participate in paid work outside the home. Furthermore, women find themselves maladapted to the paid economy due to time constraints involved with their participation in household work.

¹⁰⁰ “Promover y proteger los derechos de las trabajadoras y adoptar medidas para eliminar las barreras estructurales y jurídicas y los estereotipos existentes en relación con la igualdad entre los géneros en el mundo laboral, ocupándose, entre otras cosas, de la desigualdad en la división de las responsabilidades familiares entre mujeres y hombres”. Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres. 2004. *Articulación entre CEDAW, BEIJING, METAS DEL MILENIO Y CONSENSO DE MÉXICO*. México.

¹⁰¹ “Promover programas que permitan que las mujeres y los hombres reconcilien sus responsabilidades laborales y familiares y alentar a los hombres a compartir por igual con las mujeres las funciones de atención del hogar y de los hijos”. Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres. 2004. *Articulación entre CEDAW, BEIJING, METAS DEL MILENIO Y CONSENSO DE MÉXICO*. México.

¹⁰² Resumen Ejecutivo *Los Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio en México: Informe de Avance 2005*, p 25.

III. APPLICATIONS OF TIME USE SURVEYS: CHALLENGES AND OBSTACLES

A. Addressing the Imbalances: Policy implications and challenges

INEGI stated that the desired application of TUS through public policy and other programs would be to assure an agreeable environment in the home, in which both women and men can enjoy both quality time with their families, as well as time for personal activities, be it studying, reading, dancing, or praying etc.

Furthermore, INEGI mentioned an underlying objective: that full enjoyment of time dedicated to personal activities for either sex must not translate into a sensation of guilt or neglect of their family. For Mexico, the overall goal is liberation of time to enhance quality of life and interpersonal relations.

i) Unequal distribution of household chores between the sexes

This problem is amongst the principal findings highlighted by the TUS. While the program PROEQUIDAD (the national program for Equal opportunities and non-discrimination 2001 – 2006) lists this topic as being of primary importance, it remains difficult to treat at the policy level¹⁰³. Consultants from INEGI highlighted that there is a significant gap between recognising unequal division of labour within the home, and convincing men and women of this issues' importance. This topic is difficult to put on the agenda, as these problems arise from long standing cultural norms that have lead to well established gender roles.

ii) Lightening the load of Childcare

Both TUS reveal that child care takes up significant amounts of time for both women and men. PROEQUIDAD lists the lack of childcare facilities amongst the primary concerns in their program. As we were unable to identify programs addressing this problem, policies dedicated to childcare facilities have great potential to impact upon women's time use.

¹⁰³ Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, Programa Nacional para la Igualdad de Oportunidades y No Discriminación Contra las Mujeres (PROEQUIDAD). 2001. *Objetivos y Líneas Estratégicas*. México.

iii) Care for sick household members

Both TUS reveal that women dedicate a lot of time to caring for sick household members. PROEQUIDAD mentions the lack of support of individuals who care for the elderly or sick among the strategic lines of their program¹⁰⁴. A forthcoming report¹⁰⁵ initiated by the Mexican Ministry of Health (*Secretaria de Salud*) applies the results of the ENUT-02 with respect to care for sick household members and the striking participation of women compared to men. This study is qualitative as well as quantitative, taking into account the disproportionate emotional and physical stress placed on women involved in care for sick household members. These quantitative and qualitative disparities are then used to illustrate deficiencies of the existing Mexican health system, for example the lack of information about actual supply of health services, or the availability of such services within the home (house calls, etc).

B. Towards a Satellite Account for Unpaid Household Work

i) Pilot exercise using TUS 1996 data: Main Findings

The results of the 1996 time use survey were used by the director of Satellite Accounts at INEGI, Rosa María Rodríguez Skewes, to estimate the value of unpaid household, with the wider goal of increasing its visibility. INEGI developed two exercises based upon different price sources, in order to ascertain a greater degree of certainty. Both exercises differentiate between unpaid household work and voluntary community services. In both cases similar results were obtained; in 1996, unpaid household work in Mexico contributed to roughly 17% of GDP, of which women contribute roughly 14% and men approximately 3%.

Participation to value attributed to unpaid household Services¹⁰⁶

In the total GDP, by Sex

1996

Table 1

--	--	--

¹⁰⁴ Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, Programa Nacional para la Igualdad de Oportunidades y No Discriminación Contra las Mujeres (PROEQUIDAD). 2001. *Objetivos y Líneas Estratégicas*. México.

¹⁰⁵ This report is not yet official, such that we are unable to include a bibliographical reference.

¹⁰⁶ Rodríguez Skewes. 1996.

	Exercise A 1_ /		Exercise B 2_ /	
	Thousands of pesos	%	Thousands of pesos	%
Total GDP at market prices 3_	3,044,540,687	100.0	3,030,933,735	100.0
Total unpaid services	518,965,658	17.0	505,358,706	16.7
Women	438,967,432	14.4	412,319,594	13.6
Men	79,998,226	2.6	93,039,112	3.1

1_ / Using mean remunerations from the System of National Accounts of Mexico from 1996, 1993 data base

2_ / Using mean remunerations from the 1996 National Time Use Survey

3_ / Includes attribution

While the results with respect to the proportion of GDP were similar in both exercises, there were significant differences in the value accorded to the activities and therefore in their aggregation by gender, due to the different prices used in each exercise. In exercise A, care services are the most time intensive activity for both sexes, representing 54% of non remunerated services executed within the household. Of this 54 %, women undertake 44.5% and men 9.5%, corresponding to a large inequality in the distribution of care services within the home. According to exercise A, the most time was spent on care services, followed by household chores, then services such as paying bills, shopping etc.

In contrast, exercise B household chores were the most time intensive, representing 52.8% of non remunerated services within the home, of which women undertook 46.3% and men 6.5%.

In both cases, time spent on voluntary community services was negligible, as we can see from the following table.

Non-remunerated services by sex and activity 1996

	Exercise A_/		Exercise B_/		
	Thousands of pesos	%	Thousands pesos	of	%
Total unpaid services	520 956 892	100.0	508 866 357		100.0
<i>Domestic chores</i>	198 353 281	38.1	268 751 918		52.8
<i>Care services</i>	281 249 850	54.0	163 316 459		32.1
-Childcare	263 167 978	50.5	149 323 585		29.3
-Care of elderly	8 216 835	1.6	6 057 635		1.2
-Care for the sick	9 865 027	1.9	7 935 239		1.6
Family activities	11 387 357	2.2	18 357 145		3.6
Other services	27 957 181	5.3	54 933 184		10.8
Community services	1 991 233	0.4	3 507 651		0.7
Women	439 503 500	84.4	413 284 028		81.2
Domestic chores	180 053 994	34.6	235 546 060		46.3
Care services	231 968 733	44.5	128 543 661		25.3
-Childcare	217 570 781	41.8	117 386 697		23.1
-Care of elderly	6 777 504	1.3	5 124 119		1.0
-Care for the sick	7 620 448	1.5	6 032 845		1.2
Family activities	9 789 630	1.9	15 722 870		3.1

Other services	17 155 075	3.3	32 507 003	6.4
Community services	536 068	0.1	964 434	0.2
Men	81 453 392	15.6	95 582 329	18.8
Domestic chores	18 299 287	3.5	33 205 858	6.5
Care services	49 281 107	9.5	34 772 798	6.9
-Childcare	45 597 197	8.8	31 936 888	6.3
-Care of elderly	1 439 331	0.3	933 516	0.2
-Care for the sick	2 244 579	0.4	1 902 394	0.4
Family activities	1 597 727	0.3	2 634 275	0.5
Other services	10 820 106	2.1	22 426 181	4.4
Community services	1 455 165	0.3	2 543 217	0.5

The following table shows the same results, disaggregated by sex.

Total value of non remunerated household services in terms of GDP, aggregated by sex

	Exercise A_/		Exercise B_/	
	Proportion of total GDP at Market Prices	Distribution of services by Sex	Proportion of total GDP at Market Prices	Distribution of services by Sex
	%	%	%	%
Total GDP at market prices *_/	100.0		100.0	

Total unpaid services	17.1	100.0	16.8	100.0
Domestic chores	6.5	38.1	8.9	52.8
Care services	9.2	53.9	5.4	32.1
-Childcare	8.6	50.5	4.9	29.3
-Care of elderly	0.3	1.6	0.2	1.2
-Care for the sick	0.3	1.9	0.3	1.6
Family activities	0.4	2.2	0.6	3.6
Other services	0.9	5.4	1.8	10.8
Community services	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.7
Women	14.4	100.0	13.6	100.0
Domestic chores	5.9	39.2	7.8	57.0
Care services	7.6	52.8	4.3	31.1
-Childcare	7.1	49.5	3.9	28.4
-Care of elderly	0.2	1.5	0.2	1.2
-Care for the sick	0.3	1.8	0.2	1.4
Family activities	0.3	2.2	0.5	3.8
Other services	0.6	3.9	1.1	7.9
Community services	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2
Men	2.7	100.0	3.1	100.0
Domestic chores	0.6	22.5	1.1	34.7

Care services	1.6	60.5	1.1	36.3
-Childcare	1.5	55.9	1.1	33.3
-Care of elderly	0.0	1.8	0.0	1.0
-Care for the sick	0.1	2.7	0.1	2.0
Family activities	0.1	2.0	0.1	2.8
Other services	0.4	13.3	0.7	23.4
Community services	0.0		0.1	2.7

ii) Legitimacy of Pilot exercise and future challenges

Based on the results of these two exercises, it seems that Satellite Accounts have a good potential to represent the contribution that unpaid household work makes to GDP (roughly the same results are attained). However, when it comes to a more detailed break-down of men and women's contributions to this work, the results varied significantly depending on different sources used. We can only conclude that the development of a Satellite Account for household work is in an embryonic stage, and that due to such disparities their validity is, as yet, unsure. INEGI is currently undertaking a similar exercise with the results of the ENUT-2002 however it remains as yet provisional.

CONCLUSION

Since the Conference held at Beijing in 1995, Mexico has demonstrated a strong commitment to gender equality and the advancement of women. The institutionalization of these commitments in the body Inmujeres has given a coherent framework to the engagements undertaken at various levels, such as the Millennium Development Goals or the Consenso de Mexico. Furthermore, the creation of Inmujeres has allowed the development of key programs such as PROEQUIDAD, that aim to address issues of discrimination against women at the local and country levels.

With respect to TUS, Mexico is aware of the necessity for accurate gender sensitive statistics as a fundamental tool for locating problems with respect to gender equality, thus facilitating the design of appropriate policies. In June of 2001, INEGI and Inmujeres reached an accord formalising the regular collection and publication of gender sensitive statistics, setting the stage for the execution of future TUS in Mexico. Since the first TUS carried out in 1996, the TUS have evolved in terms of methodology and implementation, rendering them more accessible, easier to interpret and less costly. Important applications of the ENUT-02 are still in progress, such as the attempt to calculate a satellite account for unpaid household work in Mexico, a project that presents exciting prospects for the coming years. Nevertheless the TUS are often absent from important documents such as Human Development Reports etc, suggesting that they lack either visibility or legitimacy. While we believe that the TUS carried out in Mexico (especially the ENUT- 02) provide an accurate portrait of trends in Mexican households, the TUS in themselves do not appear to make a significant impact on policy design, only serving as a source of statistics.

Annex IV:

QUESTIONNAIRE

Three Case Studies of Time Use Survey Application
In Lower and Middle Income Countries

June 2005

UNDP

Sciences Po

INTRODUCTION

- Since the mid 1990's Time Use Surveys (TUS) have been carried out in many northern and southern countries in order to better evaluate the care economy. The care economy can be defined as all unpaid household activities (cooking, child care, care for the sick, etc.) that could potentially be exchanged on the market, and that could therefore be considered as economic activity. Such activities are primarily carried out by women.
- Given that the care economy is not included in the calculation of GDP, the activities that make up the care economy often remain "invisible" and unrecognized by economists and policy makers alike. Furthermore, due to the lack of adequate infrastructure in many countries in the global South, activities such as fetching water, (and consequently all of the activities dependent on using water, such as washing clothes) people, particularly women, must spend large amounts of time dedicated to these "invisible," non-remunerated activities. Moreover, as girls often participate in such activities from a very early age, they consequently have considerably less time to dedicate to pursuing an education as well as other activities.
- When women and girls are educated, there are often many positive side effects in the areas of family hygiene and nutrition; education of children; and the family's overall wellbeing. However, given the disproportionately high contribution women make to the care economy, they often simply do not have the time to engage in pursuing an education.
- Alleviating women's work burden and/or assisting them in integrating into the formal sector could not only increase the time they could dedicate to pursuing an education, but it could also help them have access to jobs that would allow them to increase their income, and consequently improve the quality of life of their family and community. Improving women's access to education and paid work could also assist in improving their status in society and could open the door for women to participate more actively in the development process.
- In order to alleviate women's "invisible" work burden, economists, statisticians and policy-makers first need to recognize and take into account the importance of the care economy. One of the first steps in recognizing the important role of the care economy is in properly quantifying its contribution to GDP. TUS provide the data necessary to quantify the care economy, and through the use of satellite accounts, the impact of the care economy on GDP can be measured. Furthermore, by identifying sectors in which women bear a disproportionately high work burden and through providing invaluable

gender disaggregated data, TUS also represent an important tool for devising gender sensitive economic and public policy.

- Several years have passed since the first TUS were conducted in developing countries. Whether and to what extent the TUS findings have in fact been used to devise gender sensitive policy, however, remains unclear in many cases. While studies such as the current paper on the use of TUS data are being carried out, more on-the-ground information is needed before any truly conclusive remarks can be made. The following questionnaire has been devised to explore the questions of gender inequality and the (non)use of TUS data in developing countries. Once collected, the responses could potentially be used to influence future policy decisions aiming at ensuring a better use of TUS data.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

- In order to have as complete a vision as possible of people's perceptions of TUS data use and gender issues, this questionnaire should be sent to a variety of actors such as economists, statisticians, government officials and policy makers, NGOs, women's organisations and others. Once the questionnaires have been returned, the responses can then be compared and analyzed.
- As the results of this questionnaire could potentially be used to help decision-makers devise gender sensitive macroeconomic policy, it is important that respondents be as specific as possible in speaking of the obstacles encountered in using TUS data in their country. Additionally, respondents are encouraged to make suggestions about ways to overcome these obstacles that could be effective in the specific context of their country, basing their suggestions on their personal knowledge of the country's particular realities. Even if the respondent is not a specialist on gender issues and TUS, they are nonetheless encouraged to reflect on possible approaches to addressing gender inequality and women's unpaid work.
- These questions have been conceived as a starting point in the process of better understanding why TUS results often remain underused in developing countries. Respondents should therefore not feel limited only to answering the questions contained in the questionnaire, but are strongly encouraged to add any reflections that they feel are relevant to the subject.

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Use of Time Use Surveys (TUS)

A. Has your country set up specific gender sensitive policies pursuant to its TUS?

1. If the answer is yes, please explain how the TUS data was used to inform such policy. If the answer is no, what do you feel were the most significant roadblocks in using the TUS data to inform gender sensitive policy?

2. If gender sensitive policies were enacted pursuant to the TUS, do you feel these policies were effective?

3. If no gender sensitive policies have resulted from the TUS findings, is your country planning to establish such policies?

B. Is your country aware of uses of TUS data that have proven effective in other countries?

1. If so, which ones?

2. Is your country currently integrating initiatives at using TUS data that have proven effective elsewhere in its own policy?

3. Is your country interested in/willing to consider integrating these efforts into its own policy? If not, why do you feel this is so?

Examples of ways in which TUS data can be used

- Integrating gender issues in national budgets:
 - Sexospecific budget initiatives (Ex. Malawi and Namibia)
- Microfinance initiatives:
 - Rotating credit associations, mid-way between traditional credit and African *tontines* (Ex. Nigeria and Angola)
 - Solidarity groups (based on the Grameen model) and group guarantees (Ex. Benin, Algeria, Djibouti, Burkina Faso)
 - Specific microfinance programs for women (Ex. Eritrea)
 - Providing women with government guarantees (Ex. Malawi)
 - Require fewer guarantees from women than from men (Ex. Botswana)

4. In the case that your country has already integrated other successful uses of TUS data, which measures do you feel have proven effective?

C. What role have external actors (i.e. international organizations) played in helping you to implement policy changes based on TUS? How could they play a more effective role?

II. Gender Policy

A. How has your country translated its engagements regarding the promotion of gender equality into concrete policy?

1. MDG Engagements:

- Achieve universal primary education
- Promote gender equality and empower women
- Improve maternal health
- Combat the spread of STDs/HIV/AIDS
- Other?

2. Other National Engagements:

- Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
- Government Plan of Action
- Common Country Assessment
- Country Assistance Strategy
- Other?

3. Regional Engagements:

- The African Plan of Action
 - Provide resources to help « gender mainstreaming »
 - Create a National Consultation and Coordination Committee for the Promotion of gender equality
 - Formulate indices to measure progress made and to monitor and evaluate policies annually
- The African Women Progress Scoreboard (AWPS)
- Other?

B. How far has your country gone in implementing these policies, and what difficulties have been encountered?

C. In which sector(s) do you feel the state should invest the most to improve the status of women in your country?

- **Education**

- Improve women's access to education by:
 - Reducing/eliminating school fees for girls
 - Building dormitory residences for girls
 - Financing evening literacy classes for women
 - Other?

- **Finance**
 - Improve women's access to credit by:
 - Providing lower interest rates for women
 - Requiring smaller financial guarantees from women
 - Eliminating the requirement to have a male head of household signature
 - Other?

- **Land, inheritance**
 - Improve women's access to land and inheritance by:
 - Strengthening the judicial framework that protects women's rights to own land and receive inheritance
 - Other?

- **Health care**
 - Improve women's access to health care by:
 - Creating health centers, particularly in rural areas
 - Better caring for people affected by HIV/AIDS
 - Creating nutritional centres for women and children
 - Other?

- **Water and general hygiene**
 - Improve women's access to water and improve general village hygiene by:
 - Opening up more water taps
 - Installing plumbing systems to properly drain water
 - Financing campaigns aimed at raising awareness about hygiene
 - Other?

- **Employment**
 - Improve women's access to employment opportunities by:
 - Enhancing opportunities for female entrepreneurship
 - Instating affirmative action policies
 - Improving access to high level jobs in both the private and public sectors
 - Other?

- **Integration in the media**
 - Improve women's integration in the media by:
 - Sensitizing journalists to gender issues
 - Other?

- **Politics**
 - Improve women's participation in politics by:

- Increase official recognition of women's organizations (granting legal status etc.)
- Facilitating women's participation in political parties
- Other?

- Other?

D. Which policies do you feel are best adapted to meet the problem of gender inequality in your country?

E. What are the trends in the use of TUS and in the country's work in promoting gender issues?

F. How adequate are the resources provided for reaching the targeted goals? Are resources allocated in support of the most important targets?

III. Current or future macroeconomic policies

A. Among the following macroeconomic policies aiming to improve gender equality, which ones do you feel are the best adapted within the specific context of your country?

1. Employment Policy :

- Establishing pro-women, affirmative action employment policies
- Establishing a judicial framework that protects female workers
- Simplifying administrative and bureaucratic procedures in setting up a small business
- Improving access to professional training for women
- Other?

2. Monetary Policy :

- Providing lower interest rates for women
- Requiring fewer and smaller guarantees from women
- Other?

3. Fiscal policy:

- Education
 - Offering tax deductions for money donated to girls' schools
 - Levying taxes on schools that do not maintain a certain percentage of girls

- Increasing fiscal incentives for parents sending their daughters to school
 - Other?
- Access to land
 - Offering fiscal incentives for women to buy and sell land
 - Other?
- Integration in the formal sector
 - Offering fiscal incentives for women to create their own small businesses
 - Other?
- Integration in to the media
 - Levying taxes on media that do not employ a certain percentage of women
- Other?

4. Budgetary Policy:

- Gender sensitive budget initiatives:
 - Allocating additional funding to schools that meet certain criteria such as: distributing grants to girls; exonerating girls from school fees; allowing girls to live in a dorm if need be; opening up new classes for women and girls; providing evening literacy classes;
 - Allocating funds to NGOs that train women on gender issues, organizing informational sessions on educational, health and sexuality issues;
 - Increasing the budgets of women's organizations to facilitate them in developing and leading initiatives;
 - Reducing the budgets for entities that do not respect governmental norms aiming to reduce gender inequality;
 - Increasing budgets of certain ministries whose services particularly affect women (health, education...);
 - Increasing public investment in infrastructures that women rely on particularly such as child care centers and health care centers treating patients with HIV/AIDS, etc.
 - Other?

5. Other potential macroeconomic policies?

Reference Bibliography

- Baker, Isabella. *Fiscal Policy, Accountability and Voice: The Example of Gender Responsive Budget Initiatives*, Poverty Eradication and Democracy in the Developing World, Human Development Report 2002.
- Barnett, Kathleen. *Gender Impacts of Government Revenue Collection: The Case of Taxation*, Commonwealth Secretariat, 2004.
- Baskaran, R. 1999. *Time Use Survey in Tamil Nadu - 1998 – 99*. Department of Economics and Statistics, Chennai, Tamil Nadu, http://hdrc.undp.org.in/resources/gnr/ThmticResrce/gndr/Baskaran_TamilNadu.pdf
- Boko Nadjo, Geneviève, Coordinator of WiLDAF/FeDDAF-BÉNIN. 2004. "Le Code de la Personne et de la Famille Beninoise." Paper presented at the NGO Forum Addis Abeba, Éthiopia, Octobre 2004. http://www.wildaf-ao.org/fr/IMG/doc/Boko_Nadjo_FR.doc.
- Boros, Ruxandra. 2001. "SEAGA Guide to Gender Sensitive Micro-Finance" Food and Agriculture Organization Gender and Population Division.
- Budlender, Debbie. *Expectations versus Realities in Gender-responsive Budget Initiatives*, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Community Agency for Social Enquiry, Cape Town, South Africa, March 2004.
- CEPAL. 2004. *Consenso de México*. México.
- Commission on the Status of Women. 2005. *Gender-Sensitive Macroeconomic Policies, Regional Gender Equality Promotion Press Release*. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/wom1503.doc.htm>
- Commission Nationale pour le Développement et Lutte Contre le Pauvreté. 2002. *Document De Stratégie de Réduction de la Pauvreté au Bénin, 2003-2005*.
- Economic Commission for Africa, African Center for Gender and Development. 2003. *A Guidebook for mainstreaming gender perspectives and household production into national statistics, budgets and policies in Africa*.
- Economic Commission for Africa. 2004. *Institutional Mechanisms for implementing gender equality in policies and programmes*, (7th regional African conference on women). October 6-14, 2004.
- Economic Commission for Africa. 2004. *Recommendations of the 12 thematic groups: Summary of the results of the 7th Regional African conference on women*.
- Economic Commission for Africa. 2004. *Summary of National Activity Reports on the implementation of the Dakar Platform and the Beijing programme of action, 7th regional African conference on women*.
- Economic Commission for Africa, African Center for Gender and Development. 2004. *Indice de*

Développement et des Inégalités en Entre les Sexes en Afrique, Rapport final Pour le Bénin, Volume 1 : Indice de Condition de la Femme.

Economic Commission for Africa. 2001. *Gender Mainstreaming in National Poverty Reduction Strategies: Unexploited Sustained Growth Potential*, African Center for Gender and Development.

Economic Commission for Africa, African Center for Gender and Development. 2002. *A Conceptual and Analytical Framework for Gender Mainstreaming in National Accounts and National Budget: Words need numbers to influence them.*

Economic Commission for Africa. 2005. *Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Questioning the Achievements and Confronting the Challenges Ten Years After Beijing*,

ESCAP. 1999. *Towards international guidelines in time-use surveys: Objectives and methods of national time-use surveys in developing countries.*

Gómez Luna, María Eugenia. 2003. *El Trabajo No Remunerado en el Sistema de Cuentas Nacionales. Una aplicación del a Encuesta de Uso del Tiempo. El Caso de México.* Presentation for the Reunión de Expertos en Encuestas sobre Uso del Tiempo. Santiago de Chile.

Hirway, Indira 1998. *Paradigms of Development: Issues in Industrial Policy in India*, <http://www2.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/qehwp/qehwps22.pdf>

Hirway, Indira. 1991. *Women's Work in Gujarat: An Analysis of the 1991 Census Data*, Gandhi Labour Institute, Ahmedabad

Hirway, Indira. 1999. *Estimating Work Force Using Time Use Statistics in India and its Implications For Employment Policies*, http://hdrc.undp.org.in/resources/gnrl/ThmticResrce/gndr/Indira_Estimate.pdf

Hirway, Indira. 1999. *Time Use Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Issues with Reference to the Indian Time Use Survey*, http://hdrc.undp.org.in/resources/gnrl/ThmticResrce/gndr/Indira_metho_issues.pdf

Hirway, Indira. 2000. *Tabulation and analysis of the Indian time use survey data for improving measurement of paid and unpaid work*, paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting at UNSD, New York, 23-27 October 2000

Hirway, Indira. 2000. *Time Use Surveys: Concept, Classification and Related Issues Lessons From the Indian Pilot Time Use Survey*, <http://www.unescap.org/stat/meet/rrg3/twsa-09.pdf>

Hussmanns, Ralf. 1999. *Labour Force Estimation and Employment Policies*. Bureau of Statistics, International Labour Office. Prepared for the Seminar on Time Use Surveys (Ahmedabad, 7-10 December 1999) http://hdrc.undp.org.in/resources/gnrl/ThmticResrce/gndr/Ralf_Labour_Force_Estimation.pdf

- INEGI. 2003. Encuesta Nacional sobre Uso del Tiempo 2002. México.
- International Development Agency and the International Monetary Fund. 2003. *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for Benin, Joint Staff Assessment*.
http://poverty2.forumone.com/files/Benin_JSA_PRSP.pdf
- Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres. 2004. Respuestas al Cuestionario enviado a los gobiernos por la División para el Adelanto de la Mujer de las Naciones Unidas sobre la aplicación de la Plataforma de Acción de Beijing (1995) y los resultados del vigésimo tercer período extraordinario de sesiones de la Asamblea General (2000). México.
- Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres. 2001. Objetivos y Líneas Estratégicas. Programa Nacional para la Igualdad de Oportunidades y No Discriminación Contra las Mujeres (PROEQUIDAD).
- Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres. 2004. Articulación entre CEDAW, BEIJING, Metas Del Milenio y Consenso de México. México.
- International Labor Organization. 1998. “Women in the informal sector and their access to microfinance.” Paper presented at the Inter-Parliamentary Union Annual Conference, 2-11 April 1998, Windhoek, Namibia.
- Ironmonger, Duncan. 1999. *An Overview of Time Use Surveys*, Households Research Unit, Department of Economics, The University of Melbourne. Report of the International Seminar on Time Use Studies 7-10 December 1999 Ahmedabad
- Kulshreshtha, A.C. and Singh, Gulab. 1999. *Valuation of Non-Market Household Production*, Central Statistical Organisation, New Delhi,
http://www.unescap.org/stat/meet/timeuse/valuation_ses4.pdf
- Murgatroyd, Linda. *A Household Satellite Account for the UK*, Economic Trends, 1997.
- Nanavaty, Reema. 2004. “India’s SEWA: Empowerment through Mobilization of Poor Women on a Large Scale”. Paper presented at the Global Conference on Scaling up Poverty Reduction, 25-27 May 2004, Shanghai, China.
- Narasimhan, R. L. and Pandey R. N. 2000. *Some Main Results of the Pilot Time Use Survey in India and their Policy Implications*, Central Statistical Organisation Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, New Delhi,
http://hdr.undp.org.in/resources/gnrl/ThmticResrce/gndr/Nara_Pandey_Main_Results.pdf
- Pandey, R. N. 2000. *Conducting the Time Use Survey – Indian Experience*. Central Statistical Organisation, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, New Delhi, paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting at UNSD, New York, 23-27 October 2000.
- Pandey, R. N. 1999. *Operational Issues in Conducting the Pilot Time Use Survey in India*, Central Statistical Organisation Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, New Delhi
- Pandey, R.N. 1999. *Quantifying the Value of Unpaid Activities of Women – a Case Study*,

- Central Statistical Organisation, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation
New Delhi
http://hdrc.undp.org.in/resources/gnrl/ThmticResrce/gndr/Pandey_Quant_Unpaid_Act.pdf
- Rajivan, Anuradha Khati. 1999. *Policy Implications for Gender Equity: The India Time Use Survey, 1998-1999*. Prepared for the International Seminar on Time Use Surveys 7-10 December 1999 Ahmedabad,
<http://hdrc.undp.org.in/GndrInvtv/indini/IMPLICATION%20FOR%20GENDER%20EQUITY%20INDIAN%20TIME%20USE%20SURVEY.pdf>
- République du Bénin, UNDP. 1998. *Enquête Emploi du Temps au Bénin*.
- Results of Time Use Survey, Gujarat (JULY, 1998 – JUNE, 1999)*, Prepared by Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Gujarat,
http://hdrc.undp.org.in/resources/gnrl/ThmticResrce/gndr/Directorate_Result_Gujarat.pdf
- Rodriguez Skewes, Rosa María. 1996. *Propuesta de Cuenta Satélite de México sobre el trabajo no remunerado de los hogares*. Mexico
- Sharp, Rhonda. 2003. “Budgeting for Equity: Gender Budget Initiatives within a Framework of Performance Oriented Budgeting”, UNIFEM, July 2003.
- Tanzi, Vito and Zee, Howell, 2000. “Tax Policy for Emerging Markets – Developing Countries” IMF Working Paper No. 00/35.
- Tanzi, Vito. 2001. “Tax Policy for Developing Countries” IMF Working Paper No. 27.
- Taxation: half the story of the budgeting process*, Forum for Women in Democracy, Volume 4, August 2003.
- United Nations. 2001. *Program for Action for the Least Developed Countries*. Adopted by the Third United Nations Conference for Least Developed Countries, Brussels, May 20, 2001.
- United Nations. 2002. *India Country Review*. <http://www.undp.org/eo/documents/IndiaCR.pdf>
- United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2000. *Gender Budgeting and Auditing: Putting Lebanese Women in the Picture. One Day Workshop for UN Gender Focal Points*. Beirut, Lebanon, 2000.
- United Nations Development Fund for Women. 2002. *Empowering Women through Microfinance*. (draft)
- United Nations Development Fund for Women. 2003. *Report on Fourth South Asian Regional Workshop on Gender Analysis of Budget*, Kohinoor Park, Mumbai on 27 and 28 November 2003, <http://www.siyanda.org/forumdocs/si20040202112202.doc>.
- United Nations Development Program. 1993. *Bangladesh Human Development Report –*

Decentralization of Local Action – looking at the institutional constraints to decentralization and devolution, along with strategies for employment.

- United Nations Development Program. 1995. *Human Development Report, 1995 : Gender and Human Development*, UNDP.
- United Nations Development Program, 1998. *Rapport sur le Développement Humain au Bénin. Les Femmes et le Développement Humain, 1998.*
- United Nations Development Program. 2003. *Report on the economic and social situation of Benin in 2002.*
- United Nations Development Program. 2003. *Rapport sur le Développement Humain au Bénin. Le Financement du Développement Humain, 2003.*
- United Nations Development Program, Benin. 2003. *Report on the Millennium Development Goals for Benin.*
- United Nations Development Program. 2003. *Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano, México 2002.*
- United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women and regional Economic Commissions. *Reply from the government of Benin to the questionnaire on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action.*
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/responses/Benin.pdf>
- United Nations Economic and Social Council, Economic Commission for Africa and African Center for Gender and Development. 2005. *A Guidebook for Mainstreaming Gender Perspectives and Household Production into National Statistics, Budgets and Policies in Africa* (draft).
- United Nations System in Benin. 2002. *Bilan Commun de Pays, Consolider la Démocratie*, (Common Country Assessment). http://www.undg.org/documents/5451-Benin_CCA.pdf
- “Utilisation de données sexuées dans l'élaboration de politiques de réduction de la pauvreté.”
Presented at the Examen décennal de la mise en œuvre de la Plate-forme d'action de Dakar et du Programme d'action de Beijing. Addis-Abeba, 6-14 October 2004.
[http://www.uneca.org/beijingplus10/docsfr/Utilisation_de_donnees_sexuees.htm]
- World Bank. 2002. *Strategic Country Gender Assessment for Benin.*
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTAFRREGTOPGENDER/Resources/BeninSCGA.pdf>

Internet Resources

Asian Development Bank

www.adb.org/Gender/default.asp

Beninese Government

<http://www.gouv.bj/>

Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe

<http://www.cepal.org>

Commonwealth Secretariat

<http://www.thecommonwealth.org>

Conseil National de la Statistique

<http://www.cnsbenin.org/html/beninfo.htm>

Economic and Social Research Council's gender inequality network

<http://www.genet.ac.uk/>

ESRC Gender Equality Network

<http://www.genet.ac.uk/>

Indian Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation

<http://mospi.nic.in/>

Institute for Social and Economic Research

<http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/misoc/timeuse/>

Instituto Nacional Estadística, Geografía e Informática

<http://www.inegi.gob.mx>

Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres

<http://www.inmujeres.gob.mx>

International Association for Feminist Economics

<http://www.iaffe.org>

International Association for Time Use Research

<http://www.iatur.org/>

International Association for Time-use Research

www.iatur.org

International Labor Organization

www.ilo.org/dyn/gender/gender.home

Least Developed Countries' Ministerial Conference, Cotonou 2003:

<http://www.pma.gouv.bj>

PEP-NET Benin:

<http://132.203.59.36/PEP/JSP/ECNInfoNationalProject.jsp?group=PMMA&theme2=BENIN>

Siyanda, Mainstreaming Gender equality, Bridge Institute for Development, University of Sussex

www.siyanda.org

University of Essex, database on TUS

www.essex.ac.uk/iser

Women in Informal Employment : Globalizing and Organizing

www.wiego.org

Women, Law and Development in Africa

http://www.wildaf-ao.org/eng/article.php3?id_article=41

http://www.wildaf-ao.org/fr/IMG/doc/Boko_Nadjo_FR.doc

World Food Program

www.wfp.org/index.asp?section=1

World Bank

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org>

<http://www.worldbank.org/gender>

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty>
<http://devdata.worldbank.org/external/CPProfile.asp?SelectedCountry=BEN&CCODE=BN&CNAME=Benin&PTYPE=CP>
<http://genderstats.worldbank.org/home.asp>

United Nations Internet Sources

<http://hdr.undp.org>
<http://www.uneca.org>
<http://www.uneca.org/beijingplus10>
<http://www.unescap.org>
<http://www.undp.org>
<http://www.undp.org/gender/CD-Gender-and-Budgets-2004/>
<http://www.unifem.org>
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/>
<http://unstats.un.org>