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# A Woman's Time: Setting New Values

he images have been familiar for decades: women and young girls trudging along country roads carrying heavy loads of water or fuelwood, collecting dung, doing laundry in a river shared by children and animals, pumping water from a communal well, crushing grain for the family's food. The message is clear. These women are very poor over-worked -- and mostly unpaid.

As visible as they are in the photographs, however, they remain invisible in the eyes of decision makers, government economists and development planners. If women aren't in the labour force, or if they don't sell what they produce at home, they are considered unproductive. In national statistics they count as nothing. The fact that their families (and society as a whole) depend on women to provide their basic needs for food, water and health care -for their very existence, in fact -- appears to be irrelevant.

As if to underscore the anomaly, development planners have regularly acknowledged the role of women as primary users and managers of the world's natural resources, particularly water and energy.

At the same time, however, they have been unable
-- or unwilling -- to acknowledge, prove or quantify
women's impact on either the economy or the environment. Until this impact is clearly defined, the goal set at
the first International Women's Conference in 1975,
women's participation as equal partners in development,
will be neither fully accepted nor implemented.

In this issue of INSTRAW News, we are pleased to describe an important breakthrough in our efforts to overcome the statistical barriers. INSTRAW has adapted a widely accepted statistical method, collection of time use data, as the means to put a value on the unpaid work of women.

For some time, national and international policy planners have agreed that lack of gender-specific statistics have not only distorted national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) figures, but have also impeded the development of

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effective programmes in such areas as transportation, irrigation and rural and urban water supplies. By separately analyzing the time spent by men, women and children in all their daily tasks, including those traditionally considered non-productive (e.g., raising children, collecting water, cooking, growing food crops for family use, etc.) a more realistic and critically important new dimension can be added to economic analysis and the concept of national productivity.

A second section in this issue deals with a specific facet of this same issue: women's management of water resources and the importance of their participation in national and international planning at the highest levels. A review of two recent INSTRAW training seminars in Latin America again demonstrates the knowledge and skills that women can bring to bear at all stages of the decision-making process -- and how crucial they are to the success of water projects of any size and at any level. Lack of access to modern education and training in appropriate skills continues to be the major impediment to their full participation in development planning.

The need for gender-specific statistics was a theme running through both meetings, and particularly the need for more data on the extent and impact of women's management, development and use of water. Perhaps most significant in this regard was a reflection in all the discussions of the change in the concept of water as a resource that has taken place since the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio in 1992. No longer is water seen as a vast and free supply to be provided to all, but rather as a valuable, scarce economic commodity to be conserved, priced and allocated in accordance with the demand from its users -- including women.

To INSTRAW, the underlying irony is evident: if water is no longer free, neither is a woman's time. This should be the foundation on which to build as we look ahead to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing next year.

# Bridging the Statistical Gender Gap

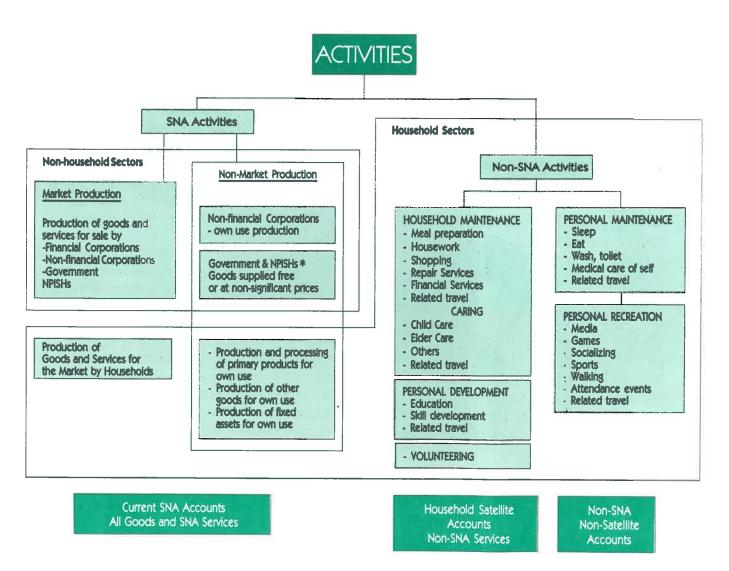
ost people would agree with the old adage that a woman's work is never done, but what is her work really worth? Up to now, the answer has been the statistical equivalent of a black hole, its outline and composition surmised, but unconfirmed. In an era otherwise awash in computer-generated facts and figures, there is almost no available data, especially in the developing countries, on the extent and value of what women do. They are largely invisible in the statistical profiles of many countries. Their economic contributions, especially if they are outside the conventional labour force, are unvalued, or at best undervalued, not only by men and governments but also by the women themselves. When asked what she does, even the most educated and sophisticated woman who stays at home to care for her children --never an

easy job --will probably reply, "Oh, nothing, I'm just a housewife."

Unpaid and household production clearly needs to be measured and valued. This was recognized in principle nearly two decades ago, in 1975, at the first International Women's Conference in Mexico City. Ten years later, at the 1985 UN Women's Conference in Nairobi, the Forward-looking Strategies adopted by over 150 countries specifically called for the inclusion of women's unpaid work in national accounts and statistics.

INSTRAW, in a two-year project undertaken in close collaboration with the UN Statistical Division (UNSTAT) and several specialized agencies, has modified a familiar statistical tool, time use, and used it to collect some new and different types of data never compiled before. Together they provide an improved framework and methodology to count and

# INSTRAW, TIME USE MEASUREMENT AND UNPAID WORK PROJECT SNA BASED ACTIVITY CLASSIFICATION FRAMEWORK



\*Non-profit Institutions serving households Based on Table 6.1, 1993 SNA value the unpaid, usually invisible economic contributions of women. The INSTRAW study, Measuring and Valuing Unpaid Contributions: Accounting Through Time Use, includes a state-of-the-art review of current time use and other studies of women's unpaid work and recommends important refinements, improved ways of categorizing activities, and a method of flexible data collection readily adaptable to a wide variety of different economies and cultures.

## The Problem in Context: Faulty Figures

Effective policy-making depends on accurate and comprehensive statistics. Without knowing how much, how often, where and why certain activities are carried out, it is impossible to know if or how they might be changed or improved. In assessing the status of public health, for example, it isn't enough to count the number of doctors and hospital beds; the figures should also reflect the health care provided by women to the sick, the old, and the young at home.

The current system of national accounting (SNA), which determines Gross Domestic Product (GDP), is broadly based on paid or marketable goods and services. This method tends to

leave out as much as it includes. A woman's cooking for her family is not considered a marketable activity, for example, and is therefore not included. But if women didn't cook, a thriving commerce in cooked foods would develop very quickly; the rapid growth of the processed food industry in developed countries attests to that. The line between marketable and unmarketable services is clearly arbitrary, not to say fuzzy at times.

On a broader scale, in sub-Saharan Africa, women are thought to be responsible for more than 80% of food production for home consumption, and over half of all agricultural production. GDP figures for Africa, however, generally count only the produce actually brought to market or exported, the crops grown largely by men that tend to be the focus of development assistance. Distorted figures, therefore, tend to distort policy as well. A redirection of technical assistance toward women is urgently needed, based on standardized, accurate statistics.

In 1993, the SNA was revised for the third time to include all goods produced, whether or not intended for the market, as well as all marketable services. This so-called augmented SNA marks an incremental improvement in capturing non-traditional economic activities. Although it is still too soon to evaluate the significance of the change, clearly, unpaid or un-marketable *services*, e.g. cooking, mending, cleaning, ironing, child care, shopping -- in other words, the bulk of the woman's work that is never done -- remain largely uncounted.

The major barrier to putting a value on unpaid activities has been lack of appropriate methodology, particularly, lack of gender-specific data that would override the male bias inherent in the current SNA. INSTRAW's earlier work with UNSTAT, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the UN Development Programme (UNDP) on analyzing the parameters of the informal sector, (e.g. subsistence agriculture, street vending) had demonstrated a serious data gap in the area of women's activities. A new generation of statistical tools is needed to enable statisticians to collect non-traditional economic data accurately, using a common system of comparable analysis and presentation.

#### Designing New Techniques

Diogenes is reported to have said that "time is the most valuable thing a man can spend." Were he alive today, and

still searching for honesty, he surely would have included women as well. INSTRAW's study demonstrates that knowing how a woman uses her time is the only basis for measuring and valuing her unpaid but nonetheless productive activities. Thus, systematic time use surveys are the only valid statistical techniques for providing accurate estimates of unpaid, non-market activities and demonstrating the daily, weekly, and even seasonal patterns of such activities, as well as their relationship to other, market-oriented activities.

Time use surveys, detailed accountings of how days are spent, whether at work, play, eating, or sleeping, have been widely used in the industrialized countries, but in only a handful of developing nations. The more common techniques required, distribution of diaries and interviews by specially trained personnel, are frequently inappropriate to developing countries, particularly in remote rural areas where literacy rates tend to be low.

It is precisely in these areas where the need for basic data is greatest, however. In Nepal, for example, the weaknesses of even the augmented SNA become evident: although more than two thirds of family income is generated by household-level enterprises, i.e.

#### MARGARET SHIELDS DIRECTOR, JULY 1991-MARCH 1994

# Reflects on INSTRAW and the Impact of the Time Use Study

ne of the great treasures that has been built up during the development of INSTRAW has been a strong statistics programme, and it was this programme which formed the foundation of one stream of the Institute's work. While continuing the training programmes on gender statistics, designed to assist countries in developing a sound basis for women's policy, we went further with other research. The major project was the development and testing of an integrated methodology for measuring and valuing unpaid work. This is a project that has been called for over many years. It is being carried out in collaboration with a number of other agencies and, when completed, will throw new light on many of the development problems that concern governments everywhere. More important, it will provide concrete evidence of the work that women do and the value of their contributions to the family and to national economies. In the end it should provide an invaluable tool for sound planning that takes into account the realities of women's lives.

subsistence agriculture, 1993 figures indicate that much of the post-harvest or later food processing, done primarily by women, is left out; only the production of cottage and other industries are included in GDP. Furthermore, the revised SNA

exempts production considered insignificant, an ambiguous criterion at best. In Nepal, this means that GDP omits many minor crops grown -- again, mainly by women -- for household consumption. In short, the Nepal statistics

overlook the very core of that nation's subsistence economy.

The challenge is to capture this uncounted productivity, as well as the potentially far greater contribution of domestic services, separated by gender to reflect their true impact on both the household's welfare and the national economy as a whole. Basic time use data can provide some understanding of the various economic and social processes involved. However, the magnitude of the numbers alone demands that these figures be separated from current statistics so that SNA figures are not overwhelmed, and thus distorted still further. Segregation of the new data into satellite "non-SNA" accounts will help document the existence and further define the dimensions and productivity of the household economy. This requires a format which is comparable to other SNA statistics but is also sufficiently flexible to encompass broad variations among geographical regions, national economies and social and cultural traditions. Therefore, any new system will also entail a re-definition of productivity, i.e. a reclassification and re-coding of activities in order to capture what has previously been ignored.

What follows are some of the salient points in INSTRAW's recommendations for collecting

new data on women. They are based on past research and the experience of time use studies done in several industrialized nations (e.g. Canada, Finland, France, USA) and in selected developing countries, including Nepal, Bangladesh, Tanzania, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic.

#### Creating the Categories: The Non-SNA Satellite Account

The first step in any statistical analysis is to classify the components to be measured in a system that is easily understandable by anyone compiling or using the data. There should also be a common format to make the material readily comparable at the national and international level. In other words, regardless of differences in economic or social systems, increases in productivity or improvements in living standards must be measured from a common baseline, much as national wealth is described in terms of US dollars.

In the case of household productivity, there has never been a recognition of activities that extend beyond the conventional meaning of productive, i.e. marketable, even if not actually marketed. The distinction between marketable and non-marketable is often blurred.

For example, major repairs to a home, presumably expensive enough to be quantifiable in terms of value, are included in the augmented SNA. However, the minor repairs common to most households, e.g. paint touch-ups, repair of broken equipment etc., if done on a do-it-yourself basis, are not included, although they can clearly consume considerable time and energy and certainly save money. Only an accurate accounting of the time used for these repairs can capture this type of domestic activity -whether done by men or women.

To accommodate this and other non-market activities. INSTRAW recommends a separate system of categories for non-SNA, or unpaid, services. These would include all of those which are of benefit to others. such as child care, cooking, handling family finances, etc. The new satellite accounts would also include "personal development" activities such as education and skills training which have an intrinsic tradeable value, even if never used in the market place. Although considered non-productive or non-tradeable (as they clearly cannot be performed by or for anyone else), other personal activities such as eating, sleeping and recreation would be listed and reflected in the

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proposed INSTRAW activity classification. They are categorized as either personal maintenance (e.g., getting a haircut as opposed to giving one to someone else) or personal consumption (e.g., reading, watching TV). While these personal activities will be excluded from the actual accounting of productivity, time spent on them should be measured as an element for assessing quality of life.

#### Comprehending Time: Relative Meanings

Although the use of time is obviously at the core of the new system, achieving a valid and consistent perception of what time actually is has proved a significant challenge. In any country, there are wide variations in the use of time within a country between rural and urban areas, and among different socio-economic categories. In the developing countries, however, literacy rates become an additional, even more pivotal issue: in isolated rural areas, where illiteracy is prevalent, time is widely considered an attribute of nature, rather than an astronomical or mathematical division of seconds, minutes, hours, days and weeks. Watches, clocks and radios tend to be

either rare or non-existent in many remote locations; the written time diary becomes useless where time is measured by sunrise, sunset, growing seasons, etc. Asking a woman to keep a record of all of her activities at a specific hour, within a given period of time, or how long it took her to complete a certain task, will inevitably result in inaccuracies or serious distortions.

Another common time use technique, equally if not more difficult to adapt in many areas, is asking family members for subjective evaluations of how they allocated their time, e.g. "What was your most important activity yesterday?" Experience shows that this often leads to omissions of time spent on other activities. For instance, women typically spend a significant part of their day physically caring for their young children, e.g., feeding and bathing, activities which are easy to remember and report. The time spent in interacting with children in other ways, however, hugging, disciplining, or just watching over them, is usually overlooked; these functions are done habitually, even unconsciously, and are usually of very short duration, seconds, or minutes at most. Few would question the value of these actions to early childhood development; the value of the

person responsible should be recognized as well.

Similarly, time spent for fuel collection and the preparation of food may be inaccurately reported. Requesting information on the costs or estimated value of the ingredients, how the food was cooked, with what utensils or equipment, for how many people, etc. would make it possible to estimate the real value of the meal preparation. This technique can be applied to other basic household activities as well.

Such diaries, however, no matter how comprehensive the content, do not guarantee accuracy. Direct observation of women and their families can provide a useful crosscheck and supplement. This, too, has inherent limitations, however, not the least of which is invasion of privacy. The statistician is being asked to report on the most personal aspects of daily life. Equally important, the presence of an outsider in the household inevitably tends to make the subjects of the study self-conscious. Inaccuracies caused by a family wanting to be seen at its best is a built-in hazard of even random or spot sampling.

There are other difficulties as well. Observation in the home may omit important unpaid activities of family members

away from home at scattered locations or as volunteers in the wider community. Because observations are typically made during daylight hours, for instance, housekeeping and gardening may be over-reported, while other activities such as hunting for food, or ritual visiting may be done late at night. Interruptions during the day, such as funerals, may also delay important tasks to well past sundown -- piece work at home for a local cottage industry, for example.

Despite these problems, collection of time use data remains the only valid method of capturing previously hidden activities. It can also help provide the necessary alternative to the mathematical concept of time, which may be foreign to a local culture. Flexibility -- and a good deal of experimentation -will be necessary to make the information consistent and reliable enough to permit meaningful

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Comments:	

comparative
analysis. Development of general
methodological
guidelines, a
combination of
conventional
statistical theory
and field observation, is the necessary next step.

#### Simultaneous Activities: A 30-Hour Day?

Practically no one engages in any activity in isolation or in strict sequence to the exclusion of everything else. Tasks, and the time spent on them, tend to overlap. In a typical office situation, for example, a telephone call may coincide with making notes, perhaps on an unrelated matter, or with searching for something on the desk. Simultaneous activities are even more frequent in a household environment, particularly where child care is involved. As already noted, rarely does a

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mother do anything, whether cooking a meal or traveling to visit a friend, that doesn't coincide with some other activity related to child care. These same overlapping activities can cross sectoral lines as well, e.g., a mother tending a cash crop with a child at her side.

The problem in determining the relative value of these activities is two-fold: assessing the relative value of these activities to one another (i.e., primary vs. secondary in importance) and correctly calculating the total time spent on both. In one study, for example, one day's time total came to 30 hours for women -and 27 for men. Evaluating the activities is inherently a highly subjective process. Transportation provides a good example of some of the difficulties involved. If traveling with a child, which is more important, the travel itself or the care of the child? Or, if the traveler is alone and reads a book along the way, which is the more important, the travel or the reading? Clearly, much will depend on the purpose of the travel and the amount of time spent on the other activity. Logic argues that the travel, which is the longer in duration, should be considered primary, and weighted accordingly -- but the statistician will inevitably

be forced to rely on the woman's own subjective evaluations. The problem becomes thornier for less obvious judgements, e.g., eating and reading at the same time, which takes precedence?

Collection of time use data is the only way to reveal and record these and other simultaneous activities. Prudent field research should help resolve the problems of calculating their relative significance.

## The NewAccounting System: Flexibility First

Recognition of these and other statistical snags, prompted INSTRAW, in collaboration with the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) to carry out a pilot survey in the Dominican Republic, as part of a global study designed to capture all productive activities undertaken by the men, women and children in 100 households. Five different communities were selected to represent a cross-section of the society at all income levels, in both urban and traditional rural settings as well as on an agro-industrial sugar plantation.

The survey used conventional time diaries which were completed using a combination of direct observation and a listing of activities recalled during face-to-face interviews. In the rural areas, direct observation was limited to four hours a day, in order to minimize intrusion on the families. Each technique provided a cross-check on the accuracy and the quality of the information provided by the other. For instance, observers would arrive at 6:00 or 6:30 AM. well before sunrise, to determine a family's wake-up time. This provided a baseline for information on the household's concept of time for the rest of the day.

In urban areas, however, perhaps because of more confined living quarters or more activities outside the home, direct observation proved almost impossible. Watches and clocks were more common here, however, and diaries and end-of-day activity recall interviews resulted in a response rate of 90% or better. This is consistent with data obtained from urban areas in Canada and elsewhere.

The implications of the survey are clear: time use data can in fact capture many activities not captured before, and the most accurate techniques are those adapted to the specific characteristics of a given locality or country. In trying to apply unconventional statistics to a conventional system of economic values, flexibility is as important as format.

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### Setting the Values

The ultimate objective of gender-specific data collection, however compiled, is to set an economic or monetary value on non-market productivity, where women tend to dominate. Current government statistics and the SNA generally, ignore these activities because they are either unseen or because any economic value they are assigned is subsumed in the market value of the household's overall production. Furthermore, much of the value of unpaid work, particularly with regard to services, is left out of SNA accounting because it is considered unimportant.

The new INSTRAW study argues that only time use studies can demonstrate the real magnitude -- and economic significance -- of non-market activities. The establishment of a system of satellite accounting is necessary to estimate their quantity and value in a manner comparable but separate from the market-oriented SNA. Essentially, this means estimating the market value of the labour involved; this in turn means carefully measuring the time used.

Stripped to its simplest form, this requires estimating the volume of household production (quality and number of meals cooked, children and others cared for, etc.), placing a market value on it (what would be paid for the same goods or services if provided by an outsider), deducting any costs involved to calculate the value added by household labour, and finally, allocating this added value among the family members.

There is a broad range of refinements possible in the methods used to value non-market production, e.g., determining the number of garments a woman could make and sell in the time she spends on child care every day. The time use study would indicate the amount of time spent; the market price of the hypothetical garments would equal the value of that time. In essence, the time use data then becomes the basis for a more realistic measurement of the size and strength of the local or national economy.

#### In the Future: Development Redefined

The impact of this statistical breakthrough can be enormous. Above all, it can help provide an accurate accounting for public purposes what are essentially very private matters. The public purposes are critical. National and international development policies are geared to increasing

productivity, but increases in productivity, however, are not necessarily reflected in increases or improvements in standards of living.

Furthermore, Agenda 21 specifically includes in its global action for women towards sustainable and equitable development a proposal for national governments, local authorities, employers and other relevant organizations to develop "programmes that will promote the reduction of the heavy workload of women and girl children at home and outside through the establishment of more and affordable nurseries and kindergartens and to promote the provision of environmentally sound technologies which have been designed, developed and improved in consultation with women, accessible and clean water, an efficient fuel supply and adequate sanitation facilities."

Preliminary time use studies in Nepal and elsewhere show that while GDP may rise, living standards may actually deteriorate in the process. As a result of increased commercialisation of farm produce, for instance, household members tend to work longer hours, travel farther, spend more on sometimes frivolous activities or consumer goods, and perhaps

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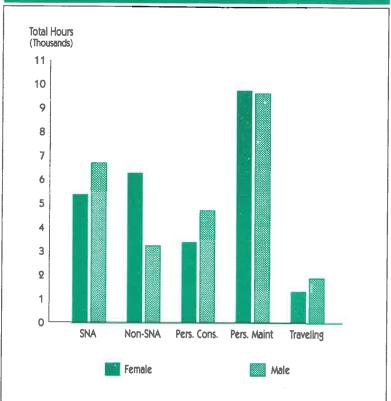
even eat less as more and more home production is sent to market. Economic development, in this case, is an illusion.

Inclusion of time use data and the establishment of a satellite system of national accounting will dispel the economic illusions and make clear the true magnitude and value of the economy in general and household production in particular. Perhaps most important, it will show that the burden is carried disproportionately by women, beginning with the fact that they almost invariably work longer

hours. In Nepal, for example, time use data show that women not only almost match men hour for hour in paid work, but in non-marketable activities, they outwork men by two to one.

Other social and economic information obtained should also have significant impact on future development policies. The figures should prove what has seemed obvious: changes in patterns of time use occur with structural shifts in a nation's

# TIME ALLOCATIONS IN RURAL NEPAL INSTRAW ACTIVITY CLASSIFICATION



Source: Derived from Multi-Purpose Household Budget Survey, Nepal (1988)

In the end, women's invisible contributions will become visible.

economy. Research indicates an inverse proportion of time allocation between SNA and non-SNA activities: as more time is given to market-oriented activities outside the home, less time is available for household activities, and vice versa. As men spend more time in industrial jobs or tending cash crops, the women must spend more time caring for their families and for the family's kitchen crops as well. Moreover, in areas where formerly minor crops such as fruits and vegetables are commercialised, women, the primary

producers, devote more time to this activity at the expense of child care and other household chores. Leisure time becomes almost non-existent.

The most obvious indirect effect of structural change is on literacy rates. Men's literacy rates are rising; women and girls', however, have tended to fall as they are taken out of school at early ages to help with women's increased work loads. In Nepal, a majority of the men, 54%, are

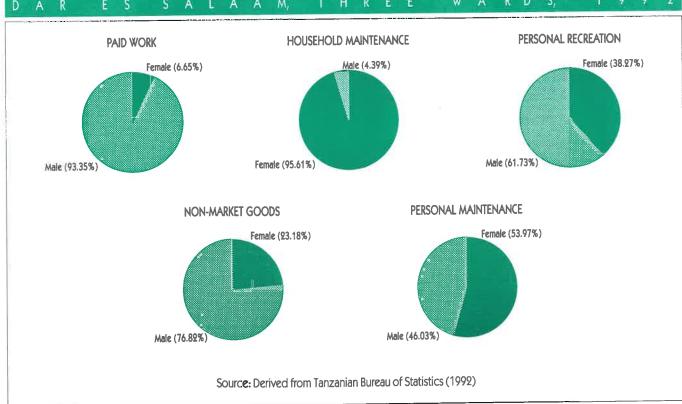
now literate, while 75% of women and young girls remain illiterate. More to the point, almost half, 43% of girls aged six to nine, are not in school; the rate is a far better 14% for boys of the same age. More comprehensive time use data should enable governments planners to redress the balance. For example, school schedules might be tailored to fit the work patterns of various geographic areas.

The same approach might be used to improve transportation where time use data indicate a lack of mobility or access to market or services. Health needs, too, can be better evaluated by more accurate accounting of time lost to illness.

The possibilities are virtually limitless. The INSTRAW study is only the beginning, a framework for what will inevitably be a process of trial and error. Various time use techniques will require testing, refinement, and to the extent possible, standardisation. Finding a statistically

appropriate formula for measuring and evaluating the data will require sophisticated mixing and matching to local and national conditions. In the end, however, the heretofore invisible economic contributions of women will become visible -- and accepted, evaluated and integrated into the national and global economies. The long-range objectives articulated in Mexico City almost two decades ago will be in reach.

# SNA RELATED TIME ALLOCATION, TANZANIA



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# News Update

- Statistical programmes in the transitional countries and a draft "Declaration on Statistics for Social Progress" were on the agenda at a June session of the Conference of European Statisticians attended by INSTRAW. The Declaration stresses the role of social statistics in assessing the impact of economic changes, a strong incentive for countries to include gender statistics in their priority programmes. As a result of INSTRAW's discussions with national representantives, sub-regional workshops on gender statistics may be designed for transitional countries.
- INSTRAW also attended an expert meeting in Kampala, Uganda in June on the establishment of an African Bank for Women. The participants discussed what type of institution would best benefit women and meet their financial needs, particularly credit, as well as the practical measures required to set up such an institution.
- In the area of research, **INSTRAW** is currently analyzing the economic, social and gender-specific impact of a successful credit programme for both male and female micro-entrepreneurs in the Dominican Republic. The research compares all relevant data on recipients and their families before and after they were granted credit. The study will also provide a useful test of INSTRAW's methodology for analyzing this type of data. A full report will be published for distribution at the Beijing Conference.

# INSTRAW's Officer-in-Charge, New Chief of Research and Training

artha Dueñas-Loza of
Ecuador, a career diplomat,
has been at INSTRAW as
Officer-in-Charge, Chief of the
Research and Training Unit since 14
July 1994. Prior to her appointment,
she had been in Sweden for two
years as Research Associate in
Environmental and Energy Systems
Studies at Lund University's Institute
of Technology.

Ms Dueñas-Loza began her diplomatic career in June 1964, when she entered Ecuador's Foreign Service. She has held posts in Paris, Oslo, Stockholm and in New York, where she was Counsellor of Ecuador's Permanent Mission to the United Nations from June 1986 to September 1991.

Her association with the United Nations dates from 1976, when she was Ecuador's delegate to the Habitat Conference in Vancouver. Among her other assignments as Counsellor to the Permanent Mission, she represented Ecuador on the General Assembly's Second (Economic) Committee, and was an active participant in the negotiations of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea in the preparatory process for the UN Conference on **Environment and Development** (UNCED). She also served as Vice Chairperson of the Fifth Meeting of the State Parties to the Convention of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

Ms Dueñas-Loza studied at the University of Quito in Ecuador and, in France, at the Institute for Economic and Social Development (IEDES) and at the Institute for Public Administration at the University of Paris.

She is married and has two children.

# Women die Germanagement Challenge

t has almost become a cliche in the canon of economic and social development that women are the primary users and managers of water at the community and household levels. However, at least until recently, women have also been seen mainly as passive, sometimes disadvantaged beneficiaries of water projects designed and carried out by men and male-dominated government agencies far removed from local concerns. The participation and integration of women in development called for at the 1975 International Women's Conference are rare at key senior, decision-making levels.

The United Nations
International Drinking Water
Supply and Sanitation Decade,
inaugurated in 1981, was never
more than marginally effective.
The statistics on waterborne
diseases and lack of access to
clean water remained grim as
population growth, rapid
urbanization and increasing

demand for water for agriculture and industry outpaced all national and international efforts. In the next generation alone, the need for water is expected to grow by 600 per cent. Thus, there seems little doubt that water scarcity will be the dominant issue in the next century.

Successful Tools for Training

From its establishment in 1982, INSTRAW has given water-related issues top priority. INSTRAW and others in the UN system realized that where local efforts to improve water supply and sanitation had succeeded, the early involvement of women in the planning was a key factor. More often than not, the most successful community-level projects began with women talking among themselves to find solutions to their own water problems, solutions typically based on extensive local knowledge and

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experience. This was the foundation on which to build: INSTRAW, in collaboration with the ILO Turin Centre, met the challenge of the daunting gender and institutional gaps with a series of modules contained in multi-media training package on women, water and sanitation. They were targeted primarily at government officials, development planners and leaders of women's organizations. First introduced in 1986, the training package was tested in several developing countries, and have since been evaluated and revised periodically.

They were successful from the beginning, in large part because the content of this training package could be readily adaptable to specific situations and changing needs. The participants in the training seminars are asked to address and solve real problems in real situations. In the process, men learn to understand the problems women face while the women learn to relate these problems to the overall development process.

The most recent seminars were held in Georgetown, Guyana from 31 January to 4 February, 1994 and in Quito, Ecuador from 27 June to 1 July, 1994. Concerning the Guyana Seminar an in-depth evaluation of the sessions by an

independent team of graduate students from New York University demonstrated its success: the proportion of male participants who felt the involvement of women was important to the success of water and sanitation projects rose from only 20 per cent prior to the seminar to 80 per cent afterwards. The Ouito workshop was organized by the INSTRAW focal point in that country in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Guyana seminar, organized in cooperation with the Red Thread Women's Development Programme, a local non-governmental organization, was the first training session for women ever held in that country.

The conclusions and recommendations of both seminars go far beyond increasing gender awareness. They underscore the critical importance of women to effective management of water resources at the national. international, and global levels. While continuing to encourage women as managers of local supply systems, they also call for specific, more aggressive steps to ensure the participation of women in the planning of long-range, large-scale projects by national governments, a

process from which women have often been effectively excluded.

## Sustainable Development Changes the Context

The seminar recommendations go well beyond references to past statements and strategies. Rather, they reflect important changes in approaches to both gender and development which have taken place in the years since the Mexico City conference. The key changes are the legacy of the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, and the strong commitment of the international community to implementing the concept of sustainable development avoiding potential adverse effects of economic and social programmes. Although some critics have perceived the Rio Conference as tending to marginalize gender issues, nevertheless, for the first time the importance of women was specifically recognized in a major international development action plan, Agenda 21. At the same time, the approach to management of natural resources underwent a profound shift. This in turn also affects attitudes toward the participation of women.

In Agenda 21 water is seen as a renewable but a limited, and increasingly scarce resource.

Prior to the Earth Summit, water resources management was usually governed by supply, the amount of water available. It is now determined by demand and the needs of frequently competing users -- including women. Governments are no longer the primary providers of water supplies from large-scale dams or other development projects, but are coordinators and creators of an environment hospitable to conservation and local management of demand. Water is no longer considered a vast, free supply for all, but as a commodity which requires economic incentives for prudent use, i.e., long-term sustainability. This sustainability also implies the possibility of the users to maintain water supply systems, financially, organizationally and mechanically thus becoming the managers of their own systems whilst governments serve as facilitators.

In effect, the change in approach calls for governments to become the middlemen, or mediators on water management. On one hand, governments act as national representatives on projects calling for international cooperation (e.g., river basin development, transboundary irrigation schemes). At the same time, they are national coordinators for a decentralized system of water resources

management at the local and provincial levels.

Communication between local and national representatives is crucial. The focus is on the needs of the users, which are often in conflict, with competition between urban and rural populations, between subsistence and commercial farmers, and between industry and agriculture. With essentially the whole economy at stake, effective water management requires an inter-disciplinary, holistic rather than a narrow sectoral approach. Health, hygiene, education including environmental education and waste management schemes must be integrated into water and sanitation projects.

#### For Women: New Potential, New Perils

The new emphasis on sustainable water use and demand management rather than supply can be an unprecedented opportunity for empowering women, but many pitfalls lie ahead. The most obvious continue to be lack of education and training and the social and cultural constraints that preclude the participation of women in most decision-making bodies. Questions of cost and technology continue to be

decided without women -- often badly. The Guyana training seminar, for example, provided a litany of expensive but avoidable errors in a major water project, still unfinished after eight years. Inappropriate and costly equipment chosen by outside technical experts was the most common mistake, e.g., construction of a water filtration plant in an area where women could have told them that clear natural springs have traditionally provided the primary water source.

Other serious problems have surfaced with the otherwise desirable new emphasis on sustainability and conservation. Perhaps most troubling is the danger of an overemphasis on economic incentives at the expense of social considerations important to women such as the health benefits of a clean and reliable water supply. At the Guyana seminar, for instance, parts of urban Georgetown were described as having streets and pavements lined with garbage piles, and clogged city drains which frequently flooded and overflowed, contaminating whatever water supplies existed. This is typical of many urban squatter settlements. Where there are no pipelines, water is typically sold by private vendors at costs which are often prohibitive for the poor who live there -- the poorest of all usually

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the women. Their legal recourse to obtain services is usually nonexistent, or shaky at best.

Water pricing policies, or so-called "cost recovery" at both the national and local levels. therefore, need to include considerations of improved infrastructure for delivery of water supplies, the users' ability to pay, credit arrangements and perhaps subsidies where necessary to correct economic or social inequities. Both the Guyana and Ecuador seminars specifically recommended training for women in both the technical and financial aspects of water resources management as absolutely necessary to their active participation in policy-making.

In addition, there was frequent mention of what might be called "community mythology", the belief that water management decisions made by the community and for the community will benefit all residents in that community equally. In fact, women and men have different perceptions and different needs for water use within their individual households: the results of community actions thus affect them differently -- and usually unequally. The participants in both seminars called for accurate, gender-specific data bases to validate these differences and accommodate

them in policy-making and water resources allocation. INSTRAW's work in methodologies and techniques for more adequate gender statistics will be important in addressing this problem.

Women as Managers:

The National and International Impact

Above all, the Guyana and Ecuador seminars emphasized the need for a consistent twoway dialogue, not only between men and women, but also between representatives of communities and local organizations and their national and international counterparts. Day to day management of resources may be local, but funding and overall economic policy is national, and the ultimate effects of both are felt internationally, on whole ecosystems.

The knowledge and skills of women as individual users and managers of water and other natural resources are relevant and important at every stage -even more so as the concept of sustainability becomes more widely understood and implemented. Just as women are

crucial to the success of local projects, their experience is crucial to the success of national and international efforts on all water-related programmes such as agricultural training, irrigation schemes, water and soil conservation. fisheries and wetlands management, etc. Moreover, women in senior government positions can provide critical support for local projects and help coordinate networks for the exchange of valuable ideas and information.

That women are equal to men in ability and intelligence is a fact universally acknowledged, but so far acted on only sporadically. What women clearly need to translate the rhetoric into reality, is the training and education to help them put their talent to use for the well-being of their own and the world communities.

# **BOOKSHELF**

### Forthcoming INSTRAW Publications 1995

INSTRAW is planning an exciting array of new publications for dissemination at the World Conference on Women set for 4-15 September 1995 in China.

- It is publishing a breakthrough study on how women's unpaid work can be made visible and measured in (supplementary) national accounts: Measuring and Valuing Unpaid Contribution: Accounting through Time-Use. The study developed an innovative methodology to tally time use and a new categorization of activities into those to be included in the "satellite accounts," and other nonsatellite accounts categories (e.g., leisure).
- A comprehensive overview of women and migration, Migration of Women: Methodological Issues in the Measurement and Analysis of Internal and International Migration. This study provides an in-depth analysis of the biases inherent in existing data sources and those that stem from the form in which the data are collected. Consequently, the study raised some issues relevant for women in the traditional migration theory which leads to these biases.

 More than 600 million women are economically active in the developing regions, most of them selfemployed as microentrepreneurs and farmers. Already in the early 1980s, lack of credit was recognized as a key constraint limiting women's economic advancement. However, little has been done, to resolve the limited degree to which women borrowers have been integrated into the formal financial sector, as well as to identify the variety of policy conditions that still go against women's access to credit from the formal sector. INSTRAW is preparing a monograph in conjunction with the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) - New Directions in Extending Credit to Women - which will document the continuing importance of credit for women; review the main issues impeding women's access to formal sector credit; and set out the main features of policy and programme changes proposed to improve accessibility. It will also examine the progress made in improving women's access to credit and services - both from alternative sources and the formal financial sector; and

indicate a new two-pronged direction - research needed and subsequently advocacy for policy and legal reforms.

• Gender Impact Analysis of Credit Projects -Asociación para el Desarrollo de Microempresas (ADEMI) -A Case Study. INSTRAW carried out a survey to analyze the gender differencial impact of credit on men and women micro-entrepreneurs that have had access to credit. The working hypothesis behind this research is that women's income, increased through credit, has a stronger impact on children and family wellbeing, and therefore in the formation of a better human capital for development.

The case study chosen for doing this impact evaluation is the "Asociación para el Desarrollo de Microempresas" - ADEMI - a mainstream credit scheme for microentrepreneurs located in the Dominican Republic. ADEMI has been delivering credit successfully to men and women micro-entrepreneurs since 1983. The report to be published will include a review of ADEMI's institutional features and credit programme and the analysis of the data from the survey of ADEMI's clients.

- Also to be published in 1995 is a synthesis on the situation of women in agriculture in Hungary and Bulgaria and their training needs to face the challenges arising from the transition to market economies.
- INSTRAW training package on Women, Environmental Management and Sustainable Development will be developed in cooperation with ILO/Turin Centre and will be ready by March 1995.

The training package is aimed at three different target groups: senior officials of Ministries of Environment, Natural Resources, Planning, Women's Affairs; development planners and provincial or local authorities in charge of environmental programmes and projects; trainers and engineers; and representatives of non-governmental and women's organizations involved in environmental projects.

It will consist of five modular units: the United Nations activities in the implementation of Agenda 21; Women as Managers of the Environment; Women and Environmental Health; Women, Natural Resources and Waste Management and a

- compendium of case studies and projects. Each modular unit will consist of training text, transparencies, key issue checklist for group work, bibliography, additional reading.
- Two flyers, one, 1440
  Minutes in a Day: knowing
  how a woman spends each
  one reveals how much of her
  productive contribution is
  concealed, focuses on the
  measuring of women's
  timeuse; and two, What do we
  know about women's
  migration and the plight of
  women migrants?, shows the
  lack of research on this
  subject.

#### CORRIGENDUM

Due to an oversight, the authorship of the paper "Approaching the Family: Gender, Development and Equity" cited in INSTRAW News No. 20, p. 20, was erroneously attributed to Valerie M. Moghadam. The correct name of the author is **Valentine M. Moghadam.** The Institute extends its apologies to Dr. Moghadam for this error.

# United Nations International Research and Training Institute For the Advancement of Women INSTRAW

#### **INSTRAW**

The main purpose of **news** is to report on the work of the Institute and, in doing this, to record research trends, disseminate training materials, and promote networking on women in development issues at a global level. The editorial policy of INSTRAW is to select events, news and items linked

with its programmes and related activities.



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