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GENDER BUDGETING FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Africa has entered the new Millennium with critical challenges characterised by profound poverty, spread of the HIV/AIDs pandemic, marginalisation in the global economy, civil war and conflicts and gender inequalities.

Poverty is the greatest challenge faced by African countries. It is estimated that more than 50% of the African population is below the poverty line. Africa lags behind in addressing all the dimensions of poverty. African development prospects 2003 and 2004 reports issued by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa suggest that the continent needs to take more strategic and proactive measures if it is to effectively fight poverty and pave the way for its sustainable development.

Gender inequalities that characterise African societies hamper the continent's development prospects and efforts.

The linkages between gender and poverty have been widely documented. Poverty and gender inequalities reinforce each other. While poverty exacerbates gender inequalities, the latter are costly to poverty reduction and development efforts.

African countries have taken measures to address poverty including the establishment of regional integration commissions to benefit from the economies of scale that can help the countries to tackle poverty and accelerate their individual and collective development, the recent formulation of Poverty Reduction Strategies as part of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiatives, the adoption with the international community of the Millennium Development Goals that derive from the 2000 Millennium Declaration, the endorsement in 2001 of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) by African Heads of States and Governments which articulated a new vision for the renewal and an effective development Africa.

In addition, promotion of gender equality has gained a prominent momentum on the continent. African countries have participated proactively in the various regional and international initiatives and events to promote gender equality that culminated in the organisation of the 1995 Beijing International Conference on Women and the adoption of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action (BPFA). To implement these Platforms, regional resolutions and mechanisms have been put in place by African leaders to translate their commitments into action: the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa adopted by African Heads of States and Governments which obliges States to respect normative standards on women's human rights, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the gender parity of the Commission of the African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) endorsed in 2001 by African Heads of States and Heads of Governments which spells out gender equality as one of the core principles that underscore the new strategic vision for the long term-development of the continent.

However, the sub-regional meeting reports and the reports submitted by African countries during the Decade Review process of the implementation of the BPFA suggest that success on the implementation of the BPFA was not systematic in all the 12 areas of concern. The Decade Review shows that in spite of commendable progress, gender disparities persist in African countries hindering the Continent's development prospects and agenda. T**he missing link is to translate the narrative gains into effective change in women's lives therefore accelerating gender equality and development in Africa.**

The purpose of this paper is to sharpen the understanding of the linkages between gender equality, poverty reduction and Africa's development and to scrutinize ways in which these linkages can be reflected into policy formulation and public resource expenditure towards meeting the BPFA, MDGs, thus paving the way for a sustainable development of the Continent as envisioned by NEPAD. In so doing, gender budgeting will be used as the main pathway to gender equality and African development.

The paper is structured as follows:

Section 1 gives an updated analysis of gender issues in Africa, ten years after the adoption of the BPFA.

Section 2 analyses the linkages between gender, poverty and Africa's development.

Section 3 suggests the budget as an instrumental tool to reflect these linkages into policy formulation and implementation.

Section 4 highlights the New Imperatives

Section 1: Promoting gender equality in Africa. Where are we ten years after the Beijing Conference?

The Decade Review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) that took place in March 2005 coincides with the five-year review of the Millennium Declaration. This was an important opportunity to assess both countries' performances in implementing the BPFA and the MDGs which are in fact related. The MDGs constitute a critical vehicle to implement BPFA and the latter is a cost effective way to achieve MDGs.

The review process consisted of sub-regional meetings to assess performance on implementing the BPFA in each African sub-region; it also consisted of country reports. Forty eight (48) countries have submitted reports which have subsequently been compiled into a synthesis report. The Review process culminated in the **Outcome and the Way Forward of the Seventh African Beijing Platforms for Action.**

The Review confirmed that success of implementing the 12 areas of concern was not systematic in Africa. While some milestone achievements in promoting the advancement of women and gender equality have been recorded in many African countries, a lot still needs to be done in all areas.

Education is the sector that registered notable progress, African countries have taken measures to remarkably reduce the gaps between girls' and boys' enrolment particularly in primary schools. Girls' education has reached over 90% that of boys in more than half the countries of Africa. In countries including Namibia, Mauritius, Senegal, Swaziland, Uganda, Egypt, Capo Verde, Equatorial Guinea, the net enrolment of girls in primary schools is equal to or greater than that of boys[1].

However, girls' high dropout rates and low performance remain an area of concern for promoting a qualitative and effective education for girls and women. The 2004 UNESCO Report found that of the estimated 104 million children of school going age that are out of school world-wide, 75% are in Africa and 57% of them are girls. Gender disparities in secondary, high schools and tertiary and particularly in science and technology persist to women's and girls' disadvantage.

In the health sector, progress has been made by some African countries in addressing gender issues. Some countries have increased attention to women's reproductive health through promoting family planning services, prevention and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS. Despite the progress, there are many challenges, among them the high maternal mortality rate in Africa. In 2002, The World Health Organisation estimated that about 585000 women die each year as a result of pregnancy and childbirth worldwide and 99% of these deaths occur in developing countries, particularly in Africa. In Niger, Angola and Malawi the risk of dying during childbirth is 1 in 7, in Sierra Leone it is 1 in 6 compared to only 1 in 29800 in Sweden and 1 in 2500 in the United States.

Table 1 gives comparisons of the maternal mortality rates worldwide.

Table 1: WHO/UNICEF/UNFPA ESTIMATES OF MATERNAL MORTALITY RATIOS, MATERNAL DEATHS AND LIFETIME RISK IN 2001

Regions	Maternal Mortality Ratio (maternal deaths per 100.000 live births)	Number of Maternal Deaths	Lifetime risk of maternal deaths: 1 in
Sub-Saharan Africa	1100	252,000	13
- Eastern/Southern	(1200)	(133,000)	(12)
- Western/Central	(1000)	(119,000)	(14)
Middle East and North Africa	360	33,000	55
South Asia	430	155,000	54
East Asia/Pacific	140	49,000	283
Latin American/Caribbean	190	22,000	157
CEE/CIS and Baltic States	55	3,500	797
Developing countries	440	511,000	61
Least developed countries	1000	230,000	16
Industrialised countries	12	1200	4085
World	400	515,000	75

The spread of HIV/AIDs pandemic is another area of concern in Africa and gender inequalities exacerbates the disease. Infection rates among women are growing much faster than among men, with women and girls accounting for 57% of persons living with HIV and over 60% of infected young people[2].

[1] UNECA, "Five Years after Beijing. What Efforts in Favour of African Women. Assessing Education and Training" United Nations 2004, Africa Renewal Online, www.un.org//ecosoc

[2] UNAIDs, 2004 Report on The Global AIDs Epidemic.

With regard to employment, despite the progress made in reducing the gender gaps in employment the gender segmentation of labour, the unequal gender division of labour in the household along with women's low education level still prevents women from occupying professional and high positions in the private and public sectors of employment.

Remarkable efforts have been made in Africa to enhance women's participation in decision making such as national parliament. Some countries have equalled or even surpassed the targets set in the BPFA. Some African countries have achieved high percentage of women in Parliament: Rwanda (48%), Swaziland (30%), South Africa (29, 8%), Mozambique (28, 4%) and Seychelles (22%). But the progress in women's participation in legislature should not hinder women's general low representation in decision-making bodies as compared to men. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) that captures the proportion of women in decision-making spheres compared to men is still very low in some African countries.

Section 2: Linkages between Gender, Poverty and Development. Conceptual and Analytical Framework

The above analysed gender inequalities pose critical constraints to African development. Several empirical research and cross-country evidences carried out by development institutions including UNDP, ECA, CODESRIA, World Bank, etc. suggest that gender inequalities in socio-economic and political spheres are costly to poverty reduction and African development.

The recent evolution in the conceptualisation of poverty has been instrumental in better understanding the social dimensions of poverty and its gender dimension in particular.

Development theories in the 1970s and 1980s equated development with economic growth focusing only on market production and the high capability of the market to create growth that will reduce poverty. Economists assumed that growth trickled down to all the population, therefore enhancing their living conditions.

In the 1980s and 1990, development theories and practices promoted by the Breton Woods Institutions focused on efficiency to be achieved through the rules of the market underpinned by neo-liberalism theory. Based on this paradigm, African countries were force to implement Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) to stabilise their economies and respond to the debt crisis. As it has been well documented, because the SAPs failed to analyse and take account of the social dimensions of the economic reforms to be carried out, they did not produce the expected results.

Against the neo-liberalism theory, another development paradigm focusing on social dimensions, transaction costs, non market behaviours, property rights, institutions as key factors that shape development was promoted in the 1990s (Robert Coase, 1991; Gary Becker, 1992; Douglas North and Robert Fogel, 1993).

These alternative approaches were spearheaded by Armatya Sen using the capabilities and human development conceptual framework which emphasises the broadening of choices and the enlargement of human capabilities (Sen, 1992).

The Capability and Human Development approach has contributed to a larger extent to better understand poverty and development by shifting the focus from the income and consumption poverty to a perception of poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon articulated around the following:

Dimension 1: Lack of Capabilities
Dimension 2: Lack of Opportunities
Dimension 3: Disempowerment
Dimension 4: Vulnerability

These dimensions are interrelated, thus they need to be addressed simultaneously if poverty is to be effectively addressed and the livelihoods of the population be improved, that is actually the ultimate goal of development.

This new approach offers avenues for fresh analysis of poverty and development from a right-based and a human development perspective, thus opening opportunities to addressing the social dimensions including gender.

Because of their different and specific roles, responsibilities and bargaining power, women and men, girls and boys are affected differently by poverty and have different COINs; Constraints, Options, Incentives and Needs. They have different coping strategies and participate differently in poverty reduction programmes. For these reasons, gender is a poverty dimension in its own right, it moreover cuts across each of the poverty dimensions and failing to routinely address gender issues highly limits the effectiveness of poverty reduction and development efforts.

Capabilities and Human Development: gender discrimination in access to essential public services such as education, health, water, energy as analysed above drastically limits women's and girls' or men's and boys' capacities to use fully their potentials to participate in and benefit effectively from development processes.

In many African countries, families have preference in educating boys rather than girls. Such discrimination is exacerbated by poverty as lack of resources to pay educational fees, uniforms, textbooks, leads to the family's choice to send only boys to school while girls are engaged in early marriage or stay at home to help their mothers with the domestic work.

Education and health are key pathways to tackle poverty because they enable the populations to accumulate capacities and to transform them in doing that is being able to do something[3]. They produce positive externalities on all the sectors of the society.

Opportunities: gender discrimination in access to and control over resources such as land, agricultural inputs, extension services, employment, persist in many African countries where women get land property rights through their husbands as long as the marriage endures. They generally lose those rights when they are divorced or widowed. Women are the backbone of agriculture; gender inequalities in access to land and agricultural inputs reduce agricultural productivity. Agricultural being the engine of growth in Africa as it employs about 70% of the population and contribute to about 40% of the GDP, low agricultural productivity reduces growth and food security, increasing therefore the vulnerability and poverty of the population.

Because of their low educational level, women and girls are mainly found in low skills and low paid jobs; they comprise a small percentage of the market labour force in Africa. In addition, labour laws disadvantage women in most African countries.

Disempowerment: empowering the population is a critical pathway to development which is a process of empowerment and self-reliance. Having a voice and being able to participate effectively in decision-making is an illustration of empowerment. However, as analysed above, the decade review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action shows that while progress has been registered in the continent, African women do not always participate in public and private (in the home) decision-making spheres to bring their priorities and needs into the agenda.

Vulnerability to risks and shocks is an important poverty dimension. Women are more vulnerable to economic shocks because of their limited access to and control over socio-economic opportunities and networks. Men are also vulnerable to shocks, due to their traditional roles as breadwinners, they experience stress related to unemployment as a result of economic shocks and tend to fall into alcoholism and violence.

Those gender inequalities confirmed by the Decade review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Actions, act as powerful constraints to wealth creation, poverty reduction and development, and hamper the society as a whole. As stretched in the World Bank Report **"women and girls bear the largest and most direct costs of gender inequalities but the costs cut more broadly across society ultimately harming everyone[4].**

Gender inequalities are not only unfair; they lead to inefficient socio-economic policies, low socio-economic growth and constraint development.

Cross countries regressions done by Klasen (1999) suggest that if **"countries in the Middle East, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and South Asia have closed their gender gaps in years of schooling at a rate achieved by East Asia countries between 1962-1990, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in these countries could have grown to one-half percentage point higher per year equivalent to 30-45 increases**[5]

It is now widely recognised that educating women has more positive externalities/return on the next generation and the society as a whole than educating men. For instance, a child health is much more affected by the mother's than the father's schooling. Data from 13 African countries for the 1975-1985 periods highlights that a 10% increase in female literacy rates reduce child mortality by 10%, whereas changes in male literacy had little influence.[6]

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[3] Armatya Sen, 1993a "Capability and Well-Being" in Armatya Sen and Martha Nussbaum (eds); The Quality of Life; Oxford; Clarendon Press.

[4] Engendering Development Through gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice », World Bank Policy Research Report, 2001

[5] Stephen Klasen, 1999 "Does Gender Inequality Reduce Growth and Development? Evidence form Cross-Country Regressions"; World Bank Policy Research Report on Gender and Development. Working paper Series, N°. 7

[6] Mark Blackden and Chitra Bhanu, 1999 3gender, Growth and Poverty Reduction. Special Program of Assistance for Africa; 1998 Status Report on Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa. Technical Report Paper 428. Poverty reduction and Social Development, Africa Region, World Bank Washington, D.C.

Another facet of the linkages between gender, poverty and development in Africa is the gender inequalities in the division of labour. In African countries, like in most countries worldwide, women and girls are primarily responsible for domestic work to care for and maintain the family members, in other words, the labour force that is the human capital essential to the functioning of the economy and the society. Given the lack or poor basic social infrastructure such as water, energy, transport, African women spend long hours fetching water, collecting wood and processing food. Women's workload leads to their time and energy poverty due to their social responsibilities for performing simultaneously reproductive, productive and community tasks. They also have to make trade offs between those tasks.

Ingrid Palmer aptly defines women's unpaid care work as **a tax they must pay in kind before being able to undertake any productive (remunerated) work[7].**

However, women's important domestic work and their contribution to the household production and the economy is not only unpaid, it is not measured nor is it taken account of in valuing the economy. As a result, their critical needs related to the burden of unpaid work are overlooked in the policymaking and implementation processes.

The burden of unpaid care work and the resulting women's time poverty not only poses important opportunity costs to women because it prevents them from earning income they highly need to address poverty, moreover, they are costly to the agricultural productivity of many African countries. Research undertaken by Tibaijuka (1994) in Tanzania concluded that a reduction in women's time burden led to an increase in household income by 10%, labour productivity by 15% and productivity of capital by 44%[8].

All those gender disparities reduce the outputs of African countries as highlighted in the Box below.

Box 1 Gender and Growth: Missed Potential

Burkina Faso: Shifting existing resources between men's and women's plots within the same household could increase output by 10-20 per cent.

Kenya: Giving women farmers the same level of agricultural inputs and education as men, could increase the yields obtained by women by more than 20 per cent.

Zambia: If women enjoyed the same overall degree of capital investment in agricultural inputs as their male counterparts, including land, output in Zambia could increase by up to 15 per cent.

Sources: Udry et al. 1995 and Saito, 1992

The Millennium Declaration, an unprecedented reached in 2000 by 189 member States of the United Nations reinforced the importance of gender equality in promoting development. Through the Declaration, Member States explicitly committed themselves **"to combat all forms of violence against women and to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)" The Millennium Declaration further recognizes the importance of promoting gender equality and women's empowerment as an effective pathway for combating poverty, hunger and disease and for stimulating truly sustainable development[9]**.

However, it is worth noting that while the Millennium Declaration powerfully reiterates gender equality as a must and promoting gender equality is treated as a goal on its own, the 18 targets and 48 indicators that accompany the 8 Goals do not systematically reflect the cross-cutting nature and importance of gender in meeting all the other Goals. But as the MDGs constitute a global roadmap to guide countries, there is an opportunity for defining national MDGs indicators to address gender issues articulated in the Dakar and the Beijing Platforms for Action.

Assessment of the implementation of MDGs five years after their adoption shows that while all the regions are making progress, African countries lag behind and are not likely to achieve the MDGs during the agreed timeframe (2015). The Millennium Taskforce on Poverty and Economy has noted that **"one of the greatest barriers to human capital transition is the denial of basic human rights to a significant part of the population and this applies broadly to women[10].**

The study "Can Africa Claim the 21st Century" published by the World Bank and co-signed by four other institutions working extensively on Africa namely the Economic Commission for Africa, the African Development Bank, the

[7] Ingrid Palmer, 1999 "Gender and Population in the Adjustment of African Economies: Planning for Change », ILO, Geneva.
[8] Tibaijuka, Anna (1994). « The Cost of Differential Gender Roles in African Agriculture. A Case Study of Smallholder Banana-Coffee Farms in the Kagera Region, Tanzania". Journal of Economics, 45 (1)
[9] UNIFEM and the German Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development "CEDAW, Beijing and the MDGs. Pathway to Gender Equality"
[10] Millennium Project Task Force on Poverty and Economic Development, 2004 Interim Report: An Enhanced Strategy for Reducing Poverty by the Year 2015> New York: Millennium Project

African Economic Research Consortium and the Coalition for Africa suggests **promoting women's education and training, and promoting their access to productive assets including land, credit and time-serving technology could contribute to reaching the 7 per cent annual growth rate needed to achieve MDGs in Africa**[11]

Section 3: Reflecting the Linkages between Gender, Poverty and African Development into Policy Formulation and Implementation: Engendering Budget

The above evidences make it clear that promoting gender equality in policy making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation is a must if Africa is to extricate from poverty and underdevelopment. For this to happen, gender should be considered as a category of analysis at the theoretical, conceptual and empirical level of any policy making in Africa.

The missing link in promoting gender equality for African development is to effectively understand the linkages between gender inequalities and African development and to formulate strategies, policies that reflect these linkages. While gender advocacy is critical and has contributed to great changes in women's conditions, it is by no means sufficient to accelerate gender equality for an effective development of the Continent. There is an urgent need to target development policies, because gender is a development issue and a development goal in its own right.

As pointed out by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), **« development if not engendered is endangered »**[12]

Why Engendering budget is a Powerful Device to addressing the Missing Link?

Engendering the budget or mainstreaming gender concerns into the budget does not mean elaborating a separate budget for men and for women (50/50), does it mean to only integrate gender issues into the resource allocation (budget). Rather, engendering the budget is a holistic and strategic process that entails first looking at the policies from a gender lens and then scrutinizing the budget. It is based on the standpoint that the budget is an important tool and part of the overall planning process, it should thus follow policies and not vice versa. In other words, the budget is a powerful means to promote development.

An analysis of the development policies adopted by African countries suggests that they are based on conventional paradigms and models that overlook social dimensions in general and gender concerns in particular. Therefore, the first critical step in engendering the budget is to question the models and their derived policies on which the budgets are based.

3.1 Analysis from a gender lens of the conventional Macroeconomics

Macroeconomics is the study of the entire economy in terms of highly aggregated quantities such as the total amount of goods and services produced, total income earned, the level of employment of productive resources and general behavior of prices. Macroeconomics focuses on the market that is the production of goods and services which involves monetary transactions. Because macroeconomics is aggregated, conventional economists assume that it does not have differential impacts on women and men, girls and boys. Acknowledgement of gender inequalities at the micro level seems to be easier for mainstream economists than at the macroeconomic level where they appear to be more reluctant because they make the assumption that macroeconomics is about aggregates and consequently both the policy objective and instruments are gender neutral.

Such an assumption is false and there is a mounting of evidences on the ways in which macroeconomics impacts differently on women and men for many reasons:

Firstly, the institutions through which macroeconomics operates are engendered. Societal institutions and economic institutions determine what resources women and men, girls and boys have access to and control over, what opportunities and potentials they have to participate in and benefit from wealth creation, poverty reduction and development. For instance gender discrimination in land rights has negative implications in women's production, access to market and financial institutions. Women farmers and entrepreneurs have more constraints than men to access credit because they lack collateral to secure credit.

Secondly, the three levels of the economy namely the micro, meso and macro do not function in isolation, rather, they are interrelated. Consequently, gender inequalities at the micro and meso levels have implications at the macro level and vice versa.

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[11] World Bank, 2000 "Can Africa Claim the 21st Century? Washington, D.C.
[12] United Nations Development Programme, 1995 Report

Thirdly, the burden of unpaid care work performed mainly by women and girls to care for and maintain the household members, which is the labor force, the human capital is essential to the functioning of the market, on which macroeconomics focuses.

In contrast with the conventional economist assumption, macroeconomics is not gender neutral; it is gender-biased in its effects.

- Feminist economists have played an important role in challenging conventional macroeconomics. The macroeconomic policies used by African countries to tackle poverty are characterized by what feminists economists call **"Deflationary bias"** (Elson, D., 2002, Elson, D. and Nilufer Gatagay, 2000) that is a **combination of low inflation, low public debt, low budget deficit, low taxation, low public expenditure to avoid public deficit**. In other words, the macroeconomic model and policies are informed by the neo-liberalism paradigm that considers the laissez-faire market as the effective rule to regulate the economy and there is no need for external intervention e.g. from the State. Such a paradigm underscores the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that African countries were forced to adopt in the 1980s under the auspices of the Bretton Woods Institutions namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. SAPs had two main components: short term measures such as reduction of the demand, control of inflation through cutbacks in public expenditure and long term measures such as trade liberalization, privatization of public enterprises. As a result of the cutbacks in public expenditure on infrastructure and basic social services e.g. health, education, water and energy, women and to some extent girls increased both their paid and unpaid work to cope with the situation. The introduction of the user fees leads to shorter the average day of stay at the hospital shifting the social costs from the public sphere to the private sphere i.e. the household, thus making them invisible and unpaid. These combined macroeconomic policies had produced high adverse effects on the population particularly on women and children and other vulnerable groups, exacerbating gender inequalities and ailing African development prospects. In other words, because these policies failed to understand the dynamics of African economies, because they considers African countries as homogenous, because they focused on growth and overlooked the human and social dimensions of development, because they considered growth as an end on itself, they produced the opposite outcomes. SAPs were highly criticized based on mounting evidence obliging its proponents e.g. World Bank and IMF to introduce the Social Dimensions Programmes (SDP) of Structural Adjustment in order to mitigate the high social costs of the reforms. However, as established by CODESRIA's research programme on **"African Perspective on Structural Adjustment Programmes"**, the SDP were not successful because they were added on rather than being an integral part of the reforms, in other words, they were designed to address the symptoms rather than the causes of the problems. But a cardinal principle of policy making involves the principle that policies should target problems at their sources, rather than dealing with their manifestations.[13] In other words, what was meant to create economic efficiency and growth produced the opposite outcomes i.e. economic inefficiency and huge social costs.

In contrast to this paradigm that puts the focus on economic growth, evidence has shown that while growth is necessary growth per se is far from being sufficient in tackling poverty as the fruits of growth do not automatically trickled down and equally to the whole population. Some African countries such as South Africa have registered sustainable growth without reducing wide inequalities.

There is a need to rethinking and reconceptualising macroeconomics policies from an African perspective. As modeling is a crucial step for policy making, this entails first the construction of a macroeconomic model that captures the real African economy.

Conventional macroeconomic focuses on the market, consequently all goods and services produced outside the market boundary are not taken into account in macroeconomic variables. In the African context where the majority of the population relies on non-market production to survive, such a representation of the economy is impartial and does have adverse policy implications. The important unpaid care work performed primarily by women and girls to bear, care of and maintain the family's members is not measured, not valued, nor is it taken account in quantifying the economy through the Gross Domestic Product and the Gross National Product and in designing scenarios for policymaking. This is a big omission with adverse policy implications. The New Endogenous Growth theory developed in the 1980s to challenge the exogenous growth theory has demonstrated the importance of investing in human capital for wealth creation and sustainable development. Consequently, the unpaid care work contributes to a large extent to building the human capital, the most important resource for any country.

The policy implication of overlooking the valuable unpaid care work is that the important related needs, priorities; constraints are not addressed in the policy formulation and budgetary processes.

A second weakness in mainstream macroeconomics is the perception of the household as purely consumer. Based on the neo-classic orthodoxy, household members are considered as individual Homo-Economicus who pursue the

[13] Nilufer Cagatay, 1998 "Engendering Macroeconomics and Macroeconomic Policies", UNDP WP 6.

maximization of their utility in a rational way e.g. within their resource constraints. Neo-classic economists assume that there is no conflict of behavior or social shaping of preferences within the household. This is a simplification of the intrahousehold dynamics. Because of the differential bargaining power between the household members, families are characterized not only by cooperation but also by conflict[14].

Rethinking Macroeconomic from an African Perspective. An Alternative to Mainstream Economics

An African perspective to macroeconomics and economics in general calls for a valorization of all the components of African economy, the paid and the non- paid economic activities. It calls for the acknowledgement of women's important contribution to the society through their unpaid care work and community work. In sum, the African perspective to macroeconomics starts from redefining the economic value of work. In this regards, there is need to go beyond the boundaries of the 1993 System of National Accounts (SNA) and integrate unpaid work and all the household production (part of the household production including subsistence production is integrated into the national accounts). The 1993 SNA was developed by six organizations namely the United Nations, World Bank, the IMF, European Commission and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). It is a conceptual framework that sets the international statistical standards for the measurement of the market economy. It consists of an integrated set of macroeconomic accounts, balance sheets and tables based on internationally agreed concepts, definitions, and classifications and accounting rules. The SNA is the basis of national accounts; the latter in turn is the basis for calculation of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Growth in GDP is used as the main indicator of how well or how poorly an economy is performing. The main weakness of the 1993 SNA is that it has a limited view of the total range of work and production. The important volume of household production of services for own consumption and the unpaid care work are not included within the 1993 SNA production boundary. However, the SNA provides possibilities for integrating aspects that were not taken into account, through the construction of satellite accounts.

Integrating unpaid work and household production in African National Accounts

In African perspective, it is essential to construct national satellite accounts to capture the non paid work, goods and services that are omitted in the current national accounts of African countries. For this is to happen, the first step is to carry out **time use surveys** in order to quantify how women and me, girls and boys spend their time between paid and unpaid work and leisure. The main building blocks of time use surveys are the Activity and Time and the unit of analysis is the activity. Time use surveys constitute a critical instrument to value the burden of paid work and household production so as to inform policy making and budgetary allocation. In Africa by 2002, only five countries have undertaken time use surveys: Benin, Nigeria, Madagascar, South Africa and Morocco. Only South Africa has carried out an independent time use survey, the other countries have integrated time-use modules into their general household surveys.

Once time use surveys are conducted, the next step is to use the data to construct national satellite accounts that enable to extent the SNA by integrating unpaid work and household production. Satellite accounts enable to capture and value the entire economy e.g. the market and non-market components of the economy.

Using the time use data and satellite accounts to construct a gender –aware macroeconomic modeling.

This implies that gender should be considered as a category of analysis in macroeconomics so as to integrate gender dimension into macroeconomic variables, instruments and policies such as the labor/employment policies, fiscal policies, and trade policies.

As the regional arm of the United Nations in Africa assigned the mandate to support the economic and social development of its 53 Members States, to foster regional integration, and promote international cooperation for African development, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), through its African Center for Gender and Development (ACGD) has produced African-specific tools to respond to African needs and perspective to engender socio-economic policies for better promoting African development: the African Gender and Development Index (AGDI) , the African Specific Easy Reference Guidebook for Mainstreaming Unpaid Work and Household Production into National Statistics, National Policies and Budgets.

The AGDI is being used by many African countries to monitor their progress on implementing the Dakar and the Beijing Platforms for Action and to inform their policies. Training workshops are being organized in the five Sub-Regions to familiarize African statisticians, macroeconomists and planners with the Guidebook for its effective use at national level.

[14] Armatya Sen, 1990 « Gender and Cooperative Conflict. In Irene Tinker (ed.) Persistent Inequalities.

A gender-aware macroeconomic model has been developed using the General Computable Equilibrium Model (GCEM). Though the GCEM is aggregated, it enables to provide detailed information at the micro, meso and macro level using the Social Accounting Matrix. Here also, time use data is essential to develop a gender responsive Social Accounting Matrix.

3.2.Second Step: Engendering Policies

After engendering economic/macroeconomic models, the critical next step is to engender the policies that derive from the model.

Under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiatives (HIPC) most African countries have elaborated Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS), those who do not have PRS such as South Africa and some post conflict countries do have poverty reduction or national development plans, the PRS and national development plans must be engendered so as to engender the budgets.

Critics say that the PRS are similar to the SAPs, but an analysis of the various PRS adopted so far suggests that they are different from the SAPs as they put the focus on poverty and its social dimensions. Though an emphasis is made on growth, there is an unprecedented recognition of the fact that growth although important is not sufficient to tackle inequalities and poverty. Moreover, the following principles that underscore the PRS, if respected, could enhance the effectiveness of poverty reduction strategies:

- Country-driven involving broad-based participatory by civil society and the private sector at the formulation, operational and monitoring and evaluation levels;
- Results-oriented, focusing on outcomes that would benefit the poor;
- Comprehensive in recognizing the multidimensional nature of poverty and the scope needed to effectively reduce poverty;
- Partnership oriented, involving coordinated participation of development partners (bilateral, multilateral, and non-governmental);
- Based on long-term perspective of poverty reduction.

While PRSP offer opportunities to effectively mainstream gender concerns into national poverty interventions, an assessment of the 30 PRSP by Zuckerman and Garett in 2002, out of which eight were from African countries, suggests that only three African countries comprehensively addressed gender issues namely Rwanda, Malawi and Zambia. No PRSP addressed gender issues in macroeconomic policies such as trade liberalization and privatization. It was also noted that gender concerns are mainly addressed in education and health.

The PRSP being the roadmap that guides any intervention and resources allocation (from government and development partners) towards poverty reduction in Africa, they should be influenced from a gender perspective to ensure that the specific COINs – Constraints, Options, Incentive and Needs – of women and men, girls and boys are effectively addressed across the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the strategies so as to make them pro-poor and gender equitable.

The following actions need to be taken to engender the PRSP:

Step 1: Mainstream gender into the Poverty Participatory Assessment (PPA)

Women and men, girls and boys should equally participate in the poverty assessment to voice how they perceive poverty, how they are affected by poverty, what are their coping strategies and how they participate in poverty reduction programmes.

Step 2: Mainstream gender into the poverty diagnosis and analysis: this consists of using the outcomes of the PPA backed up by gender disaggregated data to document each of the poverty dimension from a gender perspective e.g. Lack of capabilities, Lack of opportunities; Vulnerability, Disempowerment.

Step 3 entails to use the outcome of the poverty diagnosis/analysis to inform elaboration of poverty priority areas for action.

Step 4: Use gender responsive indicators to develop a Monitoring and Evaluation Matrix to track progress against the poverty reduction objective.

***Step 5*:** Formulating a gender responsive budget to implement the poverty reduction strategies: consists of allocating resources to the gender responsive priority areas for action

Many countries are engaged into the revision of formulation of the second generation of PRS, this opportunity should be seized to mainstream gender into the strategy.

The process described above confirms what we have indicated at the preamble of Session 3 i.e. gender budgeting is a holistic process that entails identifying, analyzing and integrating gender issues across the planning process as the budget is nothing else but a strategic tool of the overall planning process. In other words, one cannot engender the budget if the policies are gender blind. The principle of a good planning system is that budget should follow policy and not vice versa as it has been the case in Africa. While Step 4 specifically deals with the implementation of the policies, i.e. the budget itself, engendering budget as a strategy follows all the process described above i.e. engender macroeconomic model and policies before looking at the budgets.

3.3 Formulating Gender Responsive Budgets: An Effective Pathway to Accelerating African Development

The PRS or the National Development Plan (for countries who do not have PRS) constitutes the main guide to formulate sectoral policies e.g. line ministries' strategic plans and policies to implement the country's poverty reduction strategies and or national development plan. Therefore, there is a need to also mainstream gender into these strategies and policies/plans in order to engender their budgets. The process below should be followed:

- Step 1: Analysis from a gender perspective of policies and programmes and their respective budgets.
- Step 2: Formulation of GRB or adjustment of budgets to make them gender responsive and implementation
- Step 3: Monitoring and evaluation of impacts

The Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). A Critical Entry Point to Engender Government's Budget (sectoral ministries' budgets)

The budgetary reforms in which most (or all) African countries are engaged constitute a good entry point to engender the budget for the effectiveness of development interventions in the continent.

Over the last few years, African countries are changing their budgetary approach from line budgeting to a result-based or performance- based budgeting by adopting the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). The latter is a medium –term planning and budgeting framework generally on a three year rolling basis to link the resources to poverty reduction priorities. Key questions to be asked:

(1) What are the Government's main poverty reduction and development objectives?

(2) How are the resources collected and whether resources allocation is coherent with the poverty reduction and development goals? **(Inputs)**

(3) What are the services produced by government's ministries and institutions from the resources allocated to them? **(Outputs)**

(4) What are the impacts of these resources on the population women and men, girls and boys? **(Outcomes)**

The objective of the MTEF is to efficiently use the country's resources towards sustainable development. They are therefore coherent with the gender budgeting whose goal is to make development interventions effective by targeting the specific needs of all the population women and men, girls and boys, in other words by channeling the resources to meet the development goal. As gender inequalities hamper development efforts, ensuring that policies and their accompanied resources address gender disparities instead of perpetuating them, is a cost effectiveness strategy to promote sustainable, pro-poor and equitable development in Africa.

Table 2: MTEF Matrix

Ministries' Programmes Objectives	Inputs	Activities	Outputs	Outcomes	Resources (budget)	Performance indicators
Definition of the objective of the Ministry's programmes	Human, and resources and other inputs needed	Detailed activities to be carried out	Services produced	Impacts of the services produced on the population	Budget allocated	Indicators that track the progress made on the living conditions of the populations

Across the MTEF/ the budgetary process, the following framework should be used to mainstream gender into sectoral ministries' budgets:

- Step 1 involves an analysis of the situation of women and men, girls and boys (and different sub-groups, such as rural/urban, age-based, etc.) in the sector, using accurate gender disaggregated data. Examples: agricultural, water and energy sector. Employment sector. Needs/client analysis in budget terms.
- Step 2 consists of an assessment of the sectoral policy, programmes and projects in terms of their gender-sensitivity, i.e. whether they address the situation describes in step 1. Policy/programme in budget terms.
- Step 3 consists of an assessment as to whether adequate financial (budget) and other resources are allocated to implement the gender-sensitive policy of step 2 effectively. Equivalent in budget terms: Inputs in budget terms.
- Step 4 involves monitoring as to whether the expenditure allocated in step 3 is spent as planned. Outputs in budget terms.
- Step 5 entails an assessment of whether the policy and associated expenditure has promoted gender equity as intended, and changed the situation described in step 1. This means Impacts in budget terms.

The following gender budgeting tools should be used along with the above framework.

Box 2: Gender Budgeting Tools

- Gender-Disaggregated Beneficiary Assessment: this approach aims to collect and analyze the opinions of men and women on the extent to which public service delivery and expenditure priorities reflect their priorities.
- Gender-Aware Policy Appraisal: this technique enables an assessment of the policies in place to establish whether they increase, decrease, or are neutral in affecting the degree and pattern of gender differences. It is made on an implicit or explicit understanding that policies underlie budget appropriations.
- Gender-Aware Budget Statement: this is to demonstrate the expected implications of the spending estimates in addressing issues of gender inequality in terms of total and sectoral expenditure.
- Gender-Aware Medium-Term Macroeconomic Policy Framework: the primary objective of this tool is to create a medium term macroeconomic policy framework incorporating women's and men's different roles in the economic activity.
- Gender-Disaggregated Analysis of Impact of Budget on Time Use: it aims at identifying relationships between the national budget and household time budgets, so as to reveal the macroeconomic implications of unpaid work in social reproduction.
- Gender-Disaggregated Tax Incidence Analysis: the purpose here is to evaluate the differential impacts of taxes on women and men in terms of sharing tax burdens and influencing consumption preferences.
- Gender-Disaggregated Public Expenditure Benefit Incidence Analysis: in generalized terms it aims at analyzing the extent to which men and women, girls and boys, benefit from expenditure on publicly provided services.

3.4. Gender Budgeting Initiatives in Africa

Several African countries have adopted gender budgeting as a strategy to accelerate promotion of gender equality and pro-poor, equitable development. South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Mauritius, are among the countries that have undertaken a comprehensive gender budgeting initiatives. Ethiopia has started with a Gender Budget Analysis; a plan has been elaborated to use the outcomes of the analysis for formulating a gender responsive budget. Burkina Faso has started with building the capacities of government's technicians on gender budgeting, the process is underway. Gender Budgeting Initiatives in Africa differ from their scope and actors. All these countries looked at mainly on the expenditure side of the budgets.

Actors: the Rwanda Gender Budgeting Initiative is a Government's Initiative which is part of the country's national strategic plan to promoting gender equality and development.

In Tanzania, the Tanzania Gender Network Programme (TGNP), a national NGOs initiated the gender budgeting.

In South Africa, (the first country in African engaged in gender budgeting), the initiative was taken by the Parliament during the post apartheid.

In Uganda, the Forum for Women in Development (FOWODE) mainly made of Women Parliamentarians initiated the gender budgeting work.

In Burkina Faso and Ethiopia, the gender budgeting is an initiative of the government supported by development partners.

Section 4: Way Forward: New Imperatives

"Rethinking African Development beyond Impasse, towards Alternatives" implies to revisit African socio-economic modeling, planning systems i.e. policy formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation to reflect the key areas of concerns of the continent such as gender inequalities.

African countries need to move from commitments to greater actions by reflecting Beijing Platform for action, MDGs, NEPAD into their national planning systems.

In this regards, there is a critical need to take the following measures:

● Understand and consider gender as a development goal

● Raise awareness of policy makers on the linkages between gender equality and African development.

● Improve the national statistics and national accounts in order to gather accurate gender disaggregated statistics for all the sectors to inform effective policy making, implementation, monitoring and implementation;

● Building capacities of national planners on gender analysis, mainstreaming gender into macroeconomic policies and budgets.

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