

Gender policy implementation

- Basic ideas and effects

A study of Sida's gender policy and its relation to
gender equality in Babati District, Tanzania

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Abstract

Title: Gender policy implementation – basic ideas and effects. A study of Sida's gender policy and its relation to gender equality in Babati District, Tanzania

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This study has two purposes, one is to examine the ideological consistency between Sida's gender policy and the gender policy of an implemented project, and the other purpose consists of an attempt to identify a relation between the implementation of Sida's/LAMP's policies and actual changes on gender equality in the partnering country. Three research questions were formulated around the topics of women's situation in Tanzania, the ideological origin of Sida's gender policy and the reflection of these in the LAMP policy, and the consequences of an implementation in terms of equality between men and women in Babati District, Tanzania. The analysis is carried out with the help of different theoretical perspectives on women and gender in development, perspectives that have been selected on the basis that they have been influential and dominating in the contemporary planning and policy making of development agencies. The method used was a functional idea analysis and a field study where semi-structured interviews were conducted. The conclusion regarding the ideological consistency is that a comparison between the policies of Sida and LAMP shows patterns of great ideological resemblance, and that both have a somewhat stronger connection to the GAD approach. The conclusion regarding actual changes on gender equality reveals that an integration of gender aspects into the LAMP programme has had several consequences for women. The programme has helped to reduce women's work load, increased their chances of income, and promoted women's participation in decision-making on different levels. These are all aspects that may challenge the traditional order of women's relationship to men and the subordination of women.

Key words: gender policy, gender and development, gender equality, LAMP, Tanzania, Sida

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1 Introduction

1.1 Problem

The African continent has received development aid from countries in the North since the 1960's. In the beginning of the 70's questions were raised of how women in the South were affected by economic development and consequently how programmes and projects of donor agencies could help to improve this situation. A number of different approaches toward women in development evolved over the years as academic research proceeded and the results have consequently been guiding in the creation of gender policies among donors in the North. The different policy rationales have had varying results operationally and thus varying potential for effectively promoting gender equality. According to Hannan (2000) there is however still considerable confusion on these different policy approaches among governments and aid agencies. Moser (1993) further states that agencies have not shown any logic when changing their policy approach and that changes seemingly can occur even within programmes or projects at different stages.

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida, has since 1996 had the promotion of gender equality in partner countries as one of their overriding goals and a gender policy was established in 1997. The policy provides overall guidelines for the totality of Sida's development cooperation. Since Sida is a Swedish government authority which operates on the commission of the Parliament and is financed by funding originating from the Swedish tax payers it is reasonable to demand results in terms of achievements. If the foundation of the policy is believed to be right and reasonable for obtaining these achievements it must be expected that the discrepancies between the Sida policy and the policies and strategies of implemented programmes are as few as possible. Bearing in mind the above described importance of policy rationale on outcome and the suggested existing confusion among aid agencies it is therefore interesting to take a closer look at the underlying rationale of Sida's policy, and how consistent the policy turns out to be in one of Sida's implemented programmes. The gender policy has further been in use for more than eight years. It is therefore reasonable to ask for results in terms of how programme activities have been influenced by the policy and what consequences it has had on gender equality in partner countries.

1.2 Research questions and aim of study

The aim of the study is two folded. One purpose is to examine the ideological consistency between Sida's policy for promoting gender equality and the gender policy of an implemented

project. The other purpose consists of an attempt to identify a relation between the implementation of Sida's/LAMP's policies and actual changes on gender equality in the partnering country. With these purposes as a focal point the following questions have been formulated:

- In what ways has the situation of women changed in Tanzania since the gain of independence and why have changes occurred?
- What basic ideas can be identified in Sida's policy for promoting equality between women and men in partner countries and how are these ideas reflected in the implementation of the LAMP-project?
- What are the consequences of an integration of gender aspects into the LAMP-project in terms of equality between men and women in Babati District, Tanzania?

The basic ideas of the gender policies of both Sida and LAMP could be analysed from a wide selection of different feminist theories. The analyses will in this essay be concentrated around the dominating policy approaches that the gender and development discourse have experienced from the 60's up until today.

It must here be noted that the study has no intention to see the eventual consequences on gender equality in Babati District as *directly inherit* from the rationale underlying the Sida policy and the LAMP policy. The study in Babati has not been carried out as to fulfil a task of that kind. This also means that no theoretical analysis will be made of the results from the interviews. The point of the two folded purpose in the study is to see *if* or *how* the local developments of gender equality corresponds to, or even can be derived from, the aim and methods promoted by Sida and LAMP.

1.3 Method and material

The two sided purpose of this paper made it necessary to adopt different methods when conducting this study. The first method used is a form of text analysis which is called functional idea analysis and has been applied to the gender policies of Sida and the LAMP programme. The second method used is semi-structured interviews which were carried out during a field trip to Babati, Tanzania.

Sida is involved in a vast number of development programmes and projects in almost equally as many countries. The choice of Tanzania and the LAMP-programme as units of study needs therefore be motivated when discussing how representative this study is in a larger context. Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world and has been and still is one of the largest recipients of Swedish development aid. It is a country with very strong traditional

values with a strong patriarch structure and the subordination of women as the norm. It can therefore be seen as a fairly typical example of a developing country in the South. The LAMP-programme on the other hand is a donor financed programme that has now been active for nearly 15 years. Gender aspects have been part of the programme from the start and Sida's policy has been a guiding principle for the past eight years. With these preconditions it should be possible to identify results in terms of change when it comes to gender equality.

1.3.1 Functional idea analysis

Theoretical perspectives concerning women/gender in development are being used to identify the value basis for Sida's policy for promoting gender equality in partner countries as well as how these are reflected in the documents of the LAMP project. Hence, I have chosen a qualitative kind of method which can be labelled as functional idea analysis (Bergström&Boréus, 2000). A functional idea analysis focuses on the origin and effects of different ideas. The aim of this method is thus to provide an explanation to why certain thoughts and ideas are presented e.g to give an idea historic or ideological explanation. Choosing this method is therefore reasonable since the ideological origin is of interest for the answering of two of my research questions. The fundamental ideological attitude could in this context of foreign aid be of importance because it may influence the results on gender equality in different ways. Both on the direct outcome of the policy but also through the rhetoric by which it is carried forward in a social context, in this case how it affects the ways in which people are talking about gender and equality and how that contributes to a change of behaviour.

The functional idea analysis has more specifically been organised as to focus on three areas – *view of equality and women's role in development; needs recognised; and top-down or bottom-up*. The areas of concern have been drawn from a collection of academic literature on the subject of gender and development, and have been created to work as an analytical tool with the purpose to structure the analysis. The choice of areas will be motivated in the theory section below. The different theoretical perspectives on women/gender in development presented, have been selected on the basis that they have been influential and dominating in the contemporary planning and policy making of development agencies. It is therefore likely that the Sida policy and the LAMP policy will bear traces of these approaches.

The following step in the process of the functional idea analysis has been to extract statements from the policy documents; statements that I have identified as carriers of the underlying ideas. The statements have then been categorised according to how the views they present correspond to the focal areas. This procedure has enabled a "labelling" of the different

statements and has in the end been helpful in order to draw conclusions about the origin of the different ideas.

Four documents have been chosen for the idea analysis. The analysis of Sida's policy is conducted with *Sida's Action Programme for Promoting Equality Between Women and Men in Partner Countries – Policy*. It has been prepared by Sida in cooperation with the Swedish ministry of foreign affairs and presents the goal of equality and places it in the context of the other overall development goals of Swedish development cooperation. The documents used for the analysis of the LAMP policy are the following: *LAMP/SCAPA Gender Guideline – How to integrate gender in natural resources management*; *LAMP/SCAPA Gender Manual – How to integrate gender in natural resources management at the local level in Tanzania*; and *LAMP/SCAPA Gender Manual – how to work with gender mainstreaming in natural resource management at district and community level*. The documents have been prepared by LAMP officials and probably on the commission of Orgut Consulting, the contractor of the LAMP-programme. The three documents are rather similar in content and all provide the reader with an introduction to gender and development concepts. It should here be said that there is no such thing as an established gender policy for the LAMP programme in the form of a separate document. The second document mentioned does however contain a proposal for a Policy on Gender as discussed on one of the LAMP workshops. When using the term “LAMP policy” in the paper it thus refers to statements extracted from the different documents. The documents used for the analysis are all primary sources and need not be discussed in a critical manner. Aspects of reliability and validity are however more important to discuss. There is always a risk of bias when the researcher is the one who decides what to analyse and how to interpret the results of the analysis. The analysis of documents in this study has been made by extracting statements verbatim from the texts which were thought to clearly mirror the values and attitudes of both Sida and LAMP. This will hopefully make it easier to follow the thinking in the analysis. It is on the other hand possible that I mistakenly have left out extracts that may have been important for the results of the analysis. To clearly present the phrases that have been objects of interest in the analysis will hopefully increase the possibility to critically review the results and to repeat the investigation.

1.3.2 Interviews

In order to answer the third question a different kind of qualitative method was chosen – interviews. The interviews were carried out in Babati District, Tanzania during a period of less than three weeks. The interviews were semi-structured with questions asked in a certain order within certain themes but the interviewees were able to formulate the answers freely and touch on subjects they thought relevant for the question. As an interviewer I also asked

resulting questions that were not formulated in advance. Hence, scope was given to subjects and reflections that were not a part of the original interviewing scheme in accordance with the underlying idea of a semi-structured interview (Hartman, 1998). The semi-structured interview as a method has various implications when it comes to issues of reliability and validity. The qualitative nature of the method has several advantages and disadvantages. It gives the researcher access to in-depth information which is difficult to obtain elsewhere since the interviewee is able to develop and explain its point of view in a manner that is not restricted by the researcher. The investigation is on the other hand difficult to repeat, especially as different questions may be asked from interview to interview. The respondents will to participate and their verbal ability are also factors that may affect the results. To this can also be added the complicated process of analysing qualitative information and to decide what information is relevant for the study. Further aspects of reliability and validity will be touched upon in the following segments.

In qualitative methods of study it is common to use a selection of respondents that is suited to the purpose (Hartman, 1998). The idea is that when in search of specific knowledge one chooses to interview people who are thought to possess that knowledge. The pick could however be affected by the practical possibilities for making a well grounded selection. A majority of the chosen respondents in this study were selected because of their supposed knowledge of gender issues and social circumstances in the district. With minimal knowledge of these persons and with a very limited amount of time I was however bound to rely upon other people to make the selection for me. It was difficult for me to select informants since my understanding of these persons were non-existent. Different prerequisites might have resulted in a different selection but under prevailing conditions I consider the choice of respondents to be appropriate and sufficient for fulfilling the aim of the study. Holme & Solvang (1997) does however point out one problem with choosing respondents on the basis of their level of knowledge. There is a risk that these persons present convincing but distorted statements. There are no evident cases of distortion in the interviews carried out for this study but there are reasons to be cautious in the interpretation of the answers given by some respondents. Some of the people interviewed were deeply involved with gender work in the district, some on a daily basis. It would not be surprising if these persons were to be overly optimistic about the results of their efforts on the equality between men and women since it lies in their interest to present it as a meaningful and influential part of the process.

Holme & Solvang (1997) also make the distinction between informants and respondents where the difference lies in their position towards the phenomenon that is subject for investigation. Informants have an external position with knowledge of the phenomenon while respondents are classified as a participating part in the phenomenon and thus she has a

subjective experience of it. A majority of the persons interviewed for this study can be categorised as informants since the purpose of their participation was to present knowledge of the situation on a more general level. Simultaneously they work as respondents when giving examples from their own lives and relationships. This could have afflicted my perceptions of the “gender situation” in Babati but limitations in terms of time restricted the scope to perform interviews with persons representing the respondent profile. Doing so might have increased my chances of making a more correct estimation of how influential the integration of gender issues has been on the actual situation in Babati.

Another issue worth mentioning concerning the interviews is the use of translators during the field trip. The level of their professionalism could have an effect on the answers and the results. Despite the translators role to function merely as a language link it may well happen that the selection of words in the translation are weighed according to the interpreter’s personal values and views. This in turn might affect my perceptions and interpretations of the answers. It is however also my responsibility, as a researcher, to give adequate information and instructions to the interpreter.

1.4 Previous research

Much research has been done on the subject of gender planning and promotion of equality in development cooperation. The studies made of actual results of gender planning on gender equality do however appear to be smaller in numbers. One study related to that issue is the report called *Främjar biståndet kvinnans ställning?* (Does aid improve women’s position?) published by the Swedish Ministry of Foreign affairs in 1995 . The aim of the study is to describe how the Swedish aid concentrated on women has developed over time and how authorities have dealt with the issue. It questions whether the aid has improved women’s position and how issues of equality should continue to be driven in the international development cooperation. The findings of the study declares that a comparison between Swedish development cooperation and foreign authorities show that the development of policies and strategies of Sida has been in time and in line with the international debate. The conclusions drawn from evaluations and a number of case studies show that the prerequisites are better than before when it comes to the improvement of women’s position. (Ds 1995:23)

The dissertation of Carolyn Hannan from 2001 is an extensive study consisting of two parts with the overall objective to focus attention on the relationship between the goal of gender equality and actual practice at all levels in development cooperation. The aim of the thesis is to analyse the achievements both at the level of policy development and in practical interventions. It highlights some of the main areas needing attention if gender equality is to become a central issue in development cooperation in the future. Three key areas – concepts, goals and institutional conditions - are identified as subjects of further developments. The

field studies presented in part two of the thesis shows that there is much left to do before gender equality is a central issue within foreign aid. It is emphasised in the conclusions that women's voice and power needs to be strengthened, that power and decision-making between men and women needs to be analysed on all levels, that an understanding of men's attitudes and behaviour needs to be developed, and that men needs to be engaged more actively in the process of promoting gender equality. (Hannan, 2001)

Research more directly connected to the nature of Sida's gender policy can be found in the master thesis of Sabine Bergstén. She has made an investigation of the policy approach in relation to contemporary academic thinking – different gender concepts and policy approaches, similar to what is done in this study. Her thesis then goes on to investigate a number of Sida evaluation reports from Africa reflects the gender thinking identified in the policy. Her conclusion is that the policy's main position and concepts are linked to different policy approaches, resulting in mixed and conflicting messages, and that gender was integrated into the majority of the evaluation reports. The results did however also show that Sida's mainstreaming approach needs to be more fully incorporated into Sida's development work. (Bergstén, 2001)

2 Women in Tanzania

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will present an overview of women's situation in Tanzania in terms of legal status, women's political participation, access to education and level of literacy. Focus is put on changes that have influenced women's general situation in society and on possible explanations for the steps taken.

2.1.1 Women's issues in Tanzania

Since independence Tanzania has gone through substantial changes of both social and economic character. One of the greatest contributors to this societal changeover has been the former President Julius Nyerere. Being one of the front figures and later the President of the TANU, Tanganyika African National Union, he struggled for independence and unity. His idea of the class less pre-colonial African society has been influential in his efforts to attain national integration in building a nation gathering a multitude of ethnic groups (Othman, 1988). His values of equality have been important also from a perspective of gender and he has been described as a strong supporter of women and is famous for his advocacy of female education (Rafferty, 1988). As Gottlieb (1988:108) puts it: *'the revolution in socio-political*

life of Tanzania carried out at an accelerating tempo by Nyerere is in no field so profound or many-sided as in education or in the efforts to undermine the subservience of women'. His attitudes towards gender equality are shown in one of Nyerere's writings on socialism and agricultural development. He there holds inequality of women as one of two basic factors that hinders the traditional society from blooming. More closely he writes that women in the traditional African society have a completely different position than men and that they to a certain extent are viewed as subservient. Nyerere further states in the text that if Tanzania desire a fast and positive development it is necessary for the women to live equally with the male citizens of the country (Nyerere, Sep.1967)

According to Sida's profile on gender relations, further progress has been made in Tanzania concerning gender issues since the mid 1990's (SIDA, 1999:5). Tanzania's participation in the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 mark an important step in this advancement. Tanzania signed the 'Platform for action' and the government committed itself to make improvements in four areas covering women's legal rights; economic empowerment of women and poverty elimination; women in decision-making; and women's access to education, training and employment. The institutional initiatives were moreover accompanied by a thriving civil society activism in the shape of various coalitions of different interest groups and NGOs (Sida, 1999:30). In the following, we will take a look at how the Tanzanian government has dealt, and deal, with gender issues according to the commitments made in relation to the Platform for action.

2.2 Legislation

The legal framework in Tanzania is based on three systems: statutory law (based on the British legal system), religious law, and customary law. Disharmony is often reported between these legal systems, especially when it comes to matters of marriage, inheritance and property rights, areas that are of particular interest concerning women (Mbughuni, 1993:21). In addition, the judiciary system is male-biased in the sense that the laws often work against women and substantiates male superiority, especially in the case of customary law (Sida, 1999:11f). It is further stated in the constitution that all people should be treated equally before the law but it does not specify equality between men and women as a specific category (Ibid).

Efforts have been made to improve the legal situation of women. Positive signs have been the passing of acts such as the Sexual harassment act of 1998 which protects women against violence and other kinds of abuse (LAMP Impact Study, 1999). Female genital mutilation and trafficking in women were also banned. The concept of rape within the marriage in the draft bill was however removed by the legislators and that signals a reluctance to deal with the

relationship between men and women on a family level (Ibid). Another example is the new Land Act of 1999 that emphasises equal access and control over land and in which there is a clear provision for co-occupancy - that is joint ownership between spouses (Ibid). Additionally, it is stated in the new act that the concept of co-occupancy, as part of the statutory law, should be valid even if it is against customary law which normally is applied in issues of land rights (Ibid). A number of laws have also been under review in the Law Reform Commission since the 1980's. Recommendations have been made both on the Law of succession/inheritance and on the Law of marriage act (Law reform commission of Tanzania, <http://www.lrct-tz.org/publications.html>, 24/4-05). The recommendations concerning succession/inheritance suggest that all children, irrespective of gender, should be entitled to inherit the estate of their deceased parent on equal basis. It also suggests that the law must protect '*women's rights to acquire, manage and dispose of their property by way of inheritance*' (<http://www.lrct-tz.org/pdf/mirathi.pdf>, 13/6-05, p 65) and that the surviving spouse should have the right to inherit immovable property such as houses and farms, for life and in trust for the children. The recommendations made on the Law of Marriage suggests that all property acquired during the marriage by joint efforts should be treated as jointly owned and in matters of division the husband and wife will each be entitled to an equitable share of the value of those assets. It further suggests that '*wifely-duties of a house-wife as contribution enough to entitle her to a share of the family assets when the marriage breaks down*' (<http://www.lrct-tz.org/pdf/marriage.pdf>, 13/6-05, p 12). The law review also recommends for the minimum age of marriage to be raised to 21 years instead of 14 years as it is today.

Thus, recommendations that would mark significant changes have been made but it is hard to estimate the actual outcome on the situation of women considering that customary law still is the predominant system when settling matters of succession and inheritance (Mbughuni, 1993). A written law is neither a guarantee for improvements in women's rights if application and interpretation are discretionary (LAMP, 1999). The initiatives however show that the Tanzanian administration has acknowledged the problems of the current legal system and specifically the ones related to customary law.

The contribution of the Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children through the publishing of the Policy on Women in Development in Tanzania, 1998, is worth mentioning when discussing changes in women's situation. The policy includes efforts to address women's interests and needs for example to increase their participation in the formal sector, increasing the number of women in administrative posts and in Parliament, and increasing the number of girls/women enrolled in higher education. The formulation of the national Poverty Eradication Strategy of 1998 may also have an impact on women's situation

as it promotes equality of opportunities for men and women to live a decent and productive life (LAMP, 2000). These efforts also falls in line with the commitments made by the Tanzanian government to eradicate all forms of discrimination against women following the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW) (LAMP/SCAPA (A), 1998).

2.3 Political participation

Tanzania is one of few African countries that practice affirmative action in order to support and improve female political participation. The quota system was introduced in the 1980's and the first election applying the new rules was held in 1985 (Meena, 2003). The idea of the special seats was to increase female representation in the legislation but also to give women and other special categories of citizens a voice in the one-party system. There were however no objectives of acknowledging particularistic interest in society but more to give a wider perspective of the national interest. Hence, the main objective of special seats was not to diminish the historic imbalance of representation or engender national politics by promoting female participation (Ibid). In 1997 a constitutional reform was carried out which resulted in an increase of the quota for women seats being raised to 15 percent of the seats in parliament and the reform also stated that women seats should now constitute 25 percent of the seats in the local councils. An amendment was made in 2000 which raised the number of women seats to 20 percent in parliament and to 33.3 percent in the local councils (Meena, 2003). However, according to Meena (2003) the measures taken to increase women's participation have not had any affect on the number of women being *elected* to the parliament. Four percent of the female members of parliament won constituency seats in the elections of 2000. This can be compared to 7.5 percent of female members being elected in the constituencies to the first parliament during the period 1961-1965.

The introduction of the quota system was partly a plan to increase women's participation and the amendments made in 1997 and 2000 shows that further measures have been taken to increase the influence of women in government. However, a five per cent raise in number of women seats over 15 years does not show a particularly progressive stance in the promotion of female political power. Initiatives of affirmative action, and improvements of the system, has not resulted in the 30 per cent target of the 'Platform for action'-target being met by Tanzania. In lack of a clearly stated plan on how to achieve this target it is neither likely that the elections of 2005 will make any difference on the matter (Meena, 2003). Despite efforts made to improve women's participation there are doubts about the actual influence of women in both local and national politics. The strong patriarchal ideology seem to affect men's attitudes towards women in politics and the impact it has on women's self-confidence and feelings of inferiority should not be underestimated. Elisabeth Mbsere, member of Babati

District Gender Team, mentioned for instance that women traditionally are less accustomed to take part in decision making and therefore lack both experience and confidence to exercise their power and make men listen to them in the district council. The imbalance in number of men and women in politics is also contributing to this problem according to Mrs Mbesere (10/3-05). Similar understandings are also put forward by the authors of the Sida profile on gender relations. According to the profile women are not able to compete in electoral politics to any greater extent, partly because of the male resistance to women candidates and female participation (Sida, 1999). Women's perceptions of politics as a male domain are also an expression of how traditional gender roles in a patriarchal society are re-established and reaffirmed even if the prerequisites in society change. The fact that only 30 percent of the women in some Tanzanian constituencies were registered voters is an illustrative example of this dilemma (Sida, 1999).

2.4 Education

The move from British colonial rule towards an independent, socialist state was followed by strong commitments to provide an improved educational system which emphasised schooling for all. President Nyerere was, as said previously, a strong advocate of education, both for children and adults, and especially for young girls and women. The first government of Tanzania had several reasons to change the educational system (Nyerere, March 1967; Samoff, 1981). One problem was the character of the primary school curriculum that under British rule had been oriented towards the maintenance of colonial rule and which had to be adjusted according to the new state and towards social change. Another problem explained was the orientation of the entire school system as addressing a small elite that was able to proceed to higher education, resulting in the 'failure' of a considerable part of the school population (Ibid). This can be connected to how the core of the social policy in Tanzania is presented as a direct attempt to reduce disparities and inequalities between individuals and regions, and how broadening the base of educational provision as well as removing barriers to access were among the tools to tackle the problem of a school aimed at the elite (Court, 1976). A third problem was that the system could be described as one that led the students to expect white-collar jobs and well-paid jobs which could not be found in the rural communities from which the students came (Samoff, 1981). This shows little resemblance with the goals of socialism, rural development and self-reliance that the Nyerere government strived for, especially since the central goal of the educational ideology in Tanzania has been to reduce the extent to which formal education is a source for elitism and status differentiation (Court, 1976; Samoff, 1981).

Even though the general situation of women in Tanzania have changed since the gain of independence there are still more boys than girls that attend school, at least on post-primary

levels. The differences in numbers can be explained by the still remaining perceptions of schooling of boys and girls that Mbilinyi described in the 1970's (Mbilinyi, 1972). She described how peasants mostly viewed schooling as an economic investment from which one expected a return. Since custom decrees that daughters will marry into another family there was little point to make that investment in girls. Girls were also expected to help their mothers with house work than were boys and girls presence in school were therefore also seen as a loss in labour (Ibid). According to Sida (1999) attitudes like these continue to influence the differential access to, or progress, through primary school and into post-primary levels as can be seen in the statistics below.

Table 2.4.1 Levels of literacy in Tanzania, 1967-2002

	Adult literacy rate	Female adult literacy / ratio as of male	Youth literacy rate	Female youth literacy rate / ratio as of male
1967	31% (>10 yrs)	35 % (15-19 yrs) 14 % (25-34 yrs)	48 % (15-19 yrs) 37 % (20-24 yrs)	35 % (15-19 yrs) 23 % (20-24 yrs)
1990	62.9 % (>15 yrs)		83.1 % (15-24 yrs)	- / 0.87
2001/2002	77.1 %(>15 yrs)	67.2 % (>15 yrs) / 0.81	91.6 % (15-24 yrs)	89.4 % / 0.95

Sources: Jansen, 1978; Human Development Report, 2003

Table 2.4.2 Enrolment primary & secondary school, 1965-2002

	Primary enrolment	Female primary enrolment	Secondary enrolment	Female secondary enrolment
1965/66	37.4 %	28.5 %	1.7 %	0.9 %
1975/76	69.8 %	60.1 %	3.3 %	2.0 %
2000/02	54 %	54 %	5 %	5 %

Sources: Jansen, 1978; Human Development Report, 2003

Table 2.4.3 Enrolment tertiary education, 1965-2001

	Tertiary enrolment	Female tertiary enrolment	Ratio of girls to boys in tertiary enrolment
1965/66	0.1 %	0 %	0.13
1975/76	0.2 %	0.1 %	0.14
2000/01	*	*	0.31

Sources: Jansen, 1978; UNDP, 2003. * = information absent in sources

The statistical figures for adult literacy and youth literacy show significant improvements both for the population in total and for women in relation to men. As can be read in the figures for youth literacy equality is even closer between men and women.

The statistics for primary and secondary enrolment present a similar pattern even though the figures for secondary enrolment appear to be alarmingly low. Figures for boys in relation to girls are however identical in the years of 2000 – 2002. This indicates that schooling for girls has become equally as important as for boys when it comes to family investments. According to the Human Development Report of 2003, the ratio of girls in primary school as of boys for 2000/01 was 1.00 (UNDP, 2003).

The figures for tertiary enrolment are generally extremely low which can be a sign of how Nyerere's attempts of creating a school system for the broad masses have failed when it comes to higher levels of education. The figures do however show that the number of women has increased significantly from the 1970's. This further strengthens the tendencies of the higher enrolment in primary and secondary education, i.e. that families value the education of their daughters higher today than they did before.

3 Gender and LAMP in Babati District

This chapter provides a small introduction to the LAMP programme, what it is and what goals it has. It further presents the empirical material gathered in Babati District in Tanzania which has been categorised into three fields: gender roles and division of labour; domestic resources and decision-making; and local governance and political participation. Changes that are perceived to have occurred during the past 10-15 years are presented as well as the respondents view of factors that have contributed to these changes.

3.1 LAMP

LAMP, The Land Management Programme, is a project in northern Tanzania that started in 1989 and which focuses on management of natural resources. The project is supported by Sida and four Tanzanian districts are involved in the programme. The development objective

of LAMP is *'to contribute to increased productivity in natural resource use and production in a sustainable way'* (Sida, 2000:7). The programme is organised around four key concepts that are common to all participating districts; land security, community empowerment, farmers extension services, and village and district capacity building. The expected outcome of LAMP is closely connected to the activities of the four key components and can briefly be stated to be (Sida, 2000);

- To improve village land security
- To make villagers capable of managing communally held assets, forest land, common grazing land and game areas.
- To make individual households better able to manage their holdings in a remunerative and sustainable manner and
- To strengthen the ability of official village organisations and district administrative and technical departments to fund and deliver requested services in a cost-efficient and sustainable way.

A fundamental assumption in LAMP has been that gender equality should be part of its overall objective. It has thus been part of the programme since the start in the 1990's but attention to the issue has increased over the years and gender has been represented in the budget and in the annual report of the programme since 2003 (LAMP/SCAPA (A), 1998; Kavishe 11/3-05). One of the main reasons for integrating gender into the project is to ensure that resources are spread as widely as possible (Kavishe, 11/3-05). That is, to increase knowledge among both women and men and to make sure that the positive outcomes of the programme reaches as many as possible, or as Kavishe puts it– *'If 50 percent of the population does not benefit from the project it can be seen as nothing but a failure'* (Ibid). The strategy of the programme has been to integrate a gender sensitive approach in its activities and to raise awareness through gender training, workshops and seminars with the aim to gradually reduce the wall that hinders women from a full participation in society (Kavishe 11/3-05). Focus has been placed on creating gender awareness among district staff and villagers, as well as integrating gender into programme activities by making gender sensitive situation analyses in the planning of projects (LAMP/SCAPA, 2000).

3.2 Gender roles, labour division and decision-making

The presentation in chapter two shows that the attitude towards women and their role in society has changed in Tanzania over the past 20 years, at least on a formal level. Women nowadays enjoy a higher degree of legal protection, they are entitled to seats in Parliament and the schooling of girls seems to be equally important as for boys. The question is whether or not these changes are reflected on a micro level - that is on village community level or household/family level? How do citizens of Babati District perceive changes in women's

situation and what do they see as contributive factors to change?

3.2.1 Division of labour

A reasonable starting point for describing the differences in gender roles and how it affects men's and women's daily life is to examine the division of labour within the family. It can be said that the household generally is the responsibility of the woman and that women work longer hours than do men. The majority of the persons interviewed for the study estimated the division of labour between men and women to be 25 % to 75 % with women carrying the heavier burden (Kessy, 6/3-05; Moshi, 15/3-05; NN 15/3-05; Mbsere, 10/3-05). A similar image is also reflected in an estimation made by participants to a LAMP workshop on gender held in 1994. The summary shows that the labour burden of the husband and the wife in a rural family of six persons differs significantly. According to the participants the mother of the family works about 15 hours a day during the rainy season while the father has around seven hours of work. The participants also expressed that most of the work carried out by women are physically hard and that men do productive work and ignores reproductive activities which creates an even heavier burden for women (Sävfors, 1994). The interviewees in my study also pointed out that the work of men in rural families are shifting according to season while the activities of women are more evenly distributed over the year and thus creating an even larger imbalance of labour burden between men and women at certain times of the year (Moshi 15/3-05; NN 15/3-05). Reproductive work as solely the responsibility of women were also described as being more time consuming and labour intense and does not produce income in contrast to productive activities (Kessy, 6/3-05).

The interviews do however show perceptions of change when it comes to the labour burden of women. Several respondents presents the view that women's burden has decreased during the past ten years. They do less work and their husbands share some of the family related activities such as taking the children to school, collecting fire wood or fetching water (Kessy 6/3-05; Mbsere 10/3-05; Moshi 15/3-05). A number of factors are expressed as being influential in this process and can be separated and described as follows.

Education

Another protruding factor for change seems to be education. An increasing number of girls in school along with the introduction of gender issues on the curriculum have increased young women's awareness of gender inequalities. This has led to a greater questioning of existing gender roles and has made it more difficult for parents to treat boys differently (Kessy 6/3-05). This in turn has affected the division of labour between boys and girls (Moshi 15/3-05). However, the view of the household as a woman's duty continues to exist even among young

women and this does not allow for any rapid changes in labour division (Kessy 6/3-05).

Aid related factors – LAMP

A number of programme related activities were expressed as important in reducing women's work load. The implementation of the zero-grazing system has for instance meant substantial shortenings in working hours for women (Kessy 6/3-05; Moshi 15/3-05). The system aims at reducing the impact of live-stock on land fertility since keeping the cattle on the household lot and collecting fodder elsewhere diminishes the risks of over-grazing and erosion. Apart from the positive effects of zero-grazing on land security it is also a system that is less labour intense. Women and children have traditionally been responsible for grazing of cattle and the introduction of zero-grazing has thus been influential on their work load. Mrs Rehema Koka, live stock field officer in Babati District, explains that the free-range system required about nine hours of work, away from home, during the day. Zero-grazing has reduced these hours by more than half since collecting of fodder consumes less time and allows more time to other activities (Koka 10/3-05). Further progress has been made through technological developments supported and supplied for by LAMP and other aid projects. Access to tap water closer to the homestead is mentioned as specifically important and has positive implications for women since it saves them time for fetching water (Moshi 15/3-05; NN 15/3-05). Technical solutions have supposedly also had significance when it comes to the helping of men in household work. When reproductive work is made easier they seem to be able to help out (Kessy 6/3-05). The management of natural resources within the LAMP programme also includes a focus on environmental improvements through agro-forestry, forestry and tree nurseries; methods for which training is provided for by LAMP. Agro-forestry is an agricultural method in which cultivation of crops are combined with tree planting with the aim to reduce soil erosion and indirectly give access to timber and firewood. According to the LAMP/SCAPA Gender Manual the planting of trees in small woodlots has reduced women's work load significantly since it gives them access to fire wood around the homestead (LAMP/SCAPA (B), 1998). The establishment of tree nurseries to encourage agro-forestry has been beneficial for women in similar ways (Ibid). These effects are emphasised also by the respondents in this study. Anna Moshi mentions that she received training from LAMP in how to practice agroforestry and explains that it has given her access to both firewood and timber and how the positive effects on her work load has inspired others in her village to do the same (Moshi 15/3-05).

More direct efforts to improve the imbalance of work between men and women include the gender workshops that LAMP has organised in collaboration with Babati District Gender Team. The aim of these have simply been to address gender roles and labour division in order to increase the understanding of how women are burdened with reproductive work but also

how women are important in the development process. The perception is that these workshops have been influential and have led to men taking greater responsibility for some family activities (Kessy 6/3-05; Mbsere 10/3-05).

3.2.2 Domestic resources and decision-making

Tanzania is a country with strong traditions affecting gender roles and gender relations. The paying of a bride wealth by the husband to his in-laws symbolised a purchase and the woman became the property of the man. Since property cannot own property women have not been entitled to ownership rights or to make decisions over family resources (Sida, 1999). This has however changed gradually. Women now have right to ownership and are more involved in the decision-making concerning family assets. Women take part of discussions on what and how much to sell but it is still the husband who sells it; and discussions on how to spend the income is to a larger extent an issue dealt with by both husband and wife (Mbsere 10/3-05). It is today more common for women to have an income as they are more involved in trading but still on a very small scale. Women normally sell fruits, vegetables, milk, and baskets or run a *mama lishe*, a mini version of a restaurant (NN 15/3-05). The money she earns is considered hers but it is not uncommon that the husband wants control over it (Mbsere 10/3-05). These changes have also meant that income is being spent on different things than before. Men have traditionally been the ones with income and it has thus been his privilege to decide how to spend the money. Women earning income has brought changes in how money is spent and there is a tendency of women to spend it more on the family than on herself (Moshi 15/3-05). It should however be noted that the families making decisions on assets and income together are few in numbers and in most households it is still the husband who are in control. The wife might now be entitled to the money she earns from selling milk but the husband could still sell the cow whenever he wishes to (Mbsere 10/3-05; NN 15/3-05). Men's right to, and the custom of men controlling women's income and assets have made it more common that women choose not to get married (Kessy 6/3-05). Explanations for these changes can mainly be found in two areas.

Education

Again, education is seen as an influential factor for change when it comes to domestic issues of resources and decision-making. An increasing number of literate women and girls has drastically increased their ability to take part of political news, initiatives and debates. The awareness-raising made possible through education can thus not be underestimated.

Policies and legislation

Initiatives from the government in the form of policies have been influential on the relation

between spouses concerning decision-making and income according to the interviewees in this study. The creation of the Ministry for Community Development, Women and Children is said to have had some impact in the sense that it talks about women's empowerment. This has in turn contributed to that issues of gender equality have been given larger space in mass medias and to the creation of a public debate. Politicians therefore speak more about it and that has created a greater awareness among people. The system of affirmative action has also been an inspiration for many women; if women are participating in decision making on a national level then why should they not be able to make decisions in their own families (Moshi 15/3-05). More specifically there are a number of policies related to gender and a few of them are mentioned by the respondents (Mbsere 10/3-05; Kessy 6/3-05)). There is for example one that states that every member of the family over 18 years have a right to take part in important decisions concerning the family. Another states the women's right in the family. It is not fully clear which of the policies they are referring to but this is at least how they perceive them.

Aid related factors - LAMP

The two components of the LAMP programme mentioned above – the zero-grazing system and the farm tree nurseries are important from women's point of view since they both involve factors of income earning opportunities. Zero-grazing is sometimes practices in combination with improved cattle, that is, local cattle are cross bred with more productive breeds. Improved live-stock gives more milk and larger income and women are often responsible for the household live-stock keeping and also for selling the milk. Zero-grazing with improved live-stock is therefore a part of the LAMP programme that supports and enables women to a larger income and a greater economic influence in the family. At least in those families that are more modern in their ways of controlling and distributing their income. Anna Moshi who practices zero-grazing with improved cattle describes the change it made in her life as a change from *'being a farmer keeping live-stock for survival to keeping cattle for business, something that I can make a profit from'* (Moshi 15/3-05). Farm tree nurseries too have provided women with a new source of income for women. It is estimated that more than 50 % of the nurseries in SCAPA (a similar project in Kilimanjaro district) are run and managed by women (LAMP/SCAPA (B), 1998). Apart from the positive effects on soil fertility that nurseries help to create in enabling agro-forestry and providing people with timber and firewood, it can also be a lucrative business to sell seedlings. Samuel, a young tree-nursery owner, says that he can sell up to 2000 plants in a month for 50 shilling each. The income from the sales of seedlings represents about 65 % of his total earnings (he also grows cash crops) despite spending an equal amount of time on the nursery as the on the fields (Mwikantsi 11/3-05). Zero-grazing and tree-nurseries should not be understood as methods that have contributed to changed relationships between men and women but the extended

access to income that they provide has significance for women's economic independence.

3.2.3 Local governance and political participation

The reluctance of men to let women participate in decision-making on household level has of course implications for women's access to political participation. The system of affirmative action introduced in the 1980's has increased women's chances to participate both on a national level and on a district level. Women are however still appointed to seats and are seldom elected and the division of official seats in Babati District shows that female representation continues to be largely imbalanced (Mbsere 10/03/05):

- In Babati District there are currently 14 departments. Eleven of these are headed by men and three are headed by women.
- Babati District Council has 31 members; 21 men and eight women. Three of these women were elected.
- The district has 21 ward executive officers of which 18 are men and three are women.
- There are also 82 village executive officers in the district; 81 male and one female.

The figures shows that there still is a long way to equality in political participation but things have changed over the years. Today women take part in village meetings and committees and they are allowed to ask questions and to have their say (Kessy 6/3-05). The committees on village level are even dominated by women when it comes to such matters as health, water and land use (Mbsere 10/3-05). Men's attitudes towards women in decision-making have also changed and improved to some extent. Anna Moshi says for instance that some husbands encourage their wives to run for village and district council by bringing them application forms (Moshi 15/3-05). NN on the other hand explains that men's attitudes towards women in politics are poor and especially bad in the Manyara region to which Babati belongs. The explanation for this is that the dominating ethnic group, the iraqw, has a weak belief in the female capacity which inflicts on women's possibilities (NN 15/3-05). It is a fact though that female political involvement has increased and a number of factors are explained as being part of the change.

Affirmative action and political initiatives

The obvious reason for change in women's political participation is the government's initiative of affirmative action. The targets of female representation in the Parliament and on district councils have been important in increasing the number of women holding official seats (Moshi 15/3-05). Anna Moshi also mentions that changes that have taken place at least to some extent can be explained by the changing perception of Tanzania's role in the

international community. A big step was Tanzania's active participation in the Beijing conference for Women and commitments made to the Platform for Action. This has created a debate on women's empowerment and increased the common awareness of women's issues as a societal issue (Moshi 15/3-05). She further mentions that women like Gertrude Mongella, elected member of Parliament, member of the Tanzanian delegation in Beijing, and today the president of The Pan African Parliament, has opened many eyes and has given women confidence to believe in themselves and encouraged them to participate in politics (Moshi 15/3-05).

Aid related factors – LAMP

In LAMP there is an explicit strategy for dealing with gender issues. One outspoken goal has been to promote women's involvement in planning and decision-making on local levels and the aim seems to have given results (Kessy 6/3-05). On the question on why women's participation in decision-making and politics has increased the answer is given that LAMP and other aid projects constantly calls for attention to the positive effects of letting women participate (Moshi 15/3-05). LAMP has for instance demanded that half of the village representatives should be women and in public information meetings LAMP representatives have asked for women's opinion. LAMP has further encourage women to organise themselves in different ways in order to get access to different things in society, such as decision-making or access to credit. LAMP also gives useful tips on how women can change and improve their situation (Moshi 15/3-05). NN does however point to that LAMP and other projects have not contributed to any real change in promoting women's participation. The problem is namely that the project does not cover all villages and not all kinds of villages. She claims that change have a tendency to occur only in more urban areas where the administration of the aid projects are more present and noticeable and where people are better educated and therefore more open to their message (NN 15/3-05). This view can be related to and confirmed by the perception that Anna Moshi puts forward; that the presence of women from the west, responsible and in charge of large aid projects, are a source of inspiration to many women and also makes them realize that women too are capable of accomplishing big things (Moshi 15/3-05).

4 Gender and development

The following chapter contains definitions of various concepts within the gender and development discourse. It then goes on to present the different policy approaches which forms the theoretical context that will be used for analysing the basic ideas underlying Sida's gender policy. The chapter is wound up with a distinction and motivation of the parameters thought crucial in the analysis.

4.1 Definition of concepts

4.1.1 Gender

The concept of gender is a fairly new term in the development discourse. It emerged during the 1970's as a response to the need to differentiate between responsibilities and activities which are determined by the biological differences of men and women, and the responsibilities and activities that are undertaken according to the socially constructed relationships (Hannan, 2000). The physically determined (sex-related) differences between men and women are unchangeable while gender is crosscut by differences in class, ethnicity, religion and age and thus possible to change through various kinds of influences (Momsen, 2004; Ostergaard, 1992). Gender planning in development cooperation implies a focus on both women and men and the relations between them, and necessitates an analysis of the forms and links of relations that exists in society (Ostergaard, 1992).

4.1.2 Practical and strategic gender needs

Men and women have different roles and different needs in society. Gender needs are central in the promotion of gender equality and attention must therefore be given to how various efforts in this process effects the possibilities of satisfying those needs in different ways. The gender needs can be categorised into two types; practical gender needs and strategic gender needs.

Practical gender needs are identified in women's socially accepted roles in society and refer to the common needs of women that do not challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position relative to men. They are described as being of practical nature and often refer to insufficiencies in factors concerning basic needs such as housing, access to water, health care or employment. Practical gender needs are formulated directly by the women experiencing these conditions and are hence a response to a perceived necessity identified by women in a specific context. There are however risks in identifying practical needs, which actually concerns all family members, as women's needs. This is done both by the women themselves and by the policy makers of the aid agencies and both are therefore responsible for preserving and reinforcing the gender division of labour. (Moser, 1993)

Strategic gender needs are the needs that women identify because of their subordinate position in society and can be described as the crucial interests for challenging the existing order and to create a more equal and satisfactory organization of society. They vary according to particular cultural and socio-political context and relate to such things as gender division of

labour, power and control. According to Molineux (in Moser, 1993) it may include abolition of the sexual division of labour, the institutional forms of discrimination, the establishment of political equality, and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control. (Moser, 1993)

4.2 Approaches to women, gender and development

Several approaches towards gender in development can be identified in the academic literature on the subject. Five of them will be examined here; the approaches of equity, anti-poverty, efficiency, empowerment and GAD. The first four are sometimes categorised as being part of the broader approach called Women in Development, WID which has its counterpart in the Gender and Development approach, GAD. The major difference between the two is the focus of women as opposed to gender. It is however worth mentioning that the concepts imbedded within these approaches sometimes are closely interrelated and overlapping and it should be noted that gender issues in development are characterised by a multitude of concepts and the terminology is sometimes described as being confusing (Hannan, 2000:9; Moser, 1993:55; Waylen, 1996:37). The different approaches presented here have been dominating, and still are, in aid agencies and their focus on gender issues.

4. 2.1 The equity approach

The equity approach is described as being the original WID approach and its purpose is to gain equity for women in the development process. It was introduced during the 1970's within the UN Women's Decade and developed from the concerns of the fact that economic development strategies often had a negative effect on women's economic status, suggesting that women continuously are losing ground to men as development proceeds (Buvinic, 1983). The arguments underlying this assumption are, first, that the less monetised an economic system is, the more important is women's productive role. Secondly, conventional measures of economic activity fail to acknowledge the unpaid work of women and thus underestimate the scope of women's productive roles. Third, policies designed for the Third World, based on values of the industrialised world, hinder Third World women from engaging in paid labour. And fourth, as a consequence women are left behind in the traditional sector which in turn contributes to a widening gap between the sexes (Buvinic, 1983). In accordance, the approach emphasises that women need to be integrated into development more effectively through access to employment and the market place and economic independence is therefore seen as synonymous with equity (Moser, 1993). It also points to an acceptance of women's practical need to earn a livelihood.

The assumptions mentioned above results in a solution based on a process of redistribution of

resources and wealth at all levels from men to women, and if necessary, through positive discrimination of women (Moser, 1993). The approach stresses the need to acknowledge women as active participants in development and to highlight their important role in society through their reproductive and productive work, as well as their involvement within community affairs. Hence, it recognises the triple role of women and its economic value (Hannan, 2000; Moser, 1993). The equity perspective further emphasises a top-down approach of state intervention and legislation in order to secure women's political and economic autonomy and status. It should however be noted that also other means to ensure equity are assumed, for instance consultative and participatory planning (Moser, 1993). In these ways the equity approach meets strategic gender needs.

Critical voices however indicate that the focus on redistribution of power was too provocative and challenging for mainstream development agencies since it was perceived as necessitating inappropriate interference with the traditions of partnering countries (Moser, 1993; Hannan, 2000). Southern voices have moreover criticised the equity approach for being based on a purely Northern feminist agenda.

4.2.2 The anti-poverty approach

The anti-poverty is the second WID-approach and evolved in the early 1970's as a response to research revealing that the growth strategies of the modernization theory proved insufficient in solving poverty and unemployment problems (Moser, 1993). It was discovered that it did not lead to the 'trickle down' effects expected from increased economic activity on a macro level and from the WID perspective this was seen as a result from ignoring women in development planning (Andersen, 1992). As a result the World Bank shifted its focus on economic growth to a broader concern with eradication of absolute poverty through provision of both basic and social needs, and in which women of low-income households, often described as the 'poorest of the poor', were identified as a special target group to be assisted (Moser, 1993). This can be linked to how the focus of this approach is set on women's crucial role in developing countries in alleviating poverty on the family level, as a function of their role as the main provider of the basic needs (Young, 2002). The approach thus recognizes women's productive role and the purpose of the approach is to increase women's productivity since this is seen as required if balanced economic growth and poverty reduction are to be achieved (Moser, 1993). The underlying assumption of the approach is that the origins of gender inequalities are associated not with the systematic subordination of women, but with poverty and underdevelopment, which in turn can be described as a consequence of their lack of access to private ownership of land and capital, and to sexual discrimination in the labour market (Moser, 1993). Hence, the approach focuses on providing better access to productive

resources, especially through employment and income-generating projects and thereby meets practical gender needs.

The anti-poverty approach has been criticised mainly for the various limitations of the actual income-generating projects that have been created in the anti-poverty spirit. The focus on provision of basic needs does in theory assume a participatory approach in which women and gender-aware organisations on the grass-roots level should be included in the planning of anti-poverty projects. In practice the projects have been designed in a top-down manner by various NGOs resulting in the ignorance of fundamental conditions affecting the outcome of the projects (Moser, 1993). The projects have further been small-scale, underfinanced and aimed at increasing production in activities traditionally dominated by women rather than to introduce women to new areas of work (Hannan, 2000; Moser, 1993). Moreover, the predominant focus on the productive role of women has often led to a negligence of women's reproductive functions and other responsibilities, resulting in an implicit assumption that women targeted for participation in the projects have free time to spare and thus creating an even heavier burden for women to carry (Ibid). Problems connected to the focus on low-income women on the household level, and especially on women-headed households have also been put forward in the criticism. Hence, the less radical attitude towards gender inequalities of the anti-poverty approach, in comparison to the equity approach, is criticised for its inability (or its tactics not to) to address the underlying problems of women's poverty.

4.2.3 The efficiency approach

According to Moser (1993) the efficiency approach is the third and the most popular and predominant approach within the WID concept. It emerged as a result of the economic crises of the world economy, experienced in the beginning of the 1980's. The structural adjustment programmes (SAP), created by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to help the situation in Latin America and Africa, led to an increased emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness in the development process (Hannan, 2000; Moser, 1993). The reallocation of resources made in order to restore the balance of payments and to increase export and economic growth, however, often resulted in shifting the costs from the paid economy to the unpaid economy, for instance by using women's unpaid labour to make up for the resources lost in the reallocation process (Hannan, 2000; Moser, 1993; Andersen, 1992). Hence, more attention was drawn to women's roles in the development process. A number of characteristics can be identified in the efficiency approach:

- Women's increased participation in economic activities will make development more efficient (Elson, 1995; Hannan, 2000; Waylen, 1996; Moser, 1993). This perspective thus holds the thought that women previously have been an 'underused asset'

(Andersen, 1992:174).

- It has an instrumental approach towards women (Hannan, 2000; Waylen, 1996). Women are seen as a means of achieving development which implies that emphasis is put on the process of development rather than on women. Hence, increased equality is a positive consequence rather than a goal in itself.
- It is assumed that an increase of women's participation in economic activities automatically will lead to increased equity (Hannan, 2000; Andersen, 1992; Moser, 1993).
- The approach is aimed at meeting women's practical gender needs by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time.

Though popular, the efficiency approach has been widely criticised. According to its opponents, women run the risk of being overexploited and overburdened as the withdrawal of social services, within the policies of the structural adjustment, results in an increased workload for women. Thus, the total lack of a participatory approach fails to acknowledge the totality of women's roles in society. Subsequently, the top-down approach results in an extending of women's unpaid work and further contributes to an undermining of women's practical gender needs. This in turn also means a failure in meeting the strategic gender needs (Hannan, 2000; Moser, 1993). The intensification of women's workload also diminishes their chances of actually enjoying the improvements in status that development and increased equity is supposed to bring. This also leads us on to the next issue of criticism, namely the assumption that a rising level of female participation equals a mark up in equity. In connection to this both Hannan (2000) as well as Moser (1993) puts forward the structural constraints that are affecting women's actual possibilities to participate, such as lack of education and technology.

4.2.4 The empowerment approach

The empowerment approach emerged during the 1980's and apart from earlier approaches it was developed mainly from the writings of scholars in the South as they sought their own theoretical ground for development problems (Marchand&Parpart, 1995). In contrast to the approaches described above the empowerment approach is sometimes associated to the GAD perspective, to which it bears an apparent resemblance. It questions previously ruling assumptions of the more west oriented perspectives; i) that development is beneficial for all people and ii) that all women want to be integrated into a development process defined by western standards (Hannan, 2000; Andersen, 1992). In accordance, it acknowledges the vast differences between women in their experiences of subordination and exploitation, stemming from such factors as race, class, ethnicity, religion and socio-political and economic history

(Hannan, 2000; Waylen, 1996).

The approach acknowledges the importance for women to increase their power, however not in terms of domination over others but more in terms of how women can increase their right to self determination and influence the direction of change by gaining control over different resources (Moser, 1993). It seeks to empower women by applying a bottom-up perspective rather than a top-down imposition (Andersen, 1992; Waylen, 1996). It supports the belief that people, including poor women, are capable of promoting their own development which also cohere with the thought of empowerment as a process that comes from within (Elson, 1995; Hannan, 2000). Thus, the approach has a focus on increasing women's control over the choices in their lives. To improve women's self-reliance and self-confidence is equally important in this context if they are to challenge their status in society (Andersen, 1992). Political mobilisation, consciousness raising and popular education, alongside income-earning opportunities, are recognized as means to empower women (Elson, 1995;). The role of development agencies are therefore seen as one of supporting and advocating women's own initiatives and their participation in the public sphere and in the main decision-making (Elson, 1995). Momsen (1991) also claims that ways must be found to reduce women's work load if they are to have time to seize these opportunities. Development agencies must thus recognize and address the triple role of women in society. This also makes it necessary to distinguish the practical and strategic gender needs of women since the fulfilment of practical gender needs are seen as the basis for reaching strategic gender needs (Moser, 1993; Andersen, 1992). The description of the empowerment approach as 'potentially challenging' has meant a limited popularity among development agencies. Moser (1993) mentions that the avoidance of Western feminism, and the critique towards it, has led to poor financial funding with the exceptions of a few international NGOs and Northern governments.

4.2.5 The GAD approach

The GAD approach emerged in the mid 1970's as a result of the academic criticism put forward against the WID perspective by scholars in the UK (Young, 2002). The fundamental difference between WID and the new approach was that GAD used the concept of gender and gender relations rather than focusing on women as an isolated group and their roles. It emphasises women in relation to men, their different roles in society and how these differences vary according to ideological, historical, religious, ethnic, and economic prerequisites (Moser, 1993). Hence, the GAD perspective could be said to be based on the assumption that the situation of women is a function of multiple power relationships, and while WID promotes opportunities for women to participate in social and economic structures dominated by men, GAD promotes a fundamental re-examination of these structures and

change traditional relations of power to the benefit of women, but also of some men (Rathgeber, 1995). Hence, changes are required on all levels in society and creating support mechanisms for women in their efforts to bring about change is important. WID is also criticised by GAD for how it treats women as a separate category and how it makes a clear division between First and Third world women. GAD sees women's inequality as a global problem following similar patterns in both developing countries and in so-called developed countries, for instance how women's reproductive work is given little social and no economic value (Young, 2002). Moreover, GAD proponents claims that the isolation of women is to ignore the real problem which continues to be the subordination relative to men and that the add-on approach of the WID concepts does not challenge the structures underlying women's systematic subordination. The GAD concept takes a more confrontational stance with its ultimate goal of emancipation and the purpose that women through empowerment can achieve equality and equity with men in society (Moser, 1993).

GAD has both short-term and long-term goals which can be related to how it focuses not only on what Rathgeber (1995) calls the 'condition' of women but also on the 'position' of women. The short-term goals are similar to those of WID and are connected to women's condition since it involves such factors as the material state of women in terms of education, access to credit and health status (Parpart, 1995). These conditions or goals could be linked to practical gender needs. Long-term goals, connected to women's position, includes more intangible factors, inherent in the social system and in the relations of power between men and women, such as ways to empower women through collective action and to challenge existing gender ideologies within society (Parpart, 1995). These goals can be compared to strategic gender needs.

GAD has encountered a number of problems over the years. One major problem is the confusion over the terminology concerned with gender. The term gender is according to Young (2002) often used as a synonym for woman/women and is therefore stripped off its original meaning and the actual differences the term has in the discourse. Young also puts forward that by the end of the 20th century all approaches to development involving a focus on women had been amalgamated into a GAD approach even though this bears little resemblance with the original formulation (Young, 2002). Also when it comes to policy making and promotion of gender planning GAD has faced difficulties. Because of its transformational character and its lack of concrete policy prescriptions it has had limited popularity among development agencies (Waylen, 1996). Rathgeber (1995) also argues that development agencies have limited capacity to influence practice and effect societal changes and highlights the fact that social relations of gender has a tendency to be viewed as cultural aspects which should not be interfered with on a inter- state level. WID is described as being easier to

promote since it involves more explicit arguments of efficiency and equity on an instrumental level (Rathgeber, 1995).

4.2.6 Use of approaches in analysis

The descriptions of the approaches above are fairly extensive and not fully manageable in its existing form for use in an analysis of Sida and LAMP gender policies. I have thus chosen to compress the approaches into a simple matrix below, underlining and comparing the most important characteristics of the different perspectives. The categories chosen will however not be used straight off in the analysis. Emphasis will be put on identifying the view of equality and of women's role in development, how needs are acknowledged, and whether a bottom-up or a top-down perspective is promoted. The reasons for choosing these categories can be outlined as follows.

The view of women's role in development is necessary to emphasise since it separates the different approaches in a profound and legible way. It indicates the purpose of incorporating a gender policy and it distinguishes the underlying attitudes towards the problem of gender inequality. Considering the fulfilment of different gender needs is necessary since the identification of needs can be seen as determining the means by which concerns can be satisfied (Moser, 1993). Different character of the gender needs thus demands different means to reach them. The acknowledgement of women's different kinds of needs is therefore significant in order to know how to satisfy the need or how to facilitate the problems causing the needs. According to Moser (1993) it is the distinction between strategic and practical gender needs that provides the gender planning with one of its most important tools.

Top-down intervention as supposed to a bottom-up perspective can be useful to distinguish since that may determine how successful the confrontation of gender inequalities turns out to be. It has historically been acknowledged that top-down intervention alone has not been sufficient to remove any of the persistent causes of inequality within society (Ibid). The struggle to confront the nature of gender inequality and women's subordination has been successful only when it has incorporated the bottom-up movements of women's organisations. The negligence of bottom-up initiatives also brings other fundamental problems which can be connected to the much criticised implementation of aid projects based on western values. It also seems as if projects designed without participation of local women's groups or other grass-roots organisations often runs the risk of creating more problems for women than actually relieving their situation.

Table 4.2.1 Summary of policy approaches

	Purpose / goal	View of women's role in development	Needs met	Roles recognised
The equity approach	To gain equity for women in the development process through economic independence	Active participants in development	Practical and strategic gender needs met through access to employment and top-down state intervention	Triple role
The anti-poverty approach	Reduce family poverty by increasing women's productivity	Main provider of basic needs on household level. Partly instrumental since productivity is seen as required to sustain economic growth	Practical gender needs met by provision of basic needs through projects designed by NGOs lacking a participatory approach.	Productive role
The efficiency approach	To make development more efficient and effective by increasing women's participation	Instrumental – women's participation seen as means to achieve development. Seen as an underused asset.	Practical gender needs met at cost of longer working hours and increased unpaid work as a result of top-down designed SAPs.	Productive role
The empowerment approach	To empower women through a bottom-up perspective increasing self reliance.	Women are capable of promoting their own development.	Reach strategic gender needs through bottom-up mobilisation around practical gender needs	Triple role
The GAD approach	Emancipation through a re-examination of existing power structures.	Women in developing countries are facing the same problems of subordination as a function of multiple power relations. Focus on women and men and the relations between them = focus on gender.	Practical and strategic gender needs through a focus on women's condition and position	Focus on relations rather than on roles

5. Analysis

5.1 Summary of the Sida policy

In 1996, following the UN conference on women in Beijing, the Swedish parliament established the promotion of equality between women and men as a goal for Swedish development cooperation. The commitments made by partner countries to the Platform for Action are therefore seen as an important starting point for Sida's Action Programme for promoting equality. It is also pointed out that in having these commitments as the basis for their priorities Sida can ensure that Swedish perspectives are in conformity with priorities of partner governments. The Sida policy of 1997 marked the introduction of "*the promotion of equality between women and men in partner countries*" as a new overall goal for Swedish development cooperation. It thus became one of six goals that are to guide all Swedish development activities, the other goals being; (i) the growth of resources, (ii) economic and social equality, (iii) economic and political autonomy, (iv) a democratic development of society, (v) a sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the environment. The overriding goal of Swedish development cooperation has since 1962 been to "*improve the standard of living of poor people*" and the six other goals are subordinated in this context. The policy provides the underlying rationale of the goal, the motivation for a focus on equality, a number of starting points, priorities and approaches for promoting equality and can be summarised as follows;

Rationale: equality is a precondition for just and effective development

Motivation: that gender disparities continue to persist despite efforts made to improve the situation of women.

Starting points:

- National priorities and initiatives – Sida's support should be guided by priorities and initiatives identified by national governments in partner countries and by other actors at national level in civil society.
- Commitment to the priorities established in Beijing – to ensure that Sida's priorities are in conformity with partner governments.
- Equality between women and men as an important societal issue – gender disparities are important hindrances to development.
- Gender: a focus on both women and men – a focus on the relationship between men and women rather than an exclusive focus on women.

Priorities:

- Structural causes of inequality – focus on the structural and systemic causes of gender inequalities.
- Poverty-related gender inequality
- Specific initiatives in Namibia, Tanzania, India, Nicaragua and Estonia – to promote increased partnership around the implementation of the Platform for Action.

Approaches for promoting equality:

- Mainstreaming – rethinking goals, strategies, institutions and processes to ensure that priorities and needs of both women and men are better reflected and gender disparities addressed.
- Specific support to promotion of equality – it is important to address identified gender disparities through special inputs as a complement to mainstreaming efforts.
- Attention to equality in cooperation and coordination with other actors – equality should be given adequate attention in all forms of cooperation on the international level.

Roles, responsibilities and resources within Sida is further defined in order to ensure that adequate attention is given to equality between men and women in policy development and in development of programmes and projects. *Linkages within the Swedish society* are also delineated.

5.2 Analysis of Sida's policy for promoting gender equality

The following statements have been extracted verbatim from the Sida policy and are being compared to the theoretical ideas of the gender and development discourse presented in the previous chapter. It should be noted that it is not completely clear if all the statements presented have been guiding in Sida gender work but as part of the official policy it should be safe to assume that these principles are representative of Sida's values.

5.2.1 View of equality and women's role in development

Sida's focus on equality between women and men is according to the policy based on two premises which have different degrees of importance. The premises are expressed as follows: *'Firstly, the long standing conviction that equality is a matter of human rights; and secondly that equality – equal rights, opportunities and obligations for women and men – is a precondition for effective and sustainable people-centred development'* (Sida, 1997:1). These premises together form the rationale of the policy which is *'a precondition for just and effective development'* (Ibid). It is further stated that equality should be treated as a crucial

factor for development, as an integral part of political and economic development and of efforts to secure human rights.

The rationale and the premises on which it is built principally tells us two things: (1) that equality is an issue of human rights and thus that equality is an end in itself, of value to all people in society. It tells us that women have the right to a greater equity with men and to live in an equal society; (2) that equal rights, opportunities and obligations for women is a precondition for effective development – that is, women and equality are of instrumental value and can be used as means to achieve the goal of development, though with focus on people rather on politics or economy.

A comparison between Sida's view of equality and of women's role in development and the different approaches reveals similarities with several approaches. The approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD are rather similar in how they see equality as central for women in the development process. Sida's policy can in this respect be connected to these approaches. The indications of equality and women as instruments for other development purposes does on the other hand show connections to the approaches of efficiency and anti-poverty and how they see equality as a marginal issue in the development process. Equality is seen as something which can be used as a means to reach the overall goal of development and implicitly in this lies the assumption that society as a whole can benefit from a strengthening of women's position relative to men, for example by better using the capacity of women. The indications of instrumentality in Sida's policy, together with the expressing of equality as a precondition for effective development, especially, denotes similarities with the efficiency approach.

However, the connection between the wording in the statement and the ideology underlying the efficiency approach should not be overestimated. It does not necessarily mean that Sida embraces the same view of women in development, or that Sida runs a natural risk of overexploiting women in accordance with the failure of the approach to recognize the totality of women's roles in society. The policy clearly states that a people-centred development is in focus and equality as an issue of human rights is given a higher rank. It is however evident that people, and the capacity of women, also are seen as means to achieve development. This denotes a small contradiction especially as a number of constraints linked to inequality actually hinders women from both participating in, and benefiting from development (Hannan, 2000). The view of equality as an instrument could be connected to how the issue of equality is a sub goal to Sida's overriding goal of poverty reduction. The use of the term *effective* may in that aspect simply mirror the process of improving the standard of living of poor people, and how gender inequality is associated with poverty and underdevelopment,

something that can be connected to the anti-poverty approach rather than to the efficiency approach. Either way, the policy does show a view of instrumentality that may be harmful for the conditions of women.

The double nature of the policy in terms of its view of equality can be identified on yet another place in the document. *'Equality between women and men as an important societal issue'* (Sida, 1997:4) is a principle of the document which entails a similar attitude. It is clarified by the expressing of gender disparities as *'important hinders to development'* and *'Efforts to reduce disparities are not only important for improving women's situation but also for promoting societal development'* (Ibid). This tells us once again that equality is promoted with women's interest in focus, hence the improved situation for women is emphasised. But, it also implies that equality has an instrumental value since it is important for promoting societal development. The implication is thus that the identification of affinity between the policy and various approaches can be repeated once more. Interesting in this context is however that the policy also emphasise that the nature of the issue as important for society requires that *'it is raised at high levels within governments, that cooperation is established with all actors in civil society and that men are actively involved in dialogue on and promotion of equality'* (Ibid). This indicates that fundamental changes on all levels in society are required if equality is to be obtained. It also shows that Sida has taken a step away from equality as a women's issue and instead sees it a question of gender. Hence, the statement denotes similarities with the thinking of the GAD approach and its challenging of the societal structures underlying the subordination of women.

5.2.2 Needs recognised

According to the policy it is necessary to have a focus on gender rather than women in the promotion of equality. The policy emphasise that *'a focus on both women and men and the relationships between them'* (Sida 1997:4) is necessary in order to *'tackle the structural causes of inequality rather than the symptoms'* (Ibid). This signals that Sida acknowledges the importance of strategic gender needs in accordance with the approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD. It also shows that the policy identifies that the underlying causes of women's subordination can be found in their relationships to men, a view that can be found within the GAD concept. It is however questionable that the policy does not mention power when presenting the importance of examining the relationships between men and women or when emphasising a struggle against the structural causes of inequality. The uneven distribution of power between men and women on family level as well as in society are certainly among the sources of female subordination and inequality. The avoidance of the term power could thus be interpreted as a reluctance to deal, both in words and in reality, with

the sensitive issue of redistribution of power. The GAD perspective is the approach that especially sees the re-examination of existing power structures as necessary to achieve women's emancipation.

Sida has in the policy put the structural and systemic causes of inequality as one of their priorities and disparities related to human rights, participation in political decision-making, participation in economic decision-making and economic independence are highlighted as areas of special concern (Sida, 1997:5). This focus on certain factors indicates connections to several approaches. Focus on participation in political and economic decision-making can be seen as an attempt to change existing power relations between men and women in society, something which can be related to the ideas of the GAD approach. Focus on economic independence as a factor that could increase equity can be connected to the thoughts of the equity approach. Emphasis on these areas can also denote a relation to the empowerment approach when taking a look at the policy's definition of empowerment of women. According to the policy '*it concerns women gaining increased power and control over their own lives*' (Sida, 1997:4) and in the context of the three areas within structural and systemic causes it fits in quite well with how the empowerment approach emphasise the increase in women's power to influence the direction of change by gaining control over different resources.

It is totally clear that the policy emphasise a focus on strategic gender needs. Another example is the statement that '*A clear understanding of structural and systemic constraints is particularly important in order to allow for both women and men to contribute and benefit effectively*' (Ibid). It is however peculiar that an acknowledgement of practical gender needs is missing. An examination of the different approaches reveals that those which emphasise the importance of addressing strategic gender needs also notes their connection to practical gender needs. It may well be that practical gender needs are seen as self-evident to fulfil by Sida but the lack of an explicit acknowledgement of practical gender needs and their connection to strategic gender needs may suggest a thinking that could lead to a situation where an overburdening of women is required, a critique that normally is put forward against the anti-poverty approach and the efficiency approach. The problem in this case is that the statement is suggesting that women and men should be viewed equally but it does not emphasise that women and men should contribute and benefit *equally*. It has been said that men already are the ones that benefit from the development process and that women continuously lose ground to men as development proceeds (Buvinic, 1983). The lack of a distinction between how much and in what ways women and men will contribute, or rather how women should be able to benefit from development outcomes, could suggest that men will continue to benefit from development by contributing as previously while women must boost their contribution if they are to enjoy the positive effects of the process. The absence of

a connection between the practical and the strategic gender needs thus creates a gap between the intention of the statement and the understanding of it. Women's burden of the triple role can be made easier by satisfying practical gender needs and a focus solely on strategic gender needs may result in an overexploitation of women and a diminishing of their chances of experiencing the positive effects of development. The focus on structural and systemic causes of inequality shows ideological similarities with the approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD as mentioned before, but with the exception that Sida does not seem to emphasise practical gender as these approaches all do. Hence, the consequence may be a policy promoting counter productive ideas

5.2.3 Top-down or bottom-up

The policy puts forward the view that gender equality is an issue of concern for the whole of society. As a consequence *'both women and men, and in particular leadership levels, should be engaged in promoting equality'* (Sida, 1997:1). This statement tells us that the issue is of concern to all people and that it must be supported on all fronts. It does however emphasise that it is absolutely necessary that higher levels in society are engaged in and supports the issue. Sida further sees it as their role to promote and facilitate the efforts of both political and institutional initiatives as well as movements of networks, women's groups, research institutions and NGOs on various levels in society (Sida, 1997). This signals that Sida has acknowledged the importance of top-down initiatives in a combination with bottom-up movements. Sida's support of state intervention can be explained by their position in bilateral development cooperation. It is stated that that *'Sida's support to promotion of equality is guided by the priorities and initiatives identified by national government'* (Ibid:3). The support on country level also implies that national policies and strategies will provide the basis for Sida's support. In the same context it is however once more emphasised that *'It is also important that Sida is aware of and guided by the priorities and initiatives of other actors at national level in civil society and NGOs'* (Ibid). These statements confirm the two sided position that Sida seems to have taken in this issue. But apart from the first statement one important comment is made in this second segment. It is stated that an active dialogue is required with networks at different levels in partner countries. This helps us to identify similarities with different approaches. Top-down perspectives can be found within the approaches of equity, anti-poverty and efficiency. The major difference between them is however that the top-down perspective in the latter two can be identified more as mistakes in the planning of projects, as a result of their lacking of a participatory approach. The top-down intervention of the equity approach is on the other hand intentional; it is believed that state initiatives are helpful in the process of promoting gender equality. It is probably safe to say that this is that kind of top-down intervention that Sida is aiming at, and can thus be

connected to the equity approach. The focus on activists of lower levels in society and the emphasis of an active dialogue with these reveals that Sida has a participatory approach. Support to grass-roots levels in that sense can be connected to the ideas of the empowerment approach.

The connection to the empowerment approach can in the matter of the bottom-up direction be further strengthened by yet another policy statement. The policy states that '*support to the empowerment of women is central to the promotion of just and sustainable development*' (Sida, 1997:4). As mentioned before, the policy's definition of empowerment of women is '*women gaining increased power and control over their own lives*' (Ibid) and this should be achieved by '*awareness-raising, building self-confidence, expansion of choices, and increased access to and control over resources*' (Ibid). The definition of empowerment, as well as the methods of achievement, bears a direct resemblance with the thoughts of the empowerment approach. Interesting in the context of preferred direction of efforts in the struggle for equality is however that Sida here seems to emphasise how empowerment of women is *central* in this process. It presents us with the impression that the bottom-up movement ranks as being of greater importance than the top-down direction.

As said earlier, the policy presents the reader with a view of Sida as a partner in development which is guided by the priorities and initiatives formulated by national cooperation governments, and which at the same time holds the struggle of grass-roots movements as central to the process of development. Hence, both top-down and bottom-up initiatives play influential roles. As mentioned as a reason for investigating top-down or bottom-up perspective, top-down intervention has never proved to be sufficient for successfully dealing with issues of gender inequalities. In the light of that fact, it is positive to see that Sida supports both directions, as it probably is a very viable combination. Questions do however arise when contemplating possible conflicts between interests on different levels in partner countries. In that case, will loyalty remain with the governments of partner countries, or with the grass-roots movements representing the people?

5.2.4 Other remarks

Sida acknowledges mainstreaming as an approach for promoting equality. Sida's understanding of the term mainstreaming is expressed as an approach which '*entails rethinking development goals, strategies, institutions and processes so that the priorities and needs of both women and men are better reflected (...)*' (Sida, 1997:6). In this context the policy highlights that attention must be given to the importance of analysis of the situation of men and women; '*Analysis of the situation of women and men, that is, analysis of the roles,*

responsibilities, access to and control over resources and decision-making processes, needs and potentials of both women and men (...)' (Ibid). These statements strengthen the view of Sida's policy as one that belongs to the approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD. However, expressing mainstreaming in the way Sida does helps one to distinguish the policy's theoretical basis even further. The word *rethinking* in this aspect bears greater resemblance with the GAD perspective and its transformational character than with the integrative perspective of equity and empowerment. The statement also outlines that existing power-structures do not only effect women but also men and emphasise analysis of the relations between them rather than focusing on women as an isolated group.

5.2.5 Summarised results

A policy is a framework presenting stand points that will guide the actions in the field for which it has been created. It is therefore not a certainty that the ideas in the policy will be reflected in reality as the analysis above suggests. It is however likely that the ideological perspectives will affect the design of projects and programmes and thus have impact on the outcome. In this context; how can Sida's gender policy be summarised according to the ideologies underlying the different approaches?

Sida's statements concerning the relationship between equality and development does, by and large, show that equality is seen as a central issue with a value in itself and with value for the people and especially for women. Great resemblance can therefore be identified with the approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD; approaches that are similar to each other in terms of how their purposes are to bring equity, empowerment and emancipation for women. They may be differing in their methods of how challenging a character they actually have but in comparison to the anti-poverty approach and the efficiency approach they are clearly connected. The policy does however show traces of the ideas of anti-poverty and efficiency through the way that equality is expressed as an instrument to use for other development purposes. The connection to the other three approaches though appears to be stronger and more characterising for the policy.

When taking a look at how the policy acknowledges gender needs it is obvious that Sida's view coincides with the substance of the approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD. The policy emphasises structural and systemic causes of inequality which inflicts on women's possibilities to obtain a more favourable position in society. The policy does however lack a distinction of how practical gender needs work together with the strategic needs to form an important foundation for women's role as beneficiaries in the development process. The connection to the empowerment approach is there through made weaker since it emphasises

mobilisation around practical gender needs to reach strategic gender needs. Resemblance with the equity approach is clear in the sense that top-down state intervention is seen as means to reach strategic gender needs, a view that also can be found in the policy. The possibly strongest connection can be made with the GAD perspective in the sense that the gender relations are seen as creating and reinforcing the subordination of women, but also in the way that the policy takes focus on improving women's participation in political and economic decision-making and in that way help to change the structures of power that are working against women. How Sida sees gender equality as an issue that requires change on all levels in all fields can also be added to this. A sign of contradiction is however the avoidance of the term power when discussing gender relations, and how the policy in that way reveals signs of reluctance to support the factors that fundamentally will change the existing relationships between men and women.

Different approaches can also be identified in the different directions of Sida's support. Sida's policy expresses the need for both top-down and bottom-up initiatives to be acknowledged and supported. The policy perspective can be connected both to the equity approach with its focus on state intervention, and with the empowerment approach with its focus on the bottom-up movements. The policy portrays the empowerment of women as central and the support to top-down initiatives can perhaps partly be explained by the inter-governmental relations mentioned above. An aid agency cannot support movement that does not agree with the government in issue. Bilateral development cooperation is based on the agreement of two governments and methods of collaboration to ensure shared beliefs and trust needs to be developed. Sida also has it as one of its principle to be guided by the priorities expressed by the partner country, a point that is important in order to avoid that western standards are imposed on developing nations in the South.

To sum it up, it is hard to make any absolute concluding remarks regarding the nature of Sida's policy approach. It is made up by a mixture of approaches. It is however fairly easy to see that the policy principally is created on the ideological foundations of the approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD. Similarities with equity are first and foremost found when it comes to how it emphasise top-down intervention to improve women's position. The connection to the empowerment approach is more versatile, for instance how Sida defines empowerment, how it is central in development and how Sida emphasise support to and dialogue with bottom-up movements. Both equity and empowerment does however lack the gender approach and the focus on relations between men and women that is significant for GAD and which also is very protruding in Sida's policy. It is further clear that the policy gives very few signs of connections to the approaches of anti-poverty and efficiency. The policy can hence be associated with values that emphasise women and equality as central

parts rather than marginal in the development process; that strategic gender needs are necessary to meet if change is to be obtained; and the totality of women's role in society is recognised. It is therefore less likely that women will suffer from overexploitation and more likely that programme and project efforts will result in a relief of women's burden, the removal of structural obstacles which will increase their chances of participating in formal life, influence the direction of change and enjoying the positive effects of development. The character of the policy may however lead to difficulties. Lack of results may be a problem as a consequence of a too provocative and challenging character since aspects of redistribution of power are included. The policy's connection to the transformative nature of GAD results in goals that are hard to reach but a policy promoting the steps necessary is also more likely to succeed. It all depends on the spectrum of time.

5.3 LAMP and gender

5.3.1 Summary of LAMP gender manual and LAMP gender guidelines

As mentioned above, the LAMP programme document did not have a clear gender approach from the beginning. The gender strategy of the programme has thus been to integrate a gender sensitive approach on the activities already planned for and the main strategy has therefore been to introduce gender aspects to the main actors involved in the implementation of the programme. Emphasis has been put on *“raising awareness about gender issues and give necessary analytical tools to the development actors of the programme through training”* (LAMP/SCAPA, 1998:12). If the policy is to be summarised and outlined as Sida's policy, the following can be identified:

Rationale:

It is stated that existing gender imbalance, exemplified as women's lack of equal rights and opportunities in comparison to men, has been found to be one of the most crucial obstacles for a sustainable development (LAMP/SCAPA, 1998).

Motivation:

The motivation behind the LAMP gender focus can be found in the overall goal of the project. To increase productivity in the sector of natural resource management makes it necessary to analyse and identify both men's and women's role in this process. This since it is recognized that women are the main users of natural resources (while men are the controllers) and hence the ones that are the most experienced when it comes to management of agriculture and food production. Women are therefore also the first to suffer the consequences of environmental degradation. In accordance, the manual advocates that *‘women must be listened to, be given their share of access to training and education, and offered opportunity to participate in*

decision-making' (LAMP/SCAPA (A), 1998:3).

Approaches for promoting equality:

Gender mainstreaming are the means by which LAMP will acquire its goal within the programme to reach gender equality. According to the manual, mainstreaming has greater implications than just ensuring equal numbers of men and women in different parts of the structure. It also involves changing policies and institutions so that they actively promote gender equality. Thus, the ambition goes further than creating small projects or activities for women only, and gender issues should instead be integrated into the programme at all levels.

The manual further recognizes that many development projects fail due to the lack of knowledge and attention paid to the roles, activities, needs and priorities of men and women. Thus, the approach of women's projects has been abandoned and instead programmes with a focus on gender relations have taken over. This calls for a basic knowledge about gender issues among main actors in the programme, as well as methodological skills in gender analysis and planning. LAMP has therefore created a training model in the form of workshops. The main principles for the training are as follows:

- a participatory approach
- respect for existing cultural values and attitudes
- creation of gender awareness by using cases and examples from the participants' own cultural sphere
- reference to Tanzania's Policy on Women in Development
- a heterogeneous group of participants regarding age, sex, education, professional background, and skills and relation to the programme.

People participating in gender training are for instance councillors, district council staff, extension staff, village leaders and representatives from NGOs.

5.4 Analysis of LAMP gender policy

5.4.1 View of equality and women's in development

The underlying reasons for LAMP to have a gender approach are similar to those of Sida. It is stated in the LAMP/SCAPA Gender Manual (1998) that *'existing gender imbalance (...) has found to be one of the most crucial hindrances for a sound and sustainable development'* (LAMP/SCAPA (A), 1998:2). It then goes on to say that *'promoting gender equality, both for efficiency and democracy reasons is therefore on the development agenda of today'* (Ibid). In resemblance with statements of the Sida policy LAMP here reveals a view of equality as an issue of human rights but also that it has instrumental value in the development process. The view of women is expressed in similar terms; it is stated that *'women as much as men must be*

recognised as resources and beneficiaries' (Ibid). Women are thus seen both as an asset to be used in development as well as the end for development. LAMP here recognises the fact that women have not been able to benefit from development to the same extent that men have, a view that is significant for the equity approach as the original WID approach. This double view is however rather confusing, both in LAMP and in Sida alike, and the lack of a proper definition of development probably helps to create this mixed image. Anyways, the policy presents a view of equality and women that, in accordance with the Sida policy, reflects the values of the equity, empowerment and GAD approaches on the one side. On the other it bears resemblance with the efficiency approach in the way it gives women and equality instrumental value.

The LAMP policy does however acknowledge the fact that women and men have different roles in agriculture and food production, for instance that women are the main users of natural resources while men control them (LAMP/SCAPA, 2000). The policy thus emphasise that it is necessary to analyse women's and men's roles respectively in order to see how programme activities may affect these by posing question such as: who is the user of the resource?; who has the access and the knowledge of the resource?; who decides over the resource?; who controls the resource? (Ibid). This confirms existing concern for the quadruple gender roles in rural societies in its documents (Ibid: 7-8), something that is not acknowledge within the concept of the efficiency approach. It also shows an understanding of how a comprehensive analysis is crucial for ensuring that women will not suffer negative effects, such as increased labour burden, from poor development planning. Diminishing the risks of overexploitation also increases women's chances of being able to actually enjoy the positive effects of development, which in turn shows a view of women, and men, as beneficiaries of development, not as means to achieve the goal of development. The focus on a comprehensive analysis as a starting point also shows that the mainstreaming character that Sida wishes to apply on all levels has been acknowledged on a planning and implementation level of activities. Together these are all signs of a clear connection to the views of the GAD approach in the sense that gender roles are acknowledged, not women's roles, and relationships between men and women are analysed and thus seen as the basis on which gender equality is built.

An interesting fact when discussing the view of women in development is that LAMP is using arguments of instrumentality to push for improved gender relations. It is expressed that *'the challenge for a development programme is thus to make men and women realise the value of improved gender relations, for example in terms of productivity increases (...)'* (LAMP/SCAPA (B), 1998:page numbers missing). The point of promoting the issue in this way would then be that local people gradually would move their society towards improved

gender relations in their own self-interest. This may be a sign that LAMP does not see gender equality as a means to reach development and the statement could perhaps be one explanation to why equality is promoted for efficiency reasons.

5.4.2 Needs recognised

The significance of both practical and strategic gender needs is expressed in the LAMP policy. Few statements reveals information on the subject but it is clear that it acknowledges them both, for instance by defining them as basic gender concepts in a number of documents (LAMP/SCAPA (A) & (B); LAMP/SCAPA, 2000). In connection to this it is stated in the Gender Guideline that planned activities must be discussed in terms of how the problem addresses practical or strategic gender needs, or both, and if the activity will contribute to change existing gender balance between women and men (LAMP/SCAPA, 2000). One example is given which says that *'if women identify shortage of firewood as a problem, a planner needs to analyse whether the cause is due to lack of control over the forest products of just absence of trees'* (Ibid, p 9). This shows a good understanding of the different needs and that the solution of the problem must be different or have other consequences depending on the nature of the need. The example further shows that LAMP acknowledges that strategic gender needs can be achieved through practical gender needs, something that especially the empowerment approach emphasise when discussing gender needs. As part of the actual gender policy and strategy it is further outlined that the programme should *'give priority to natural resources management activities that can increase women's income and minimise women's workload'* and that the programme should *'support techniques and methods reducing women's workload. Attention must be given so that women's workload will not increase.'* (LAMP/SCAPA (B), 1998: page numbers missing). These statements point to that LAMP recognises women's practical gender needs. The policy also acknowledges support to strategic gender change *'as given in the new land law, inheritance law and support the abolishing of customary laws harmful to women'* (Ibid). Strategic gender needs are thus recognised but according to a specific framework.

5.4.3 Top-down or bottom-up

There is a strong emphasise in the LAMP policy that gender equality should not be forced upon people and that the programme therefore must apply a *'genuinely participatory approach'* and to start from the *'participants' own perceptions, values and attitudes'* (LAMP/SCAPA (B), page numbers missing). It is further stated that the course of action concerning the creation of a gender policy has been to start with training and awareness raising among the main participants in the programme and then let them define the policy

(Ibid). This signals a strong bottom-up approach to deal with gender equality in the spirit of the empowerment approach. Participants in gender workshops, though, have mainly been people from the district councils, councillors and staff, or people employed by LAMP to carry out and supervise programme activities. Even though it seems like a natural first step to take one might argue that education always comes from above in some way, and further that councillors are on the top of the local society. It therefore makes sense to question whether LAMP really has a bottom-up approach or if it can be seen as a top-down process. Calyst Kavishe, LAMP Extension Officer, also explicitly says that the gender work within LAMP has had a top-down approach all along and that it has to be that way since the mentality among the villagers is strongly traditional. He argues that changes in labour division and gender roles would not have occurred if a bottom-up perspective would have been fully applied (Kavishe, 11/3-05). To start with leadership levels and LAMP officials is however in accordance with how the Sida policy emphasises that the whole of society, but especially leadership levels should be engaged in promoting equality. The policy does on the other hand put focus on empowerment of women and men to analyse their own situation, to plan and to act in order to improve their living conditions socially, economically and environmentally (LAMP/SCAPA (B), 1998). Hence it emphasises that the initiatives of individuals or groups on grass-roots level should be supported. The policy further states that LAMP should *'encourage the formation and promotion of women's groups'* (Ibid) something which also points to the importance of supporting bottom-up movements.

5.4.4 Summary

An examination of the LAMP policy and its view of women and equality shows resemblance with Sida's policy. Instrumentality and thus connection to the efficiency approach is the consequence when equality is expressed as necessary for an efficient development process. However, the policies of both Sida and LAMP reveals an attitude that bear traces to the approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD in the sense that they acknowledge the totality of women's roles in society and sees equality as an important societal issues in its own. It is however clear that LAMP has a focus on gender roles instead of women's roles which denotes a stronger connection to GAD than to the other approaches.

Different gender needs are acknowledged in the LAMP policy in accordance with the three approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD, just as the Sida policy. Different from Sida's policy is that LAMP is more precise in their definition of how practical gender needs may work together with strategic gender needs. The policy thus gives a sounder image of how gender needs are understood and managed, at least in a comparison with the approaches recognising both practical and strategic gender needs as important. As a consequence,

LAMP's gender approach bears a stronger resemblance with the empowerment approach, than with the other approaches, and the connection to Sida's policy is thus made weaker.

In accordance with the gender policy of Sida, the LAMP policy show signs of both bottom-up and top-down perspectives. The difference is that the LAMP policy does not explicitly express that support should be given to top-down initiatives, instead they show through their actions that it is one way to go forward, something which is also confirmed by the LAMP extension officer. LAMP is thus promoting one direction in the policy, in accordance with the view of the empowerment approach, but is moving in the other direction in reality, however in accordance with Sida's view of how equality should be promoted. Looking at the policy, or how it is created, however shows a strong participatory approach since the participants themselves are the ones who will outline the policy, with the help of training and awareness raising built on examples from their society, reflecting their traditions and cultural values. The bottom-up perspective can therefore be seen as being strong and inline with the concept of the empowerment approach.

6. Conclusions

What basic ideas can be identified in Sida's policy for promoting equality between women and men in partner countries and how are these ideas reflected in the implementation of the LAMP-project?

When comparing two gender policies such as those of Sida and LAMP one might find many similarities and differences. The most protruding one is perhaps the fact that the policies have been created with different targets in focus. The policy for an implemented development programme such as LAMP is created for a micro level with specific details and characteristics shaping the policy. This may of course affect the results in an analysis.

The examination of LAMP's policy approach gives us a result that is quite similar to that of the Sida policy though with some divergences. It is evident that the policies share a view of equality and women partly as objects of instrumental value in the development process, where the expression of equality as a mean to achieve an effective development shows resemblance with the efficiency approach and the anti-poverty approach. Apart from this, the policies belong more in the realms of the approaches of equity, empowerment and GAD. The connections to the equity approach are made when discussing the broad strokes of the policies. A closer look at specific statements reveals greater connections to empowerment and GAD while the equity traces fades away. Only in terms of how Sida views state intervention as a mean to promote equality is the equity approach more applicable.

The empowerment approach is present in a number of principles of the different policies. Sida's definition of empowerment bears direct resemblance with how the approach views empowerment and means to achieve it. The connection between LAMP and empowerment can in this context be found in the methods and aims that are used to deal with gender inequalities; how training and awareness-raising are emphasised. The policies further have participatory approaches which can be connected to the bottom-up perspective of the empowerment approach. The emphasis on participation is especially protruding in the LAMP policy. The clear correspondence between LAMP and the empowerment approach concerning gender needs is a factor that distinguishes a stronger bond between LAMP and empowerment than between Sida and empowerment. The bottom-up mobilisation around practical gender needs to reach strategic gender needs is what signifies this connection. The connection between the policies and the GAD perspective follow the same patterns and can be found within various principles of the policy documents. The most basic resemblance is found in how the policies do have a focus on gender, gender roles, and gender relations as supposed to having a focus on women which is the case with the WID approaches. The understanding of gender relations as part of the underlying causes of women's subordination that can be found in the policies is also a sign of how the gender idea of GAD has been embraced. The acknowledgement of structural and systemic causes of gender inequality is yet another example of how the policies can be connected to GAD. Since GAD aims at transforming the unequal relations of power and distribution of resources the policies prove an important step in this direction. To use mainstreaming as one approach to deal with gender issues also proves how both Sida and LAMP have agreed to the rethinking of goals, strategies and activities on all levels of their organisations. This too is in line with the idea of fundamental re-examination of existing structures that GAD promotes.

This review shows that both Sida and LAMP have a strong connection to the GAD approach and one could hence conclude that it has been the aim of Sida to create a policy that corresponds to the most recently developed ideas within the academic thinking. If one sees the development of academic thinking as progress it is therefore sound to suggest that the policies of both Sida and LAMP stand a better chance of creating positive results in terms of gender equality, since the policies to a large extent can be connected to the latest findings in research on the subject. It has however been shown that the consistency of the policies in relation to the approaches are of varying quality. It is of course difficult to assess the consequences of these inconsistencies but it is clear that they cause contradictions in some aspects. The consistency between the two policies, however, can be considered as good and the question in focus for LAMP now, is of course if the implementation of a gender policy has lead to any positive consequences on gender equality on location?

What are the consequences of an integration of gender aspects into the LAMP programme in terms of equality between men and women in Babati District, Tanzania?

The integration of gender aspects into the LAMP programme has had several consequences for women, and thereby it might also have affected the gender balance between men and women. According to the results of the interviews, LAMP has contributed to change in a number of fields, through promoted activities and through its presence. It has helped to reduce women's workload, for example by introducing and promoting the zero-grazing system which supposedly can reduce the working hours spent on cattle by half. Agro-forestry and farm-tree nurseries provide women with easy access to firewood and is thus time saving. Technological developments, for example access to tap water close to the homestead, are other examples of the time reducing factors provided or supported by LAMP. Reducing women's workload can be seen as a prerequisite if women are to be able to engage in activities that can help to improve their situation and status in society. Zero-grazing, agro-forestry and tree nurseries have also helped women to increase their income. Improved cattle in zero-grazing gives more milk and thus bigger income; money that is considered to belong to the woman. Agro-forestry and nurseries improves soil fertility and thus the chances of better harvests and higher income. Selling seedling is also reported to be a good business and a majority of tree nurseries are run and managed by women. Larger income improves women's economic independence and increases their chances to make choices in their lives. But of course on one condition; that men accept women's rights to earn an income and to control the money.

These are examples of how LAMP has affected the daily lives of many women in the district and perhaps even changed them to the better. It has helped to reduce women's workload but it has not affected gender roles or gender relations. The activities can therefore be said to have helped satisfying women's practical gender needs but they do not contain elements powerful enough to affect the structural or systemic causes of women's subordination; they possess no power to satisfy strategic gender needs.

The attempts of LAMP to promote women's participation in decision-making are however aimed at the relief of strategic gender needs. Demanding gendered representation on village level has been one way to promote women in decision-making, though top-down in approach. Encouragement of women to make their point in community management, and to organise themselves for various purposes, has been another strategy with more of a bottom-up perspective. It is however difficult to determine whether these efforts have paid off in terms of affected power structures or not, and if other factors such as education and government policies have had greater effect when it comes to these issues. One comment in the interview would however suggest that the programme do play an influential role since it was mentioned

that change has more or less occurred only in the villages that it operates. And what would be a better proof of influence than that? It is still problematic to pinpoint exactly what factors of a programme and why these factors do affect the process, but it probably makes sense to suggest that the presence or the introduction of a new terminology, and a new way to talk about men and women and the relations between them, through programmes such as LAMP will affect gender relations and power structures if the time span is long enough. With issues such as gender inequality one must not expect significant short-term results from the implementation of a single parameter. It must be seen as a slowly proceeding process where a number of factors collaborate to change the gender climate. This study has however shown that there is a relationship marked by cause and effect between the incorporation of a gender policy and the chances of obtaining positive results on gender equality.

7. Continued research

With the results of this study it would be interesting to investigate the issue further in a number of ways. One suggestion is to make a closer study of the interrelationships between Sida's policy approach and the implementation of gender projects. That is, to investigate if the approach, with its values and aims, is visible to the people affected by the project. Would villagers see or understand the underlying approach? Do they perceive the approach to be participatory or do they perceive efforts as attempts to impose foreign values? Thus, to investigate the degree of legitimacy of the gender policy and its implementation.

It would also be interesting to do a comparison between villages that are part of the LAMP programme and those which are not. Investigating units with similar character and conditions would probably provide interesting and significant results concerning the power of change in the LAMP programme and its gender policy.

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Interviews

Names	Date	Occupation	Location/village
Mr Henry Kessy	6/3-05	Livestock field officer	District Council, Babati
Mrs Rehema Koka	10/3-05	LAMP extension officer	LAMP office, Babati
Mrs Elisabeth Mbsere,	10/3-05	Member of Babati District Gender Team	District Council, Babati
Mr Calyst Kavishe	11/3-05	Gender consultant	
Mr Samuel Rafael Mwikantsi	11/3-05	Tree nursery owner and farmer	Mutuka village
Mrs Anna Moshi	15/3-05	Chairlady of women's group and farmer	Hamiiti village
Ms NN	15/3-05	Social Worker	Babati District