

Gender Aware Policy Analysis Guideline

2023

Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira (Prof) & Ruth Wamuyu



African Women
Studies Centre

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Introduction

Mainstreaming women in policies and programmes have been guided by different frameworks that have been developed over time. Such include:

Gender Planning in the third world: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs by Caroline Moser (1986); *Gender Analysis Framework, Harvard Model*, (1985); *Gender*

Mainstreaming women in policies and programmes have been guided by different frameworks that have been developed over time.

Equality and Empowerment Framework by Sara Hlupekile Longwe (1994); and *ABC of Gender Analysis* by Wanjiku Kabira and Masheti Masinjila (1997). There are very many tool kits that have been developed by specific UN agencies, such as POP (People Oriented Planning), African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) etc. All these are based on earlier gender analysis frameworks. These frameworks among others are easily accessible online.

This tool kit presents guidelines for gender-aware policy analysis. The guidelines borrow from many studies and policy frameworks that have been developed including those developed by the African Women Studies Centre and in particular the policy analysis module for the master's course on Women and Public Policy which was developed by Wanjiku Kabira in 2019. They reflect some of the traditional gender-aware policy analysis frameworks that have been in existence for many years now including the "Add Women and Stir" by Sarah Harding.

The objectives of the gender-aware policy analysis guidelines are to:

- i Distinguish policies that are guided by integrationist policies from those that challenge mainstream and promote social, political and economic transformation.

- ii Increase understanding of policymakers and development workers on key concepts related to gender, policy-making and program implementation processes.
- iii Equip policymakers and implementers with gender and policy analysis skills.
- iv Examine existing policies and legislations for their capacity to address the interests of women.
- v Provide tools that are useful in developing policies and programs that take women's empowerment and gender equality on board.
- vi Increase awareness on the need for policies that are gender aware to promote women's empowerment and gender equality.

These guidelines are organized into four parts:



Part I: Background, Context, and Key Concepts

1.0 Introduction: Definition of key concepts in public policy analysis

This section presents key concepts in gender and public policy analysis, and gender analysis frameworks, among others.

1.1 Gender and Policy Analysis

Gender policy analysis is a process that helps us to locate gaps that need to be filled. It refers to the systematic investigation of the differential impact of development on women and men. It is a process that is applied at all stages of the project cycle appraisal, including policy formulation and design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Institutions can also be analysed in order to identify gender gaps in their practices, rules and regulations. This is in order to find out if they create an environment conducive to women and men as well as social groups and other diversities. Institutional/organizational rules and administrative considerations are important because they enforce certain cultures that help employers and employees to learn to handle gender issues. The guidelines also acknowledge that a lot of gender analysis has been done in various sectors and that the situation of women in policies as well as other areas still needs focus.

Policymakers often assume that: (i) policies have an equal impact on men and women; (ii) that values are static and unchanging; (iii) institutional environment affects different sectors of society in the same way; (iv) those policies, laws and regulations facilitate equal participation of men and women in economic development; (v) and that this impacts equally on men and women. Many studies however show that this is not the case. Gender and policy analysis is a form of accountability that national governments and other stakeholders need to address. This process expects institutions and agencies to analyse both existing and proposed legislation, policies and programmes so

that they can account for their impact or otherwise on women and men. The mission of the African Women Studies Research Centre is to also ensure that tools utilized capture the experiences and knowledge of African Women, which is critical for policy development and planning in Kenya and the region.

The process of gender mainstreaming in policies calls for use of gender-aware policy analysis tools, and proper mapping of the status of women, girls, men and boys within their social-cultural and economic realities. It calls for deliberate efforts and commitment to the identification of both strategic and practical gender needs and interests which will help in developing appropriate strategies to address these needs and interests. In addition, this process calls for our effort in documenting women's perspectives in policies, programs, and regulations that guide policymakers and implementation of the same processes.

1.2 Specific Concepts that are Important for Gender Analysis: Gender as a social construct

For centuries, it was believed that the different characteristics women and men exhibited were natural and permanent. This belief was legitimized even by classical scholars such as Plato, Aristotle, Adam Smith, and many others. In our case, these same myths were explained, legitimized, and perpetuated through traditional myths, proverbs, narratives, and cultural practices among others. In particular, proverbs attribute a number of traits to women despite their different cultural and geographical origins. Schipper (1991) opines that some critical commercial or political occupations are not open to women. Compared to males, their positions as spouses and mothers come with fewer rights and privileges. Although the extent and manifestation of female subordination vary widely, sexual imbalance is currently recognized as a universal element of human social existence. All contemporary civilizations are, to some extent, male-dominated. Spender (1985) argues that it is because

males' construction of myths around their supremacy and superiority is an issue of being in power. As a result, they have had it accepted, since they have the evidence that it can be seen to substantiate the myth.

The social construction of gender happens through what we all see our mothers and fathers do, what the men, women, girls, and boys around us do, etc. Women and girls learn through being rewarded by what society expects women and girls to do and boys and men are rewarded for what “manly” things they do. These rewards and punishment systems help in social gender construction. Social gender construction is also perpetuated through literature, media, social myths, etc. legal systems, values placed on men’s and women’s work, policies developed, institutional culture, etc. It is also enhanced through social myths e.g. songs, proverbs, sayings etc, traditions and ritual issues such as payment of dowry, speeches at weddings, religious ceremonies, circumcision rituals etc.

Social construction often gives higher value to men’s responsibilities and work, and low value to women’s work and their responsibilities. A good example here is women’s care work and domestic work which to date remains outside our definition of our GDP - “It’s not productive work”. This is the case in most African countries. Women’s work is not considered work and is not paid, for example, domestic work is not considered work and is not paid for. As we discuss public policy analysis, we need to continue updating our information on this discussion on the nature of social gender constructions and how these systems are discussed or mutated.

These systems argued that these differences were determined by biological differences and that this is the way God created us. These traits included notions and values of what constitutes masculinity and femininity. Traditions and symbolic cultures were all created to support these myths. Examples of these myths are many in our cultural heritage. Gladly, these myths are dying

slowly but not without the strong feminist movement initiated by feminists such as Dale Spender who was a pioneer in the fight for women's equality and encouraged women to fight for their rights in succeeding generations (Spender, 1985). Other feminists who greatly championed women's rights include Ann Oakley who challenged the discipline of sociology on its assumptions about women. In her argument, men were seen as more important and the things they do were considered powerful while at the same time, very little was known about women, she demanded that the discipline of sociology acknowledged housework as work (Spender, 1985). Friedan (1965) similarly, in her book *The Feminist Mystique* challenged the right of men to encode knowledge about women. African feminist scholars have equally challenged some of these myths. Such include Margaret Ogola in her book *The River and the Source*; Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie; Prof Micere Mugo; Amina Mama, among others.

Culture and tradition argued that women's reproductive roles e.g. taking care of the young ones, and the elderly, cooking for them, nursing them etc. were women's natural roles. Men, on the other hand, would do other work which is "hard" and "more scientific" including; "hunting" etc. These assumptions are changing slowly. Young men are now seen taking care of their children, feeding them, changing diapers, taking them to hospitals etc. But this is not yet the norm. There are still tensions between the old cultures and the emerging cultures. There are fears that men are losing power and of women moving away from the traditional place in society. This tension will continue probably for decades before a new culture where equality of many women will be the norm, where value systems will embrace feminism and other values.

1.3 The Triple Roles of Women

Moser (1989), in her discussion on policy approaches to women in the third world, notes that productive work typically assumes the form of agricultural

work, while in urban areas women are mostly engaged in the informal sector. Women are also involved in reproductive work including domestic work, cooking, fetching water, taking care of children, etc. They also frequently take primary responsibility for struggles to manage their neighbourhoods e.g. where there are funerals women go to look for food, cook, take care of the family etc. Neighbourhood work is an extension of their domestic arena. In the building of churches, they fetch water if needed among other tasks. At weddings, they support the families, cook, and organize dances and food. They also take care of the sick. Men, on the other hand, have community leadership roles e.g. funeral committees where decisions are made and normally at the community political levels within the framework of national politics.

These triple roles of women including reproduction and community roles stretch women's time and energy. These roles are not labelled as work and are undervalued. Policymakers and development planners do not put a value on them either. That is why even today, these responsibilities and contribution of women's work has not been part of the GDP. However, the new constitution is challenging this view and some changes can be seen on the horizon.

1.4 Practical and Strategic Gender Needs

1.4.1 Strategic Gender Needs (SGN)

Strategic gender needs are those needs which are formulated from the *analysis of women's subordination to men*. These needs question the traditional roles that women and men play. Do they ask questions such as why should women be the ones who do domestic work? Why don't men fetch water and collect firewood? The answer to many of these questions is that there's no good reason. That is the way things have been done or women are made for these jobs. Strategic gender needs, therefore, challenge traditional assumptions and myths. By challenging these myths and demonstrating that it is not natural,

they bring about awareness on how to bring about changes in gender relations and society as a whole.

SGN respond to interests and long-term advantages and unequal decision-making positions. The strategic needs of both men and women require long-term planning since they go against ingrained systems, organizations, and traditions. Some of the activities which could address these needs include:

- i Increasing women's access to productive resources
- ii Enhancing participation in decision-making through affirmative action strategies, quota systems, and women's political and economic empowerment, among others
- iii Acquiring equal opportunities in employment
- iv Removal of the sexual division of labour
- v Lightening the load of childcare and household work
- vi The abolition of institutionalized forms of discrimination, like restrictions on access to credit or the right to own land or property; Freedom of choice about childbearing; and
- vii Control over resources and the implementation of appropriate measures to reduce gender-based violence. against male exploitation and abuse of women.

One can understand why we have very low participation of women in national leadership as demonstrated in the table below:

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union Open Data
 Date: 2022-10-31
 Ranking as of 1st January 2022

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper chamber			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	09.2018	80	49	61.3	09.2019	26	9	34.6
2	South Africa	05.2019	396	185	46.7	05.2019	54	20	37
3	Namibia	11.2019	104	46	44.2	12.202	42	6	14.3
4	Senegal	07.2017	164	70	42.7	-	-	-	-
5	Mozambique	10.2019	250	106	42.4	-	-	-	-
6	Ethiopia	06.2021	470	195	41.5	10.2021	144	44	30.6
7	Cameroon	02.2020	180	61	33.9	03.2018	100	26	26
8	Uganda	01.2021	556	188	33.8	-	-	-	-
9	South Sudan	05.2021	550	178	32.4	08.2021	84	27	32.1
10	Zimbabwe	07.2018	265	81	30.6	07.2018	77	34	44.2
11	Angola	08.2017	220	65	29.6	-	-	-	-
12	Egypt	10.202	592	164	27.7	08.2020	300	40	13.3

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper chamber			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
13	Mali	12.202	121	32	26.5	-	-	-	-
14	Tunisia	10.2019	217	57	26.3	-	-	-	-
15	Djibouti	02.2018	65	17	26.2	-	-	-	-
16	Niger	12.202	166	43	25.9	-	-	-	-
17	Lesotho	06.2017	115	28	24.4	07.2017	33	7	21.2
18	Somalia	11.2021	275	67	24.4	07.2021	54	14	25.9
19	Morocco	09.2021	395	95	24.1	10.2021	120	15	12.5
20	Malawi	05.2019	192	44	22.9	-	-	-	-
21	Seychelles	10.202	35	8	22.9	-	-	-	-
22	Equatorial Guinea	11.2017	100	22	22	11.2017	72	12	16.7
23	Indonesia	04.2019	575	126	21.9	-	-	-	-
24	Kenya	08.2017	350	75	21.4	08.2017	68	21	30.9
25	Togo	12.2018	91	17	18.7	-	-	-	-
26	Madagascar	05.2019	151	28	18.5	12.202	18	2	11.1
27	Comoros	01.2020	24	4	16.7	-	-	-	-
28	Libya	06.2014	170	28	16.5	-	-	-	-
29	Gabon	10.2018	143	22	15.4	01.2021	67	16	23.9
30	Zambia	08.2021	166	25	15.1	-	-	-	-
31	Ghana	12.202	275	40	14.6	-	-	-	-
32	Côte d'Ivoire	03.2021	254	36	14.2	03.2018	99	19	19.2
33	Guinea-Bissau	03.2019	102	14	13.7	-	-	-	-
34	Central African Republic	12.202	140	18	12.9	-	-	-	-
35	Democratic Republic of the Cong	12.2018	500	64	12.8	03.2019	109	26	23.9
36	Sierra Leone	03.2018	146	18	12.3	-	-	-	-
37	Eswatini	09.2018	74	9	12.2	10.2018	30	12	40
38	Congo	07.2017	151	17	11.3	08.2017	69	13	18.8
39	Botswana	10.2019	63	7	11.1	-	-	-	-
40	Liberia	10.2017	73	8	11	12.202	30	2	6.7
41	Gambia (The)	04.2017	58	6	10.3	-	-	-	-
42	Algeria	06.2021	407	33	8.1	12.2018	141	8	5.7
43	Benin	04.2019	81	6	7.4	-	-	-	-
44	Burkina Faso	11.202	127	8	6.3	-	-	-	-
45	Nigeria	02.2019	360	13	3.6	02.2019	109	8	7.3

Gender analysis helps the planner to identify these needs and interests and plan for them. However, the tide is changing. This is transformative change and therefore strategic:

- i Electoral policies have been changed;
- ii Quota systems have been initiated;
- iii Affirmative action provisions in the constitutions are becoming a norm
- iv We see political parties' reluctance to women's leadership shows that not too far from now this will increase the nomination of presidential running mates for Kenya and Tanzania;
- v In terms of executive, we have seen a rise in women's leadership in non-traditional fields e.g CS Armed Forces, Finance, Foreign Affairs etc; going to women in Kenya, Tanzania, and South Africa.

-
- vi In terms of leadership in the economy, we have seen women be directors in Salaries and Remuneration etc.

1.4.2 Practical Gender Needs (PGN)

Another very important tool in gender analysis relates to the identification of practical gender needs. The conventional roles that men and women play in society are connected to these demands. PGN, however, does not discuss how women are treated less favourably in society. Practical gender needs are those needs which are formulated from the concrete conditions of women's experiences, in their *gendered* position within the sexual division of labour, and are based on their practical gender interests for human survival. They typically address an urgent need and "do not typically involve a strategic aim like women's emancipation or gender equality, nor do they challenge the predominate forms of subordination," according to the author (Molyneux, 1985, p. 233). Examples may include:

- i Reducing the workload;
- ii Opportunities to get food;
- iii Improving health facilities;
- iv Access to water;
- v Access to more environment-friendly stoves for cooking hence reducing the workload for looking for fuel etc. among others.

When policymakers address these needs, they are dealing with the immediate needs of women but though important to address them they do not transform gender relations to bring out fundamental changes.

1.5 Empowerment

Empowerment is the result of actions taken to give men and women who are in disadvantageous situations more access to information, resources, and authority over decisions. Raising an understanding of women's roles in society and their ability to participate in decision-making for themselves and their communities are additional aspects of empowerment. This will enable them to

take some influence over their surroundings, raise their socioeconomic status, remove cultural obstacles to their empowerment, and get access to leadership roles. Sarah Longwe refers to the five levels of empowerment in a hierarchical manner namely welfare, access, conscientization, participation, and control.

Though to some extent contextualized, women have varied perspectives on the meaning of empowerment. It is therefore important to have a deeper understanding of the meaning of women’s economic empowerment (WEE) as well as the influencing factors. Understanding women’s agency in relation to ‘power to’, ‘power within’ and ‘power over’, then, becomes a crucial aspect of policy analysis.

Having looked at these critical concepts that guide our thinking as we think about policy analysis, we now turn to approaches.



Part II: Approaches to Public Policy Analysis and Their Implications

2.0 Introduction

In this section, we shall consider two approaches to public policy analysis and their implications. These are:

- i 'Just Add Women and Stir' policy approach based on Sandra Harding's paper (Harding, 1995).
- ii 'Gender Mainstreaming' policy approach based on Sylvia Walby's paper (Walby, 2005).

2.1 Add women and stir policy approach

In her paper, Sandra Harding (1995) notes that in development circles, it is generally acknowledged that development policies and programs have not empowered women. This is true even though women are frequently the primary welfare providers. The primary caregivers are typically women, especially in African cultures. They take care of the elderly and the sick in the community. In addition, they are part of larger social networks that maintain communities. This, therefore, means that if development policies and programmes fail to reach women all those who depend on them suffer. That is why it is so critical to analyse public policies in particular from gender and women's perspectives in order to ensure they positively impact women.

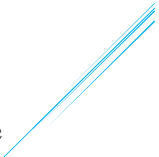
We acknowledge that these roles and responsibilities are based on stereotypes of who women are and what they are capable of doing. These stereotypes discussed in section I of this paper influence the way policymakers think about women and often promote the development of technologies that are not women-friendly. We argue that if technology is appropriate for women, it is appropriate.

Sandra notes that science and technology are not value-neutral. Gender stereotypes define our technology development, policy development, legal

frameworks etc. Because gender stereotypes are not value-free, development policies also reflect the bias of their developers who are mostly men or women working within structures that are guided by patriarchal ideology. This is why “Add Women and Stir” policies are unable to address women’s needs and interests. They do not address the fundamental problems of women’s oppression and the institutional structures that sustain these oppressions.

2.1.1 Implications of “Just Add Women and Stir” policies

These policies assume that the mainstream development process is the centre of the action. You, therefore, add women into this mainstream development and stir. It means bringing women into this mainstream. However, this mainstream has its structures, philosophies, values and institutions, which are based on gendered assumptions. When you bring women into this mainstream, they are unable to change these structures and institutions. As a result, women are unable to deliver to those who depend on them e.g. children, the sick and the elderly. Otherwise, how would we explain how a food and nutrition security bill can dance around parliament and never be approved for almost ten years as it has happened in parliament in Kenya? Yet we have women in both Senate and National Assembly. How can we explain how the two-thirds gender rule has not been passed by the Kenyan Parliament for ten years despite (i) being provided for in the constitution, (ii) many efforts by women MPs pushing in parliament, (iii) court ruling directing the President to dissolve parliament because it is unconstitutional etc. How do we explain how social protection gets meagre resources in the allocation of resources in the context of national budgeting? Why are affirmative action fund allocations dwindling? Women are operating within institutions that are informed by protracted philosophy. The policies themselves and paradigms have been informed by gender stereotypes.



Policies and institutional development are based on stereotypes that generate development programmes and projects that assume that men will play important roles e.g. policymakers, decision-makers, managers etc. while women will do the less important support roles. In addition, the strategies themselves tend to target men for higher value responsibilities such as management, strategy development and leadership roles while women are given lower value roles such as those related to their reproductive roles, remuneration for work is also often based on these stereotypes.

In these types of policies and programmes, gender equity goals and objectives are not part of the policies and resulting programs. At most, they may be reflected in one paragraph in a national policy or mentioned as a by the way. Often, we also add women as beneficiaries in areas such as health, maintenance and domestic work. Although women tend to be more alert to the specific needs and interests of women and their dependents, they do not often get opportunities to address them because the “add women and stir” policy approach keeps them in the periphery. Often “add women and stir” has meant adding a few elite women to prestigious positions. Policymakers thus praise themselves for bringing women into their mainstream.

Adding “women and stirring” in development policies, programs and projects do not change women’s situation. These policies, programs and projects also do not challenge the foundation of the gendered information related to science and technology policies and programmes, philosophy of education, economic theories, political theories, religious theories etc. Research methods that generate knowledge related to these sectors etc instead take these gendered disciplines or sectors at face value assuming that this development is based on both men's and women's experiences. This however as feminists and gender studies have shown is not the case. Changing this approach and ensuring that

women's values, ideas, experiences, strategic interests, and needs are equally considered in formulating policies and implementing programs is critical.

2.1.2 Limitations of “Just Add Women and Stir” policies

You must also know that principles of gender equality and social justice demand that men and women are treated equally. It is also expected that both men and women gain access to the benefits of development. This of course is not the case in “add women and stir policies”. In our own country Kenya for instance, women have had to struggle to introduce affirmative action for girls in education because education policies had in the past assumed that education policies impact equally on boys and girls. Research showed that because of various gender-related factors girls were taken out of school and those in schools were performing poorly due to many factors including triple roles of women and girls, gender stereotypes, and lack of equal opportunities for girls. However, because of years of women leaders such as Prof. Eddah Gachukia and women's organizations such as Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), government initiatives, and policies, this trend has greatly changed and today you hear voices of people saying we need to put new focus on boy's education. The story of women's participation in ensuring their place in the making of the new constitution and the product of the same struggle in our African continent is a story that shows how collective action can bring about fundamental constitutional policy changes.

2.1.3 Methodological tools of analysis for “Just Add Women and Stir” policy approaches to challenge patriarchy and bring about transformational change

These methodological tools will lead to:



Examining core development issues proposed in a policy in terms of their philosophy, assumptions and their perspective on development.

Evaluating the policy development strategies for their capacity to challenge women's social gender roles i.e. identifying interventions, goals, objectives, strategies, etc that address strategic gender needs and interests and lead to fundamental changes in society.



Analysing policy awareness of women's empowerment and interventions that address it if any and making recommendations to raising consciousness on this awareness.

Evaluating how a policy deals with social structures and symbolic systems.



These methodological tools are listed earlier in this document. They include *ABC of Gender Analysis* (1994) and Sarah Longwe’s Framework etc.

2.2 Gender Mainstreaming Policy Approach

This section covers the key tools that can help us define, analyse and critique the concepts of gender mainstreaming and gender equality. The information is largely based on the paper *Gender Mainstreaming: Productive Tensions in Theory and Practice*, as well as the practical experiences of the authors of this paper and other writings by the same authors. The paper is written by Sylvia Walby (2005). These guidelines also borrow from the Kabira (2019) teaching module for the AWSC Master of Arts in African Women Studies project as well as other related sources.

2.2.1. The Concept of Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming as a concept has many definitions but for purposes of this guideline, we shall define it differently. What we shall refer to as gender mainstreaming is the (re)organization, improvement, development, and assessment of policy processes to incorporate a gender equality viewpoint into policies at all levels and all stages of policy creation, implementation, and monitoring processes. This process however must not mean just bringing women into the mainstream. The mainstream must change to create space for both men and women to enrich the stream and to bring new perspectives, women’s views of the world, their experiences and philosophies. It is the synergy that will challenge the perspectives of power over other fears of the “others”, and create a synergy that will guide the change towards a new mainstream. Gender mainstreaming is essentially a contested concept in theory and practice, as Sylvia Walby says. Contested because it is both a new way of looking at politics and policy practices from a different perspective. Promoting gender equality and gender/social transformation is what this approach entails. Since it is a contested concept, the authors of this paper take

the view that gender mainstreaming is about taking the feminist perspective and challenging the standard concept of the mainstream to call upon the patriarchal institutions to go back to the drawing board and create the *utu*-based philosophy that recognises that not only the rights of men, women and children but also their experiences and perspectives that can change the mainstream to create a world where the *utu* philosophy thrives where humanness grows in its outputs.

Gender mainstreaming is a strategy for promoting gender equality and social transformation. Assumptions we make about public policies, development programs, research, and scholarships, among other knowledge products, as well as the processes we follow—such as needs assessment research, consultations with the people—and intended outcomes—are all intended to improve policies and programs. This is done by making the gendered nature of assumptions, processes, and outcomes visible. There is also a need to revisit the tools we use in data collection, data analysis and presentation to ensure we bring the perspectives of the different stakeholders to visibility. In many cases, however, gender mainstreaming assumes that the stream is okay and yet this stream is born out of systems, structures and philosophies that are gendered.

2.2.2 Gender Equality

Since gender equality should be one of the goals of gender mainstreaming, we shall define gender equality to mean equal visibility, empowerment and participation of men and women, boys and girls in all spheres of public and private life. Gender equality does not equate to homogeneity or making men's situations and ways of life the norm. Gender equality does not mean measuring what you do against what men do. If men are polygamous you don't have to be polyandrous. If men are abrasive women don't have to be abrasive, if men believe politics is dirty, you don't have to believe the same and perpetuate the myth. This means that we are not thinking of equality in terms of men and


women being equal. We are thinking of men and women occupying spaces where all of them can be the best they can be. Contributing towards making a society that accommodates values and respects their different characteristics, values, norms and capacities that will make our society more humane, democratic, caring and just. It is recognizing that men and women can create a better society if their capacities, perspectives, knowledge, and experiences are allowed to merge and create a new world. No one will say this is an easy road to travel. It is not but as Harriet Tubman says: “Every great dream begins with a dreamer”. We must have these dreams.

2.2.3 Gender Equality and Gender Mainstreaming

According to Walby, gender mainstreaming involves at least two different frames of reference: “gender equality” and the “mainstream.” The two frames indicate that new gender norms must struggle to enter institutional thought. This is in opposition to established norms. This means that when you say women should be allowed to go to parliament you may be asked the following questions:

- i. Who is preventing them?
- ii. Do they want to just get in without being voted in?
- iii. Democracy means everyone can vie for any post and be voted in.
- iv. They are the majority, why can't they vote themselves in?

This is institutionalized thinking. The norms are the traditional ones. According to this thinking, if women are not in parliament, it is their fault. You can read resistance by institutional norms and practices. There is a tension here “why are you not in the mainstream?” It is your fault as a woman. But the dreamers must keep the vision in view and not lose sight of it. This discussion here calls for continuous negotiations. Another example will surface when a girl is getting married. Often, the parents expect payment of dowry. Traditions show that dowry was one of those traditional rituals that



gave men control of their wives, and in fact, the male members of the community to control women. There are many examples in our communities and even globally challenging this cultural practice and making those who challenge be seen as enemies of their culture and other traditions. The practice mutates and is baptised as gifts, creating good relationships but the whole process of negotiations for a dowry tells a different story. Female genital mutilation was a practice born out of a male desire to control women's sexuality. It has taken decades to try to get rid of it. These cultural practices hold on because of the power they give men and the control they have over women. Interpretation keeps mutating and legitimacy is always sought as new myths to justify male domination keep propping up. This is why the dreamer of the new social order must keep the vision on focus.

The conceptualization of the decision between gender equality and gender mainstreaming is central to many debates in gender mainstreaming and gender equality. Sometimes the desire towards a nation's goal such as to improve the GDP from 5% for instance to 10% in the next 10 years may compete for resources with the gender equality goal. This competition over priorities often puts the development agenda over the choice of gender equality and thus can create a lot of tension. In the struggle for democracy in our country, it was often argued even by “progressive” forces that women should forget gender equality and fight for democracy first but there is no democracy unless the mainstream, changes to create a new order where both men and women have an environment where their potential can fully develop. We are only on the path towards democracy, just like in the past. Women, slaves and black people were not part of the goals of democratic processes.

The process of mainstreaming women's interests which is our focus calls for gender analysis tools, for proper mapping of the status of women, girls, men and boys within their social-cultural and economic realities. It calls for

deliberate efforts and commitment to the identification of both strategic and practical needs which is followed up by developing appropriate strategies to address them (Moser, 1994). Gender analysis provides tools that could be used in mapping out policy options. The questions for instance "Results, for who?" "Costs for who?" We ensure that results meet the needs of women as well as men. Both women and men are impacted equally by this policy and both men and women will be equally satisfied. In our setting, we go beyond gender analysis to further address diversity and social gender analysis, which will lead us to focus on particular groups such minority communities, ethnic and marginalized groups, the elderly, young, those living with difficult circumstances, etc.

2.2.4 Vision of Gender Equality

2.2.4.1 Gender equality and social transformation

One way of looking at gender mainstreaming is how it is a route towards “transformation”, as a new way of looking at institutional norms and practices. This vision of gender mainstreaming is neither the assimilation of men into women’s ways nor maintaining the dualism between men and women but rather the creation of something new. Transformation means creating something new, something beautiful, and different. As said earlier, it is not about developing what women know and their experiences, knowledge, hopes and aspirations. No. It is also not about demonising who men are but separately who they intrinsically are human from what society has made them to be. It is about recognising that they too can change to become more humane, and more appreciative of the women’s world. It is also about women taking the journey back to who they are and what they have been made to believe they are and refusing to believe that the male world is the norm. It is about a journey to self for both men and women. It is about fighting the demons of patriarchy and creating a new world.

2.2.5 Integrationist approach to gender equality and mainstreaming

This approach introduced gender perspectives without challenging the equality policy paradigms. The approach though less likely to be rejected, by policymakers may not lead to substantive transformation. The outcomes of gender mainstreaming in this case may be difficult to assess because this can be complicated by the nature of the goal that was negotiated. The negotiated goal may have varied implications depending on how the policy is put into practice.

Safaricom has established a day-care centre for its staff. Members come with their breastfeeding babies and leave them with a nanny who takes care of them and employees breastfeed their babies at intervals. If this was all, the above statement would have been correct, however, Safaricom has also a place where children of staff who are not breastfeeding can bring their children who can play under the care of the nanny while their parents are working. Safaricom male staff also bring their children. Safaricom male staff also bring their children here and take them home when they are leaving work. The fathers can bond with their children over the course of the day.

Fathers who work with Safaricom and take care of the babies are therefore taking responsibilities traditionally assigned to women. And these actions by Safaricom address the strategic needs and interests of men and women. The strategy is changing the gender norms and therefore becomes a transformative strategy which also promotes gender equality. At Aga Khan University Hospital, the author of this paper visited the mother and childcare clinic and observed that many young men brought their children to the clinic. She observed that the young fathers carried their babies tied with “Ngori” on the chest area and the basket for babies’ needs such as diapers, milk etc, on their backs. She also noted that for those fathers who were sitting in the cue, the children were very comfortable with the fathers. Clearly, childcare roles and

responsibilities are changing, a clear indication that societies can transform. The so-called biological roles are changing and the burden on women will be reduced.

2.3 Conclusion

Gender mainstreaming is a powerful development strategy. This is often reflected in feminist theory and practice where the aim is gender equality and social transformation. It is most frequently understood as a specialized tool of the public policy world. Gender mainstreaming is essentially contested because of the relationship between the mainstream and gender equality. But as we said earlier in this discussion, it is a long journey. It is not a journey for the fainthearted because it is like the Chinese saying, “a journey of a thousand miles begins with one step”.

Part III: Gender Analysis Tools for Policy Formulation and Implementation Processes

3.0 Introduction

Gender analysis as a strategy leads us to collect, analyse and utilize quantitative and qualitative data on demographic characteristics, income levels, and services available in the needs assessment. It also leads us to gather sex-disaggregated data, enabling us to focus on where gaps are and therefore come up with effective strategies to address these gaps. These strategies may address, strategic or practical gender needs. In addition, these processes can lead us to assess beneficiaries to ascertain who the actual and potential beneficiaries are. This enables planners to determine how far service provisions will meet the beneficiaries' perceptions and what their needs are etc. The process also leads us to look at 'invisible' costs such as women's unpaid labour, women's time spent on community work and other reproductive roles, among others. Gender analysis tools are therefore applied including needs assessments as well as other processes and training among other areas.

In the process of data analysis, policymakers and planners obtain relevant data or information for analysis, e.g. involving men and women in policies and programs, comparing the various levels of expertise that men and women have in terms of crops, harvests, and technologies. Additionally, this process looks at social processes that take into account the roles that men and women play, such as the division of labour, productive and reproductive activities, access to and control over resources and benefits, and social-economic and environmental factors that affect what both men and women do.

One of the benefits of gender analysis is that we are also able to identify Practical Gender Needs (PGN) which have an impact on their status in society. These analyses may lead us to strategies that: a) reduce women's workload;


b) improve women's health; and c) increase women's incomes, among others. When planning for development interventions, it is often assumed that household members have the same needs. Caroline Moser (1993) notes that these needs are "those that are formulated from the analysis of women's subordination to men" (p 39).

In gender analysis, we also consider the mission and goal of a policy. In this, we ask ourselves:

- i. What is the mission/goal of this policy?
- ii. Is there a focus on the elimination of gender inequality and other inequalities?
- iii. Does it reflect the intention towards fundamental changes in society?
- iv. Are issues of societal transformation or citizens' rights reflected?

3.1 Public Policy in Relation to Women

Public policy analysis and how it relates to women is important in making sure that existing and proposed legislation, policies and implementation of the same effectively address women's interests in both private and public sectors. In doing this, they address the issues of those who depend on women including the elderly, children and the sick in the community. Gender budgeting processes need to address critical sectors that affect women and those whom they take care of is very important. These factors in our Kenyan context include health, water, sanitation, food security, social protection, education and housing. This of course should not be interpreted to mean that we do not need to address women's interests and needs in other sectors but prioritizing these can address the practical gender needs of women and those they take care of. To ensure that women's concerns and experiences are fully considered in the formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programmes, it is crucial to incorporate women's perspectives and expertise into policy analysis. It is also important to remember that tools are only



instruments which are used by men and women. It is those people who have the skills, experiences, knowledge plans and vision, who put tools to good use that will make a difference. The tools can help us generate good data that will ensure women are mainstreamed in policies and programmes and also help in the process of changing the mainstream and transforming our economy, structures and communities, and gender norms. These policymakers, program implementers, and institutions can help us improve efficiency and effectiveness in our policy formulation and programme implementation both to deal with the people's rights to basic needs such as enough food of acceptable quality (Kenyan Constitution, article 43 (1)(c)) and increase our production and social economic growth. Research has shown that bringing women to the centre of economic development is good economics.

Sometimes issues of gender and management are ignored yet research shows that women managers use different styles and sometimes negotiate and build consensus (Ellison, 2004). Men on the other hand may use different management styles. Having both men and women in positions of management and gender-sensitive policies rules and regulations will improve our management of policies and programmes. In addressing women's issues in policies and programs, the questions that are raised in part 3.2 are a good beginning point. The analysis of the answers to the questions will give us information that we can use to:

- i. Replicate good practices;
- ii. Make changes where data shows these critical issues that need to be addressed;
- iii. Identify strategies that can move us forward on the journey towards gender equality and social transformation;
- iv. Find ways of changing the mainstream even if as it is, a step at a time, among others.

The following section presents tools that we can use in either developing policies or critiquing existing policies.

3.2 Steps in Public Policy Analysis or Policy Development and Possible Questions that can Be Asked as the Policy is Being Formulated, Reviewed or Monitored

These tools borrow heavily from other existing tools.

3.2.1 Background and context

When looking at the background and context for the policy that you want to develop, it is important to understand gender relations in the community and how men and women have participated in programmes. We can ask questions such as what is the percentage of women involved in the sector that is being addressed e.g. health, water, internal security, trade, and manufacturing. How much of this sector is controlled by women? eg manufacturing, aviation etc? What percentage of leadership is women managers etc? What are the roles played by women in this sector? Are the managers, engineers, and pilots or what role do they play? This will give you the information that can tell you if the sector is perpetuating gender stereotypes and if women are shaping the direction of the sector together with men. What are women's experiences in this sector? How can we use their experiences and knowledge in this sector? "Is this information available?" If so, can it inform the policy being proposed? What are the roles of women and men in this sector?

These questions are important in helping us understand the community that is going to be a beneficiary of the policy formulated. The questions will help us get information related to gender relations in the community, and experiences on the subject matter in question, consider the benefits and beneficiaries and ensure how it can benefit women and men as well.

3.2.2 Needs assessments

What is needed and where it is needed are determined via needs assessments. It looks for information on quantitative data on a variety of topics, including the services, income levels, and demographics of the community being studied.

In needs assessment, we need to ask questions such as:

- What actions are being taken to ensure that researches and other surveys accurately reflect the economic role of women in the sector as well as within and outside of the household?
- Do the research and surveys come up with sex-disaggregated data?
- Is there a deliberate policy to involve female researchers, what are the data collection tools being used?
- Are they capable of harvesting women’s experiences and knowledge? What are the different roles of men and women in this community?

3.2.3 Beneficiary Assessment

There is a need to find out how service provision in the policy focus area will meet beneficiaries’ own perceptions of what their needs and expectations are. Feminist research methods including participatory methods, use of grounded theory, case study methods, group discussions, etc are useful in captioning the perspectives of men and women and therefore identifying gaps that can be addressed. This information is important in order to inform the design of the project/program. It is also important to find out how men and women use their time so we can avoid transferring activities that can be paid for to an “invisible cost” and thereby burden women and promote inequality. This is also important because we find out how much time women’s care and domestic work is, and how this can impact their participation in the program. We can design strategies such as childcare facilities, and breastfeeding facilities that can offload the burden of care work without comprising the health and development of the child. In addition, we can have technologies or projects

that support women's triple roles and for sustainability and change of gender roles and gender norms which are strategies that can address this. We can also have cultures that support women's self-efficacy and voices.

3.3 Policy Formulation and Design

In formulating the policy, it is important to ask questions that ensure that information gathered will be used to facilitate the participation of women, and other specific groups. These stakeholders should be involved in policy design and formulation. Some of the questions that we can raise are related to the nature of the goal of the policy. We need to take into account the interests, needs, and priorities of men and women and ask ourselves the questions that will guide us in planning and resource allocation. Data collection for the policy design and implementation must recognize the role of men and women in the proposed policy/program. We must ensure we have sex-disaggregated data. The formulation and design must take into consideration gender equality measures, and women's practical and strategic gender needs and interests. We refer to tools that you can use in Section IV of this paper.

3.3.1 Policy Goal

The goal of the policy should recognize strategies that would address the gaps identified in background and context. If you refer to Part II of this paper, you will see that we discuss two different approaches that will guide the goal, objectives, strategies, etc. These two approaches are “add women and stir” and “gender mainstreaming”. They will shape the direction of policy development. However, we acknowledge that changes in society are not always simple and straightforward. The struggle for the two-thirds gender rule in Kenya is a case in point. Particularly like corruption fights back and therefore we have often to appreciate the “one step at a time”, that often governments and other stakeholders, systems, structures, institutions, cultures, and traditions built on patriarchal ideology keep mutating. However, women's issues are not captured

at this level, it will be difficult for them to be captured in subsequent sections of the policy hence the importance of clear intentions to promote gender equality should be reflected in the goal. This will lead us to gender-specific objectives which can be followed up by strategies that lead to appropriate interventions e.g. the goal of any EAC Common Market Protocol or food policies should stipulate the gender equality and affirmative action spirit of women's equal participation. It would also be important to think about gender mainstreaming for social transformation as we develop the goal of the policy. This is despite discussions on the contested nature of this approach. If we keep the goal in view, we can develop objectives, strategies, and monitoring tools that lead us to gender equality and transformation of our societies even if it is step by step.

3.3.2 Policy Objectives

Policy objectives are the means through which gender-specific objectives will emerge. The objectives must be specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-bound (SMART). These objectives are based on gaps identified in the background analysis and need assessment. Key guiding questions can be: What objectives focus specifically on women? What gender gaps are they addressing? Are the objectives aimed at harvesting experiences and knowledge of women specifically? Are these objectives focused on strategic gender needs?

A lack of gender-specific objectives can make it very difficult to have gender-specific interventions. The key guiding questions can be:

- How many thematic priorities does the policy have?
- Do they make any reference to gender-specific issues in these priorities?
- How many thematic areas are gender specific?

-
- Has sex-desegregated data been utilized in developing these thematic priorities?

3.3.4 Thematic Priorities

Thematic priorities should utilize information gathered to address women's issues seriously and allocate adequate resources for women's specific interventions. These may include access to child care, capacity building, implementing strategies women have proposed in the needs assessment addressing strategic gender needs e.g., provision of child care facility, access to water, etc reducing the burden of women from domestic work, community awareness to change of gender division of labour, etc. Key guiding questions can be:

- Where are these issues ranked (in terms of numbering and hierarchy)?
- Are they a priority?
- What is the budget for these thematic areas?

Priorities addressing strategic gender needs and interests are important in transforming gender relations and changing the mainstream.

3.3.5 Policy Interventions

Policy interventions actualize the intended outcomes for thematic priorities. Specific budget allocations are made based on the number of interventions proposed by the policy under the various thematic priorities. Interventions have a direct bearing on resource allocations. Therefore, if there are no or very minimal gender/women-specific interventions in a given policy then this translates to no or very few resources allocated to implement the same. The interventions should have both short-term and long-term positive impacts on women's lives and their livelihoods and address both practical and strategic women's gender needs of both men and women.

3.3.6 Gender relations and livelihoods in policies programme/project

The process of mainstreaming gender/women's issues as discussed in Part II is both challenging and completed because it helps us to deal with structural barriers such as gender division of labour. Gender division of labour is one of the symbolic structures that seriously undermine gender equality and women's empowerment. Questions that could be raised in dealing with gender relations and livelihoods include the time that men spend on the project and their other roles and the time that women give to the project and to other reproductive roles:

- What reproductive roles that men spend time on e.g. child care, domestic work, community work, taking care of the sick, elderly, special children, etc?
- Has the project made it easier or harder for either men or women to participate in its activities? Who takes the money or benefits from the rice for instance?
- Who decides how the money is spent? Men? Women?

3.3.7 Monitoring and Evaluation

This is another area of policy and programme development that requires attention throughout the process of policy development and implementation. Looking at the needs assessments which establish the type of data needed, quantitative or qualitative, etc. The process of data collection, and tools used, among other variables, should lead us to have very clear indicators that can monitor. It is also important to do an analysis of quality-of-service indicators which may include: the number of beneficiaries reached by the project, the number of connections of households to access irrigation facilities, market facilities, manufacturing facilities, etc. It would also be important to look at beneficiaries to ascertain whether their needs have been met as per their expectations or as per their perceptions. In addition, it is important to assess the 'invisible' costs of the programme. These are costs that are not visible to

the eye e.g. time used by women in the project. For example, when we focus on water for irrigation in an agricultural project and ignore access to water at the household level. Does this merely transfer costs of water for the household which is unpaid for women in families? Or is this merely the transfer of a "saving cost" to an "invisible cost"? The above are not the only indicators that are needed. We must look at indicators of all types. Some of these indicators are elaborated on in Part IV of this paper. Some of the sex-disaggregated areas we can look at include who was affected by the policy. We must consult women in our monitoring process and the diversity of men and women. In the process, we need both quantitative and qualitative monitoring tools and ensure that the tools are promoting gender equity and that the program/project benefits both men and women.

Monitoring and evaluation is needed for developing the implementation of action plans and tracking changes against program targets provided in the policy document. It enhances the efficiency and effectiveness of the programmes. In addition to identifying challenges and emerging trends. Evaluation entails determining the degree to which a program has succeeded in achieving specific effect goals. It will inquire as to why something occurred or did not occur. In developing indicators, we need to look at both qualitative and quantitative indicators. Gender disaggregated indicators are very important in policy implementation and monitoring processes.

3.3.8 Programme Management and Implementation

Management takes on board men and women in their operations. Women should not just be workers in the implementation process they must play a key role in management so that the decisions they make will take their interests on board. In the case of Kenya and other countries of our region have been used to affirmative action policy should guide the compositing of management. This is the case in the recruitment of public service commissioners, boards etc.

In many constitutions in our region i.e. East African Community (EAC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and other subregions, affirmative action has been identified as strategies that works in bringing women to leadership. At the implementation level, we should have management that can guarantee that projects/programmes reflect the needs, interests, and priorities of both men and women, measures that have been taken to develop women-specific projects that address strategic and practical gender needs, that is shared equally among men and women, and legislation that is in place to ensure gender equality in terms of access to resources of production or employment in the project is implemented.

3.3.9 Budgeting and resource allocation

Allocating resources to ensure strategic gender needs interventions are more long-term and may be more costly but they are critical in the process of transforming our societies. We have discussed possible strategies that lead to this transformation in Part II and this section. Strategies such as the participation of women in decision-making, changes in the gender division of labour, addressing gender violence, women's economic empowerment etc are critical areas to address.

In many cases, policies will refer to gender mainstreaming and involving women in the project but when it comes to budgeting and resource allocation you find no resources or just a token allocation. In other cases, you find policies/programs for gender mainstreaming or women's empowerment but they have no power, or authority resources to implement those programs. Gender policies often come up with strategies for involving women in trade, markets, agricultural value chains, SMEs, transport, manufacturing etc but those sectors themselves are not even aware of those policies. If we are serious about promoting gender equality and women's empowerment, we will allocate

enough resources that ensure that strategic women's issues are addressed within sectoral programs and those sectors take responsibility.

Box 1: Some of the key questions we can raise include:

- i. What budget is allocated to address interventions directly related to women's empowerment and social transformation?
- ii. Are there resources allocated towards addressing the strategic gender needs of women?
- iii. Are there resources for capacity enhancement and awareness raising for women?
- iv. Are there resources to take care of reproductive roles of women e.g. can women breastfeed at work, is there space for women to breastfeed at work, can they bring their house girls to take care of the babies while in residential training?

Part IV: A Summary of Tools to Help in Interpretation after the Analysis of Policies and Programs

4.1 Gender mainstreaming

In gender mainstreaming, we consider the following:

- i. Are there other inequalities in the proposed policy e.g. are persons living with disabilities considered at all stages of the policy formulation, and implementation?
- ii. Is the concept of human rights mainstreamed in the policy?
- iii. Does the policy promise women's consciousness of their social gender roles?
- iv. Do strategies deal with time use, child care work, etc, and social consciousness?
- v. Does the policy have a strategy to deal with social structures and symbolic systems? (social structural changes)
- vi. How does the policy intend to deal with social/political/economic transformation?
- vii. We examine core development issues proposed in a policy in terms of their philosophy, assumptions and their perspective on policy development and gender equality.
- viii. We examine the policy development strategies for their capacity to challenge women's social gender roles i.e. identifying interventions, goals etc that address strategic gender needs.
- ix. Does the policy reflect an awareness of women's oppression and male dominance and if so what strategies are in place to address the issues?

These questions can also be related to the goal of the policy/programs, objectives etc. If you can answer these questions, then you are interpreting the data you have generated. Remember the concept of gender mainstreaming is a contested concept so you can still consider whether the issues are using the traditional concepts of women in development which is part of “add women and stir”.

4.2 Gender-Disaggregated Data

This is a crucial tool for both planning interventions and programs as well as carrying them out. It also aids in the evaluation and interpretation of gender discrepancies. In order to do this, gender-disaggregated data must be gathered at all stages of the program cycle, including beneficiary assessment, invisible cost assessment (time use, triple roles of women, caregiving, etc.), program environment, formulation, design, goal, objectives, priorities, interventions, implementation, the potential impact on gender relations and livelihoods, program management, networking and collaboration, outcomes/impact on men and women, access to resources, and sustainability. Without disaggregated data, it is always difficult to identify the gender gaps and to have interventions that specifically address the disadvantaged group and other inequalities including persons living with disabilities, young people, minority communities, etc. This is a very important tool in the analysis and interpretation of data.

4.3 Access to and Control of Resources

There are several opportunities for increased asset holdings for women, and access to resources of production can have an impact on the outcomes, benefits, and overall effectiveness of policies and programs on women's access to resources. Access to and control over a range of resources, including knowledge, land, and cattle, can be utilized to investigate alternative methods of subsistence. As stated in numerous gender-related frameworks, this is one of the most important methods that has been used to gauge women's empowerment including Sarah Longwe's and Caroline Moser's frameworks.

We can also apply the *Pro-Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index* (Pro-WEAI) which measures intrinsic agency (power within), instrumental agency (power to), and collective agency (power with) of women in the agriculture sector. This tool developed by Alkire et al, (2012), for IFPRI, aims to identify

ways to overcome obstacles and constraints that women face. We can raise questions such as:

- Does the policy indicate women's autonomy in income?
- Does it promote women's self-efficacy?
- Does the policy take into consideration women's input into decisions around access to resources such as financing and utilization of the same?
- Are women given prominence when it comes to ownership of land and assets?

4.4 Participation and Decision-Making

The inclusion of both men and women in the East African and other sub regional decision-making organs, processes, national policies, regional frameworks, and programs, whether at the micro or macro levels, will guarantee the accomplishment of more general objectives and benefit all facets of society. This tool looks at how men and women make decisions at all levels, the full and effective participation of women at various levels, equal leadership opportunities for men and women at all levels of policy implementation, increased women's capacity for decision-making and leadership, the use of quota systems (affirmative action) for women to ensure their presence in decision-making organs, and opportunities that empower both men and women.

4.5 Women's Empowerment

According to Sarah Longwe's women's empowerment framework, women's empowerment is a tool that is used to quantify various levels of empowerment. Women's empowerment is seen as a way for the group of women who lack authority to take charge of their lives and express their preferences and choices. Participation in institutions and procedures for making decisions is part of it. Political, economic, legal, social and cultural empowerment are all factors in determining this empowerment. Examining governmental and legal

structures that support gender inequality at the home, community, national, and regional levels is part of this process.

We are guided by numerous of Sarah Longwe's frameworks and other studies that have advanced the development of this field of study when determining the degree of empowerment of policies and programs. Such comprises:

- Welfare level
- Access level
- Concretization
- Participation
- Control

4.6 Involvement of Women's Organizations and Networks

The governments of the member states are just one of the important stakeholders that women's organizations and networks work with to advocate for gender mainstreaming and women's economic empowerment in the EAC area. Studies in the African region indicate that women's movements, networks, and organizations are responsible for the advancement of member countries' efforts to increase the representation of women in political leadership and other decision-making positions, as well as improved access to resources. Women's agency must be used by EAC to mainstream gender. In the Regional and member states, there is a need for policies on trade and general policies that promote women's businesses and entrepreneurship. These networks can make it happen. It is in their interest for as GRO Harlem says, *“women will not become more empowered merely because we want them to be, but through legislative changes, increased information and re-direction of resources. It would be fatal to overlook this fact”* (Women know, p330).

4.7 Research and Knowledge Generation

According to research, families that are well-fed and healthier have mothers who earn more money. This is due to the varied ways that men and women spend their money. 2013 research on food security in Kenya by AWSC, UON shows how women utilise their money. The emphasis on suggestions that would increase women's income and/or activities is due to the fact that 75% of this income is used to purchase food, clothing, and other necessities, as well as to pay for medical bills and school fees. Hence the importance of policies, frameworks and programmes in the EAC Trade to show how they are enhancing women's income in the region. Needs assessment, and other research products anticipated by the program should utilise women-friendly research methodologies.

4.8 Time Use

This tool takes gender disparities into account when determining how much time is available, how it is allocated, and where it is spent. It takes into account how the productive and reproductive labour is divided, how time is spent, how men and women contribute to the welfare of their families, communities, and society as a whole, and how their time obligations affect their availability for program activities. This tool is crucial in assisting program planners and implementers in determining how much time men and women have available for the program and how this will affect the program itself.

4.9 Implementation Mechanisms

If the stakeholders are to include both men's and women's interests and concerns in structures and coordinating mechanisms where multi-sector and multi-stakeholder coordination is taking place, institutional mechanisms and policy frameworks for gender mainstreaming and promoting women's economic empowerment are essential. Therefore, it is crucial that frameworks,

programs, and institutions charged with addressing gender/concerns of women include gender mainstreaming as part of their implementation strategies. Gender mainstreaming calls for skilled personnel as well as political accountability, and financial resources, and is located in strategic positions within the context of implementation mechanisms because gender issues are frequently institutionally marginalized within businesses or government institutions.

4.10 Gender-Aware budgeting (Budget Implications)

The use of gender-conscious budgeting is a key strategy in improving the way member states and other stakeholders allocate funds for EAC policies, frameworks, and programs. It aids in determining the likelihood of allocating resources to overcome gender-based limitations through intermediary goals and activities. Gender-aware budgeting aims to identify and address social and gender inequalities by giving equal attention to men and women, accounting for the various impacts of budgetary allocations on men, women, boys, and girls, and altering budgets and policies to promote gender equality and women's empowerment. It provides for gender-specific budgets for affirmative action programmes for women, other marginalized groups and social groups as highlighted in gender-disaggregated data, needs assessment and priority setting.

Other questions that can be asked as we analyse the EAC Regional policies include:

- Where are women in this policy?
- What are they doing?
- What specific strategies address women?
- Are these strategies addressing strategic gender needs and interests of men and women?
- Are the objectives of the policy covering women's interests and gender gaps?

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Kivanzaa Women Portraits

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