

Gender Inequality and Development

Introduction and Overview

July 7, 2017



Jeni Klugman,
Managing Director, Institute for Women, Peace
and Security, Georgetown University and Fellow,
Women and Public Policy Program, Kennedy
School, Harvard University

This afternoon's session - Outline

1. Pop quiz
2. Overview, and benefits of gender equality
3. Key definitions
4. Overview of gaps and overlapping disadvantage
5. Adverse norms and legal discrimination
6. A framework for thinking about drivers of gender equality and inequality
7. Some major policy and program debates

Pop Quiz

Selected Gender Gaps

The ratio of female to male college enrollment in Qatar is

- A. 15 percent
- B. 50 percent
- C. 110 percent
- D. 676 percent

Correct answer:
676 percent

Over the past thirty years, global rates of women's labour force participation have

- A. Risen by about 8 percent
- B. Fallen by about 4 percent
- C. Stabilized

Correct answer:

B – global average fell from 57 to 55 percent

In only three countries your boss is more likely to be female –which three?

A. Jamaica, Colombia,
St Lucia

B. New Zealand,
Philippines and
Moldova

C. Bangladesh,
Jamaica and
Canada

Correct answer: A

Which country has the highest total fertility rate?

- A. Niger
- B. Afghanistan
- C. Bolivia
- D. Yemen

Correct answer: A

What is the share of women who will experience intimate partner violence – in the hands of the boyfriends or husbands -- in their lifetime?

A. 5 percent

B. 26 percent

C. Over 30 percent

Correct answer:

C

The number of countries that have not explicitly criminalised marital rape (as of Sept 2015)

A. 10

B. 103

C. 43

Correct answer:

B

Which three countries have rates of female parliamentary representation below 10 percent ?*

- A. Russia, Niger, Somalia
- B. Fiji, Jordan, Burkina Faso
- C. Brazil, Nigeria, Sri Lanka
- D. Uzbekistan , Turkey, Chad

*as of Jan 1, 2015

Answer: C

Countries with less than 10% female parliamentary representation (descending order):

Botswana, Japan, Mali, Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Brazil, DRC, Kiribati, Bhutan, Benin, Bahrain, Congo, Nigeria, St. Kitts & Nevis, Tuvalu, Myanmar, Swaziland, Samoa, Thailand, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Nauru, Haiti, Belize, Iran, Lebanon, Comoros, Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Kuwait, Oman, Yemen, Micronesia, Palau, Qatar, Tonga, Vanuatu

There was a time when pink was for boys and blue was for girls. When did retailers and manufacturers decide to reverse this?

- A. 1920s
- B. 1940s
- C. 1960s

Correct answer:

B

Upshot

- Gender is an important social construct, and, alongside poverty, location & other factors, associated with major gaps in opportunities and outcomes
- Inequality is multidimensional, and patterns of inequality vary across regions, countries and locales.
- Norms play a powerful role in reinforcing inequality, and enabling change

Gender inequality has costs, and equality brings benefits

Economy wide benefits

For firms

For the next generation

Inequality in economic opportunities has costs, and equality brings benefits

Economy wide benefits

- Additional annual \$28 trillion, or 26 percent, to annual global GDP in 2025 compared with a business-as-usual scenario... equivalent to the combined US and China : **McKinsey Growth Institute 2015**
- If 2 million highly educated women entered paid work **in the Gulf, regional GDP could rise** by 30 percent (\$363 billion): Oxford Consulting
 - Closing the **gender gap in employment in Australia** would boost GDP by 11 percent: Goldman Sachs
 - In Latin America and the Caribbean, higher female income reduced extreme poverty by 30 percent over past decade.

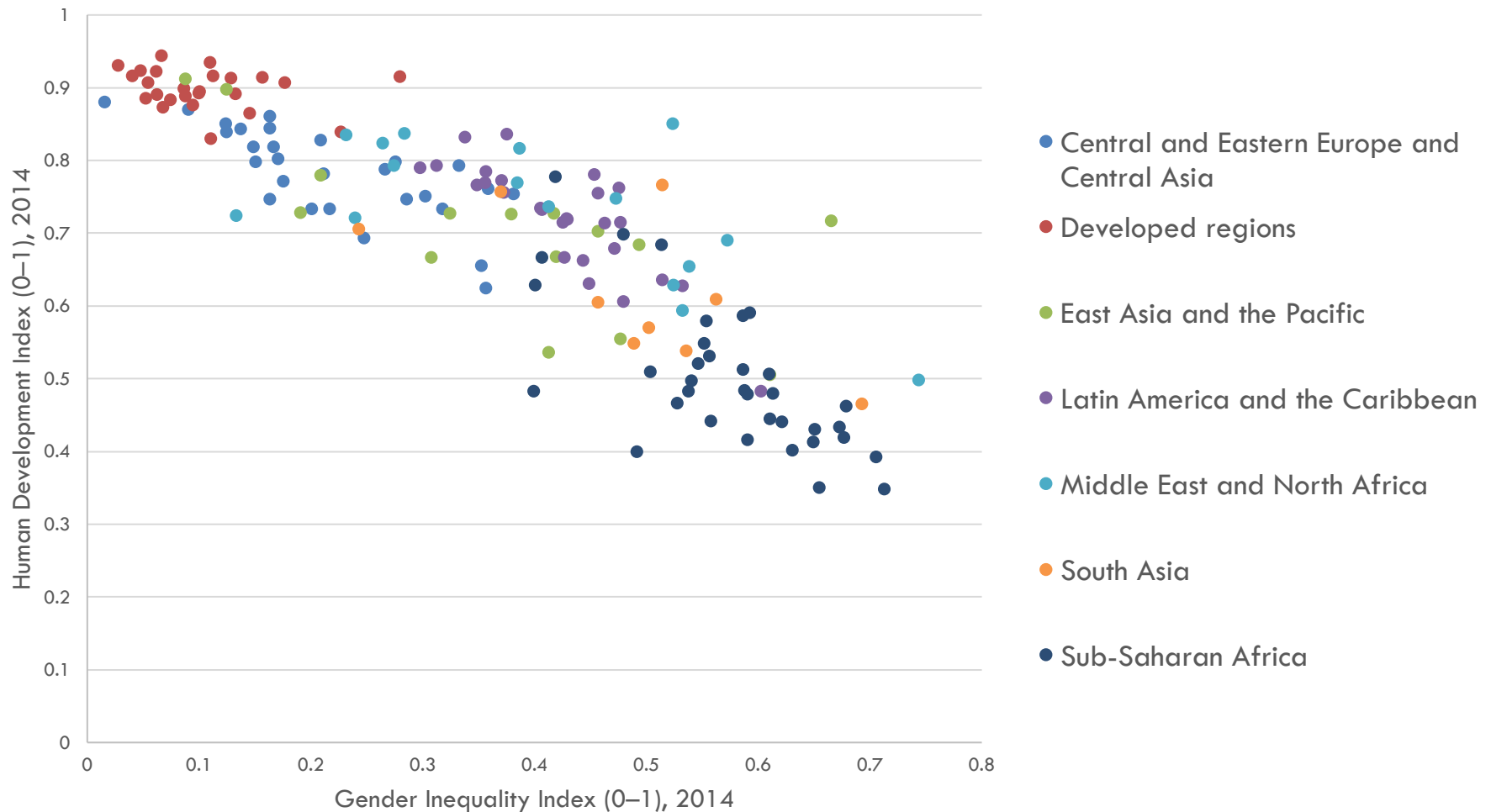
Inequality in economic opportunities has costs, and equality brings benefits

For the next generation

- women's **control of household earnings** tends to change spending in favor of children
- More women in paid work increased **human capital investment** (years of schooling) and delayed marriage and childbearing : India, telecenters: Jensen 2010
- In China, higher female income had an immediate and positive impact on the **survival rate of girls and the educational attainment of all children**: Qian 2008

Gender equality is associated with higher human development, income, growth & national competitiveness

Correlation between human development and gender inequality



Key definitions

Gender

Gender is a system of *social practices* in society that constitutes distinct sex categories, sorts people into those categories, and organises relations between people on the basis of those categories

Ridgeway and Smith Lovin, 1999

Gender equality

The equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men, and girls and boys.

UN Women

Relational character of gender

Interconnected through other social structures – like race, class and nation.

Zinn et al Prism of Difference

Implications of a gender equality lens

Gender equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that a person's rights, responsibilities and opportunities do not depend on whether they are born female or male.

Think about differences in relational terms – gender + race, class, location

→ Gender is part of the broader socio-cultural context. Other important aspects include class, poverty, ethnic group and age...

Not (solely) a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women.

Not fixed in time. Gender attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context/ time-specific and changeable. **Examples.**

Manifestations of gender inequality: some aggregate numbers in 2015

Missing – not being born at all, due to son preference – estimated 1.4 million girls annually

Death in childbirth – 800 every day -- 99 percent of such deaths are in developing countries, most preventable

Not going to school – estimated 31 million girls are out of school, of whom half unlikely ever to set foot inside a classroom.

Being subject to violence by their intimate partners – 700 million worldwide

Excluded from power – only 24 women CEOs in Fortune 500 (< 5%). In Australia's ASX200, more Peter's than women...

More key definitions

Agency

What a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important: Sen 1985

The ability to make those choices is often called *empowerment*

Voice

Able to speak up and be heard, and to shape and share in discussions, discourse and decisions...

..at the individual, community, national and global levels

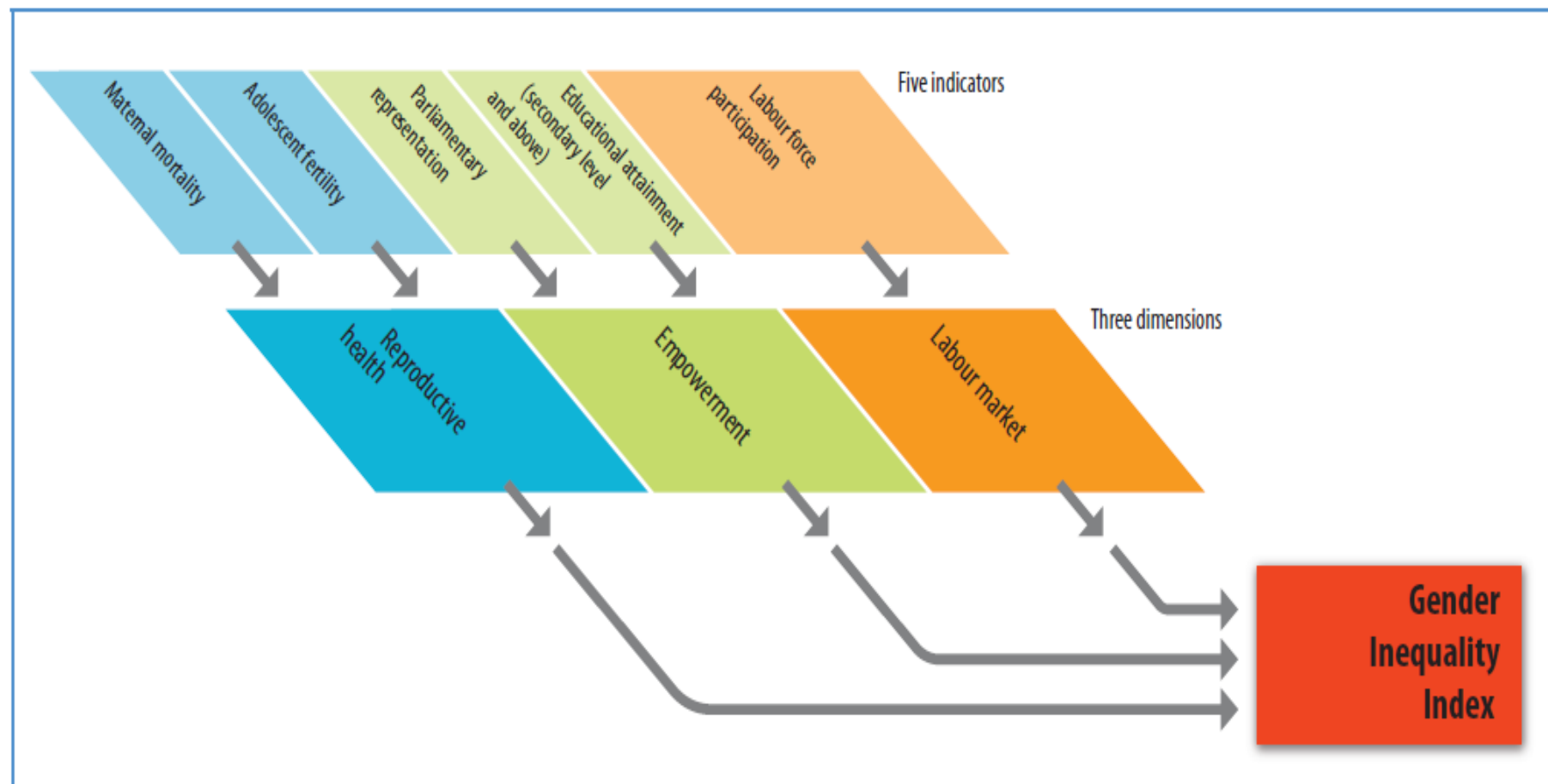
Agency operationalizes the concept of choice... the capacity to define one's goals and act on them. It goes beyond observable behavior to encompass the meaning, motivations, skills and purpose that people bring to their action, 'their sense of agency'
Kabeer 2008

Patterns of progress and constraints

- Multidimensional snapshot
- Improving education and health – alongside disparities
- Gender gaps at work
- Gaps in voice and agency

Multidimensional index of gender inequality

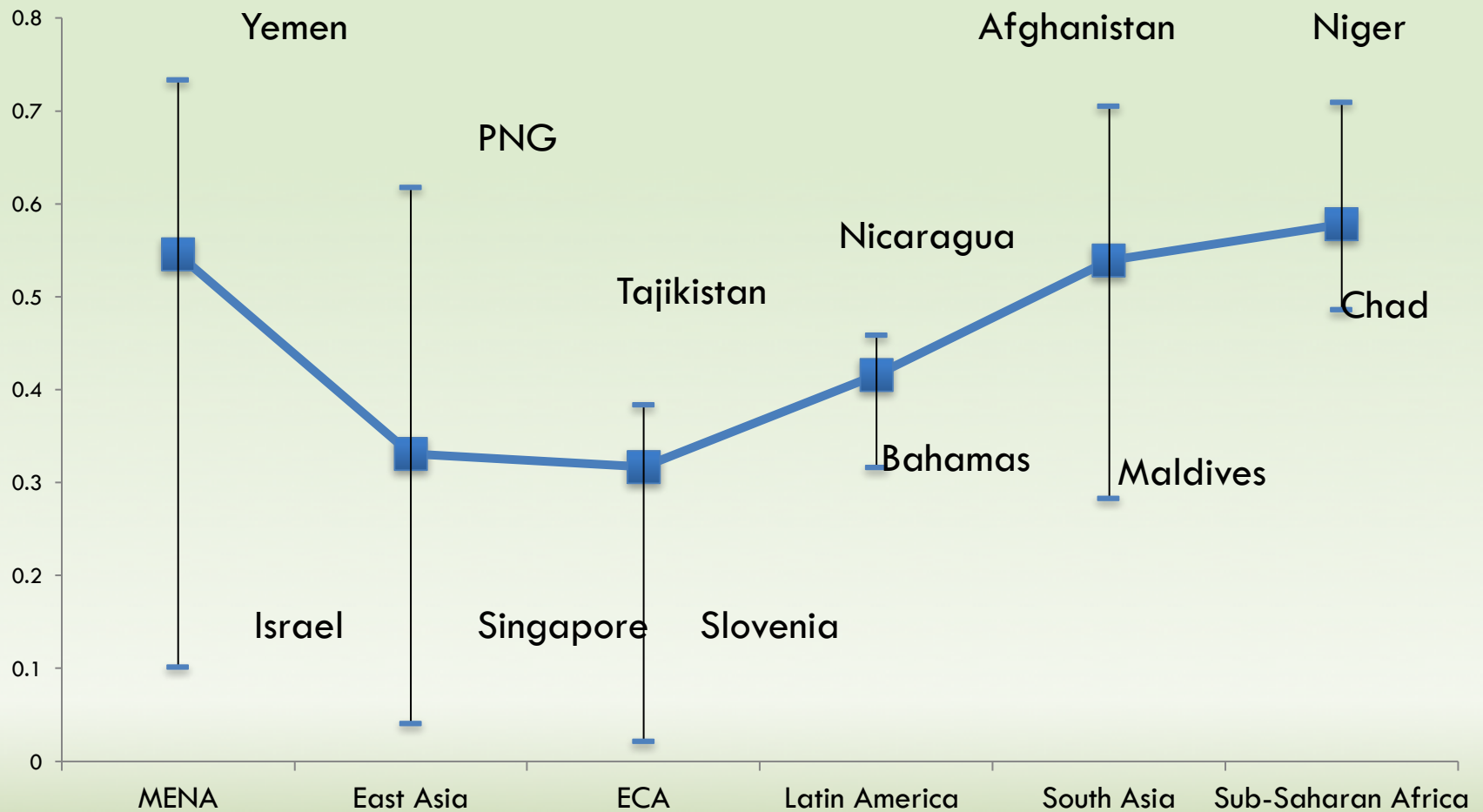
GII—three dimensions and five indicators



Note: The size of the boxes reflects the relative weights of the indicators and dimensions.

Source: HDRO.

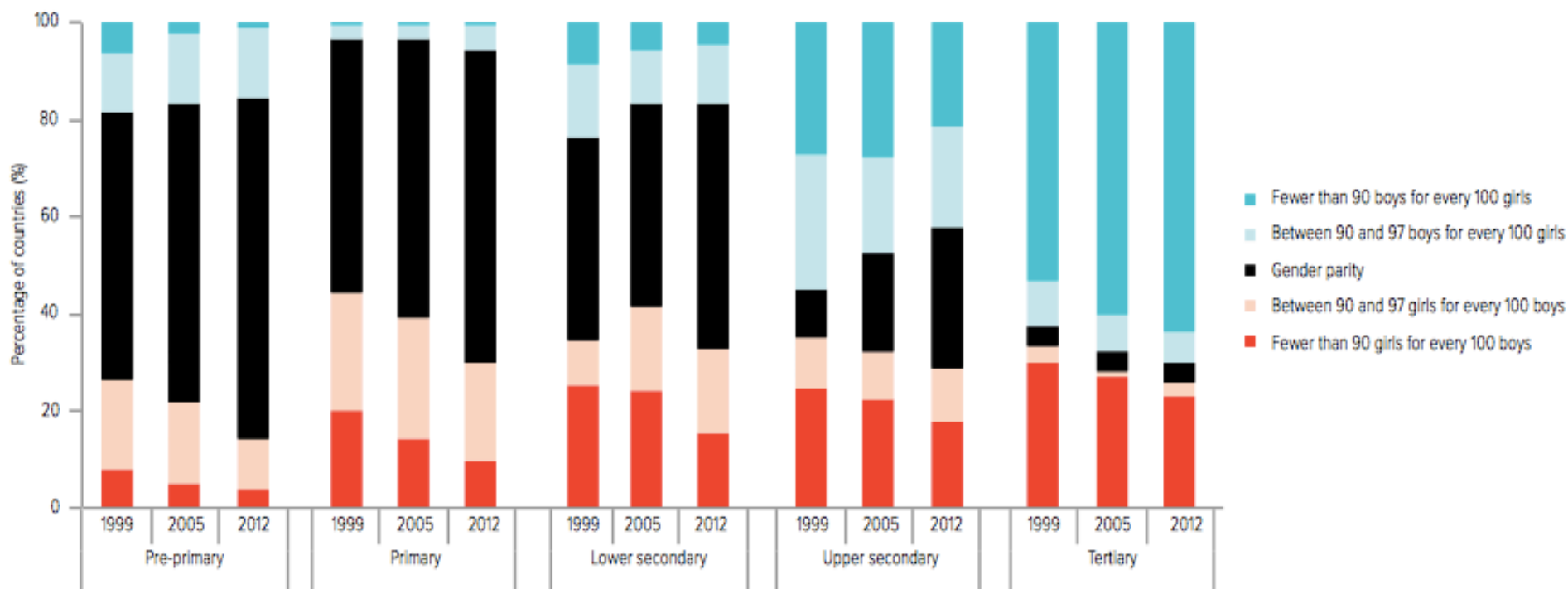
Patterns vary across regions, and countries



More girls and women in education

Close to gender parity in enrolment at lower levels in much of world, and tertiary enrolments now favour women

Percentage of countries by gender parity index (GPI) for gross enrolment ratios, all education levels, 1999, 2005 and 2012



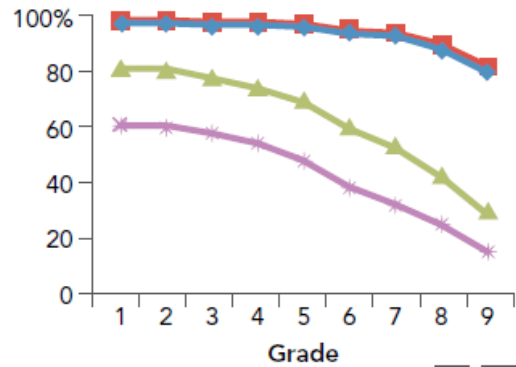
Note: Only countries with data for each of the three years are included.

Source: UIS database.

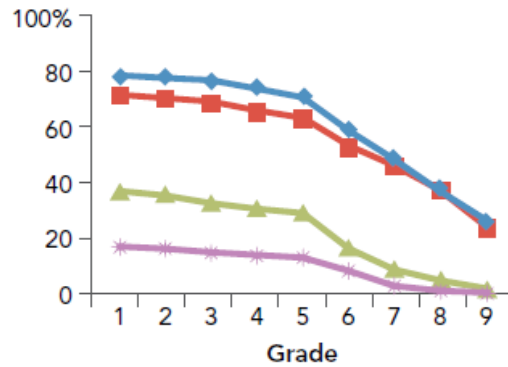
Source: UNESCO 2015

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002348/234>

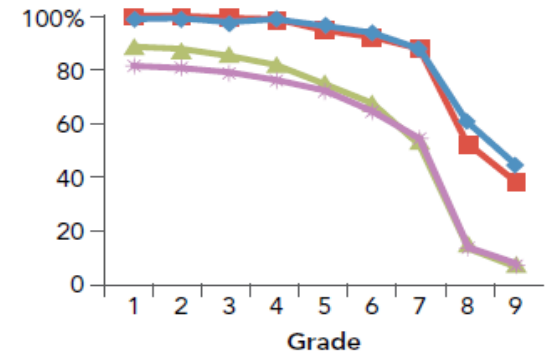
But uneven enrolment and high drop-out rates, especially among the poor



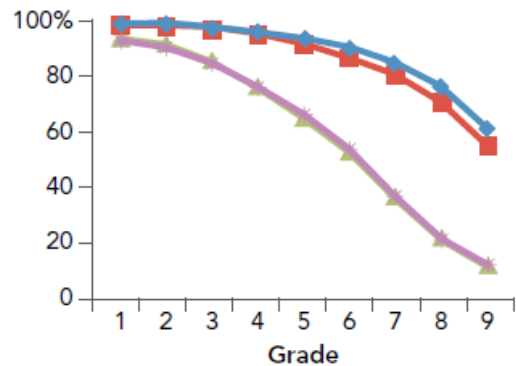
INDIA 2005-2006



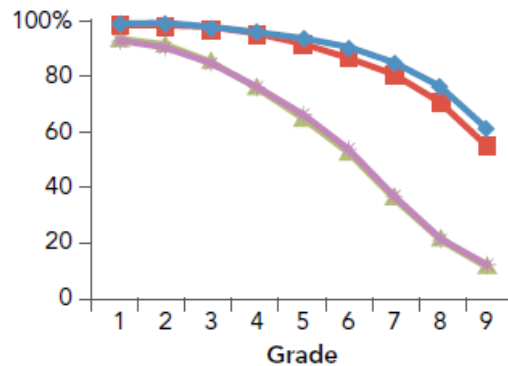
NIGER 2012



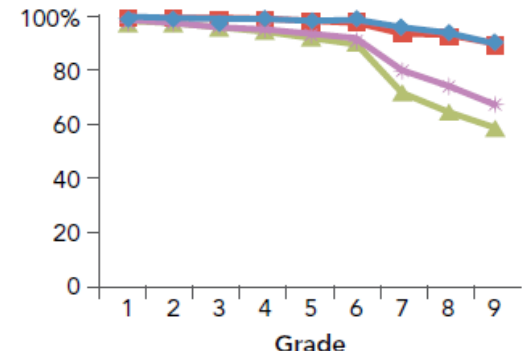
TANZANIA 2010



CAMBODIA 2010



ZAMBIA 2010



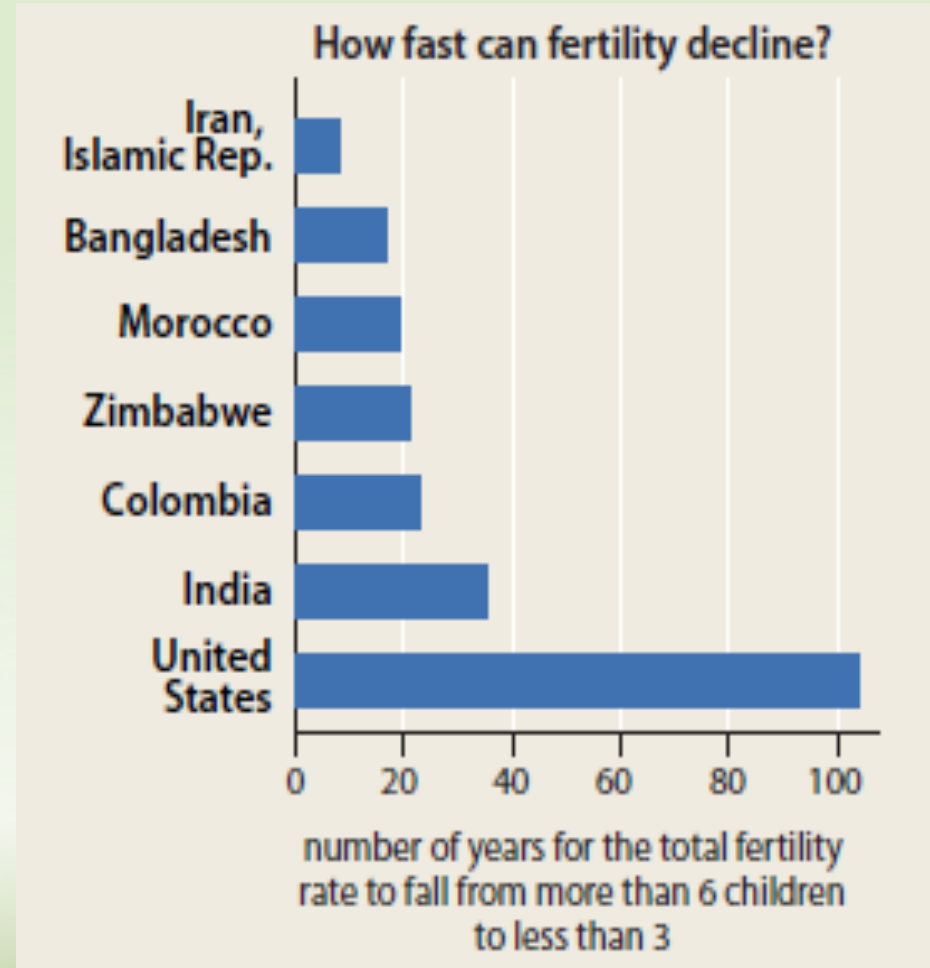
INDONESIA 2012

—◆— Richest 20% – Male —■— Richest 20% – Female
—▲— Poorest 40% – Male —*— Poorest 40% – Female

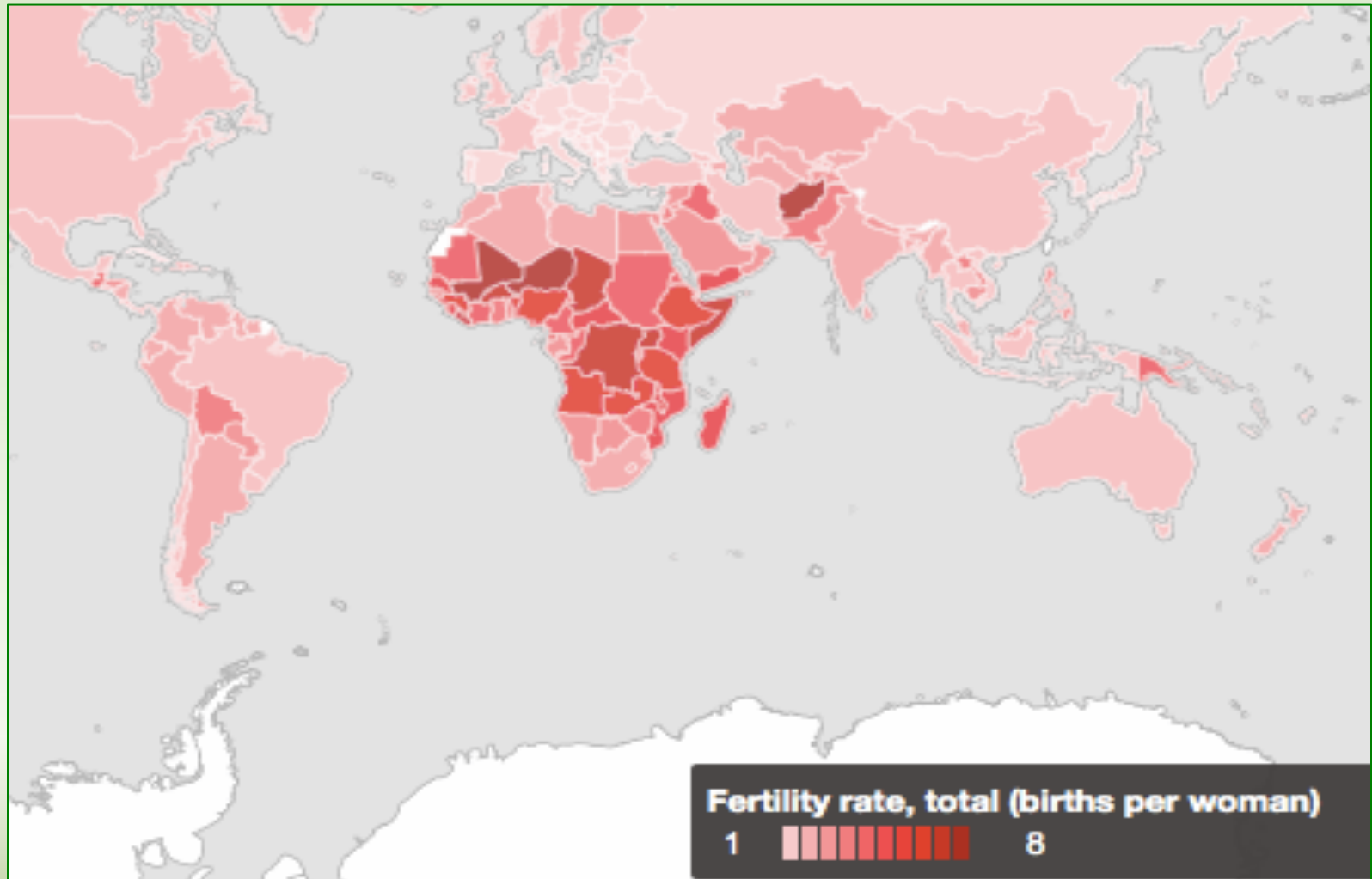
Longer and healthier lives

Since 1960:

- Increased life expectancy
 - 54 -> 71 for women
 - 51 -> 67 for men
- Rapid fertility decline from 5 to 2.5 births per woman



Fertility rates halved globally in past 50 years – but high rates remain



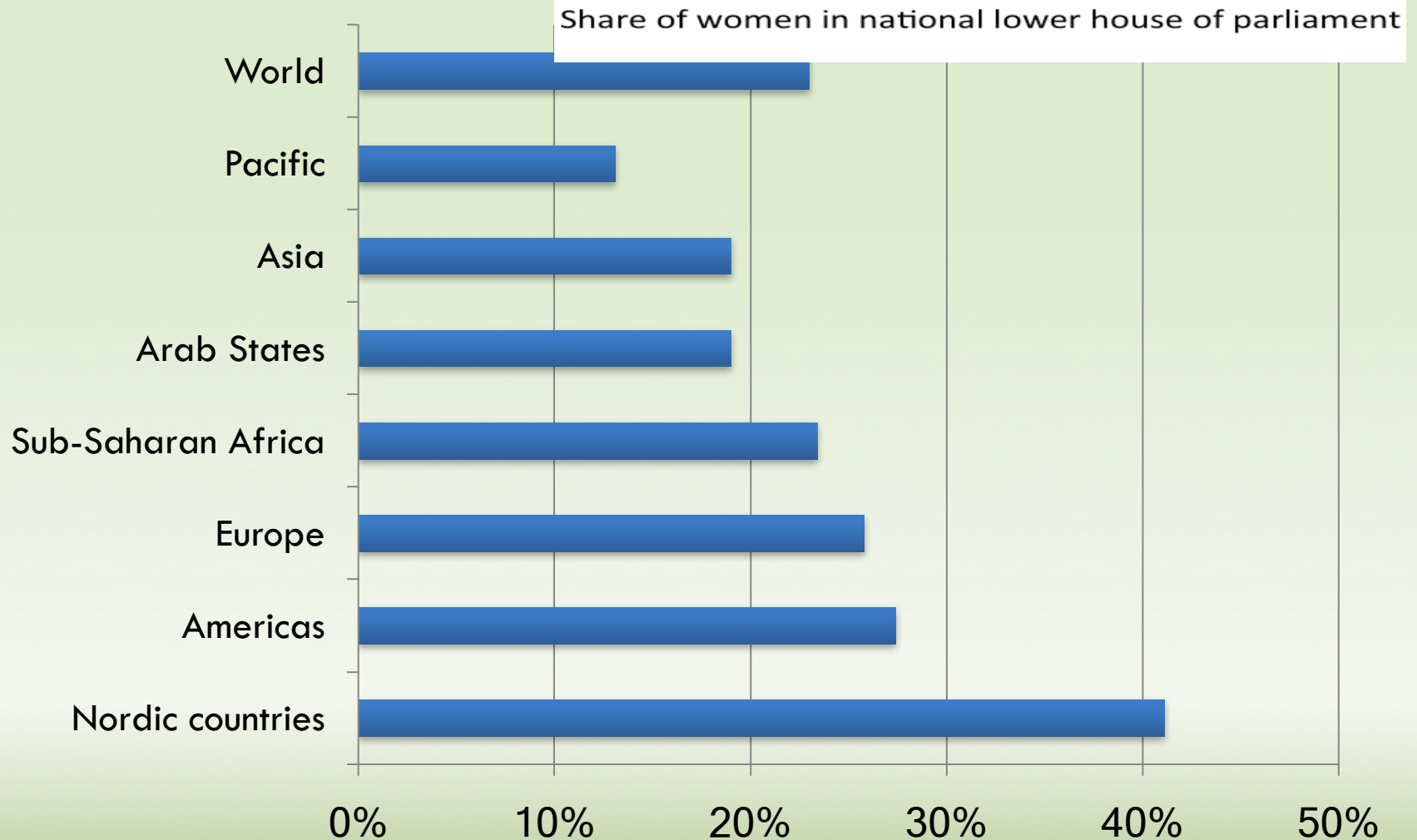
Source: World Development Indicators, latest year 2010-2014

Gender gaps persist in the world of work

- **Types of jobs:** Women and men sort into different sectors, occupations and types of firms.
- **Earnings:** Women consistently earn less, with gaps largely traced to sorting, gender differences in firm characteristics and access to productive inputs.
- **Participation:** Women's labor force participation has stagnated globally, falling from 57 to 55 percent since 1990.
- **Unpaid work:** Women carry the bulk of unpaid work at home, even when working outside

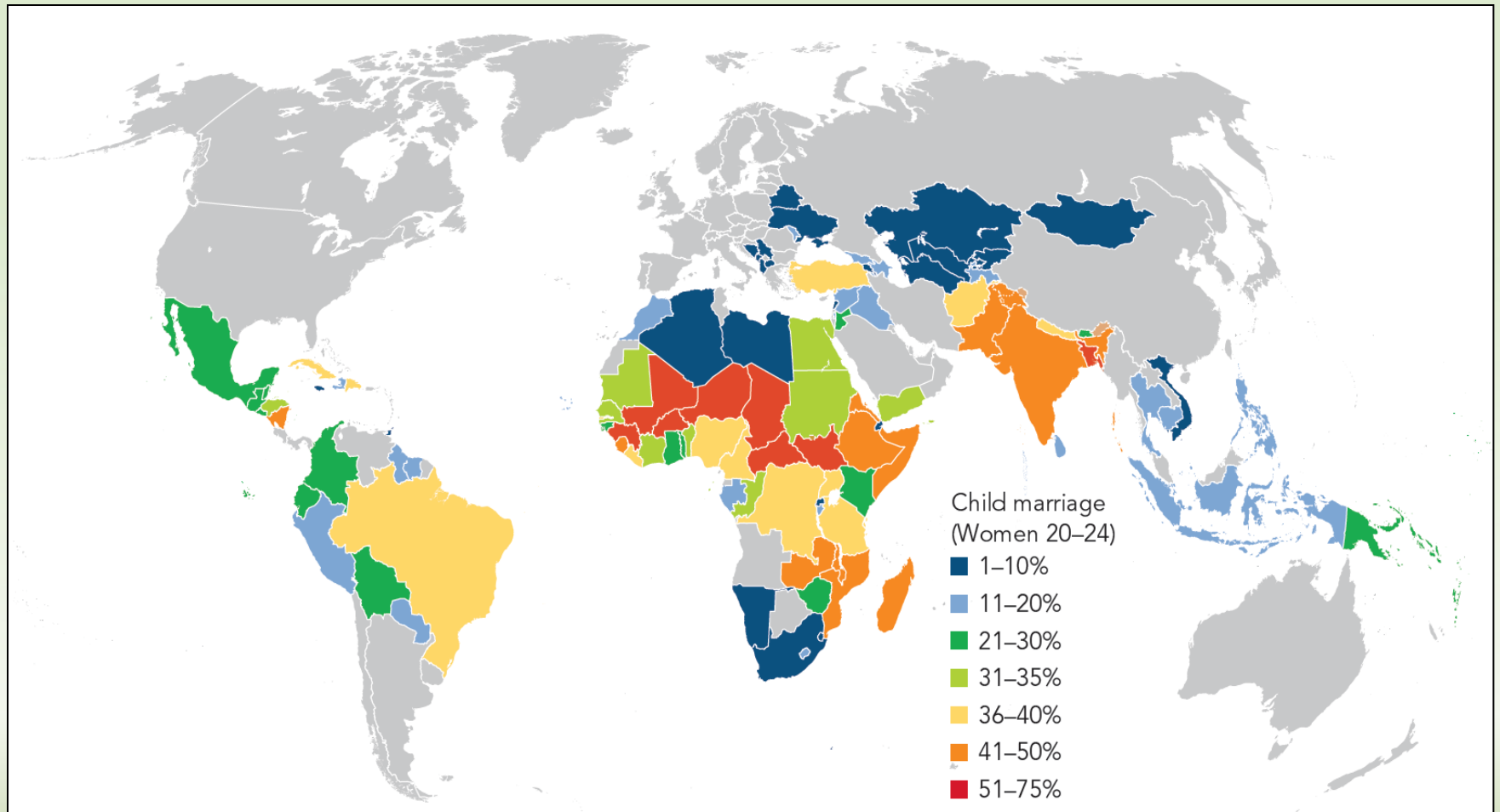


Under-represented in politics



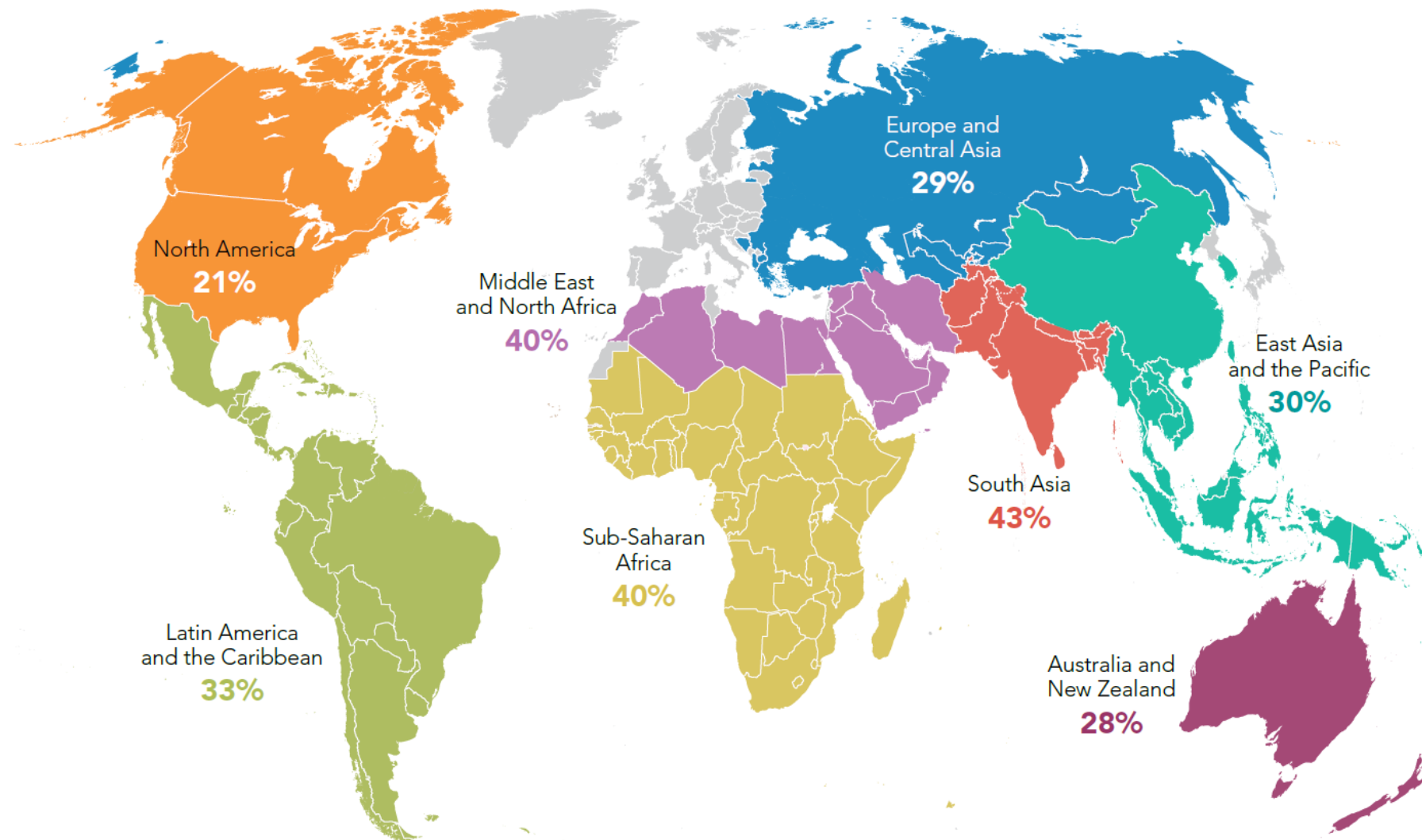
Source: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>
Lower House, September 2015

One in three girls married before their 18th birthday



Child marriage prevalence in 111 countries

More than 700 million women subject to violence at the hands of a husband, boyfriend or partner in their lifetime



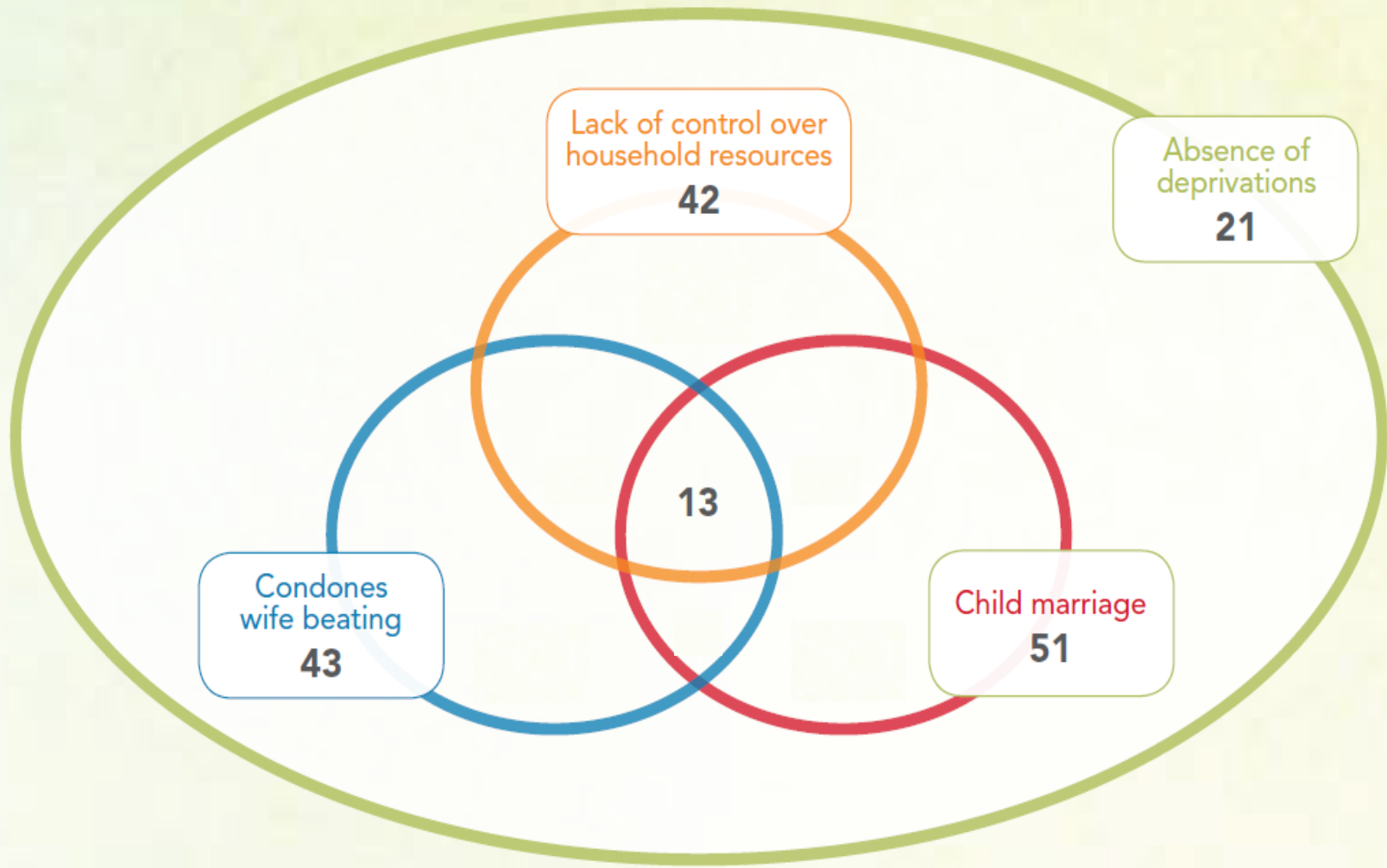
Source: WHO global prevalence database (2013)

Overlapping disadvantage

In almost every region of the world, certain groups of people face systematic social exclusion as the result of multiple inequalities that constrict their life chances.

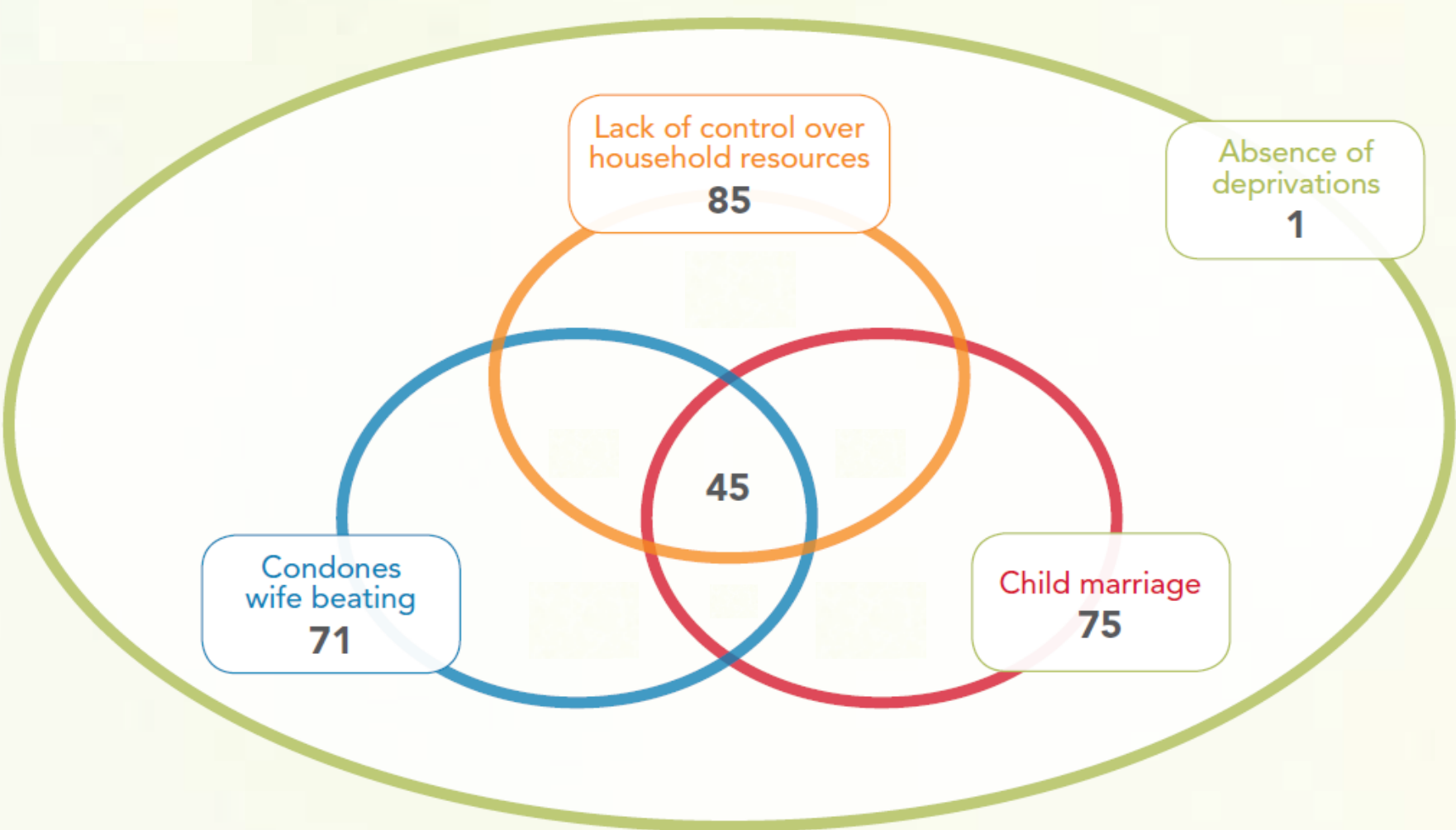
Naila Kabeer

Women often face multiple deprivations and harmful norms: global picture



Percentage of all women across 54 countries

Extensive deprivations in Niger



Percentage of women

Source: Klugman et al 2014

Frequency of agency deprivations (percent)

| | Married Early | Condomes IPV | Experienced IPV | Lack Control of Resources | Movement Restricted | Cannot ask use of Condom |
|------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Education</i> | | | | | | |
| No education | 50 | 41 | 47 | 42 | 38 | 57 |
| Primary | 27 | 23 | 25 | 23 | 24 | 28 |
| Secondary | 22 | 32 | 25 | 30 | 30 | 13 |
| Higher | 1 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 2 |
| <i>Location of residency</i> | | | | | | |
| Urban | 27 | 28 | 30 | 29 | 35 | 23 |
| Rural | 73 | 72 | 70 | 71 | 65 | 32 |
| <i>Asset Index</i> | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 24 | 21 | 24 | 20 | 22 | 25 |
| Poor | 23 | 22 | 24 | 21 | 22 | 24 |
| Middle | 22 | 22 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 21 |
| Rich | 19 | 20 | 19 | 20 | 19 | 18 |
| Richest | 13 | 15 | 12 | 18 | 17 | 13 |

Notes: Analysis based on data for 55 developing countries from DHS 2001-2012.

Source: Hanmer and Klugman 2016



Adverse norms and legal discrimination

- Social norms – powerful prescriptions reflected in formal structures of society and in its informal rules, beliefs and attitudes.
 - Define what is deemed appropriate behaviour and desirable attributes for women, men, boys and girls.
 - Affect both day-to-day behavior and major life decisions.
 - Reinforced by attitudes, behaviours, media and sometimes laws. Associated with implicit bias
 - **Examples?**

Change is gradual, patchy, and may be non-linear

A good wife, a good husband

TABLE 1.1: CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD WIFE AND GOOD HUSBAND DESCRIBED BY ADULT MEN AND WOMEN IN BA DINH DISTRICT, VIETNAM

| A good wife | | | A good husband | | |
|--|---|--|--|---|--|
| Women | | Men | Women | | Men |
| <p>Takes good care of her house Takes good care of her family and children</p> <p>Cares for kinship /relatives Contribute to the family income (not necessary)</p> |  | <p>Is faithful Educates children well Takes good care of the family Is a good cook Earns money Has social status</p> | <p>Is responsible for family, kinship and society. Contributes to family income. Should be a good breadwinner Takes care of his children</p> |  | <p>Is faithful Is a good earner Has sympathy and helps wife and children Has social status Is hard working Does not drink or gamble heavily Does not come home late Is not adulterous; does not associate with sex workers</p> |

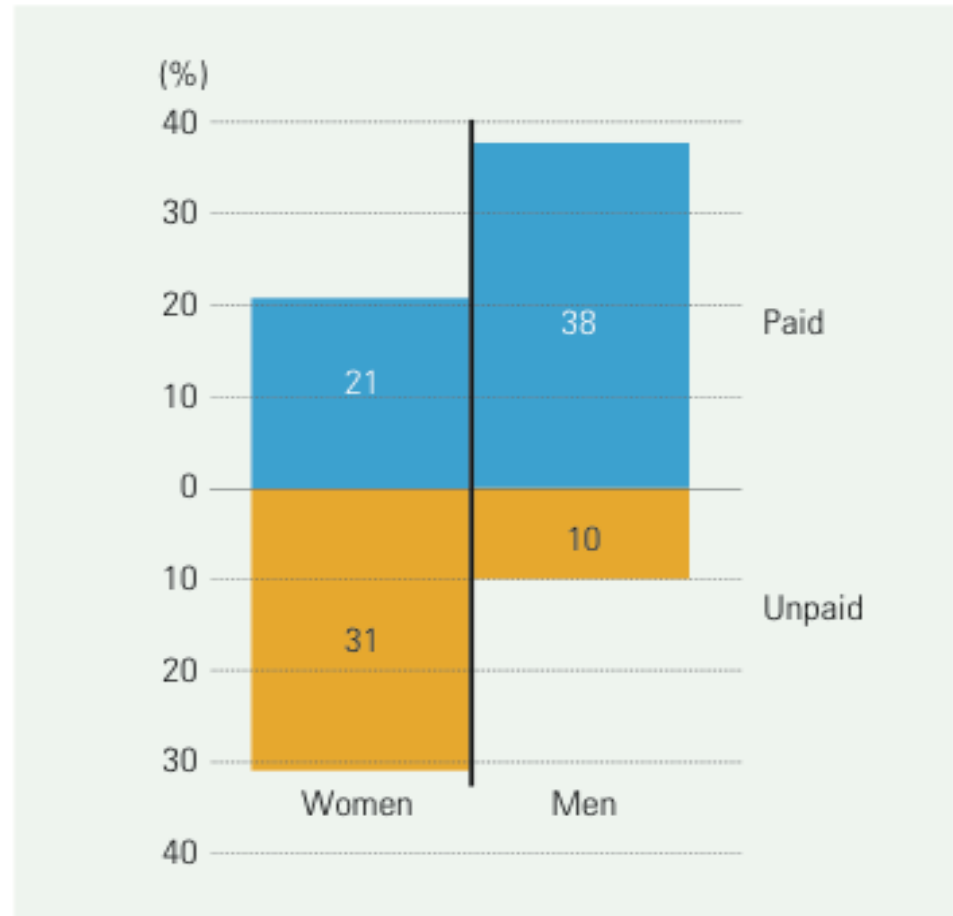
Source: Munoz-Boudet, Petesch and Turk, 2012
On Norms and Agency



THE WORLD BANK

Across the world, women spend more hours each day on housework and care ... and men spend more time in market activities

Men dominate the world of paid work, and women the world of unpaid work

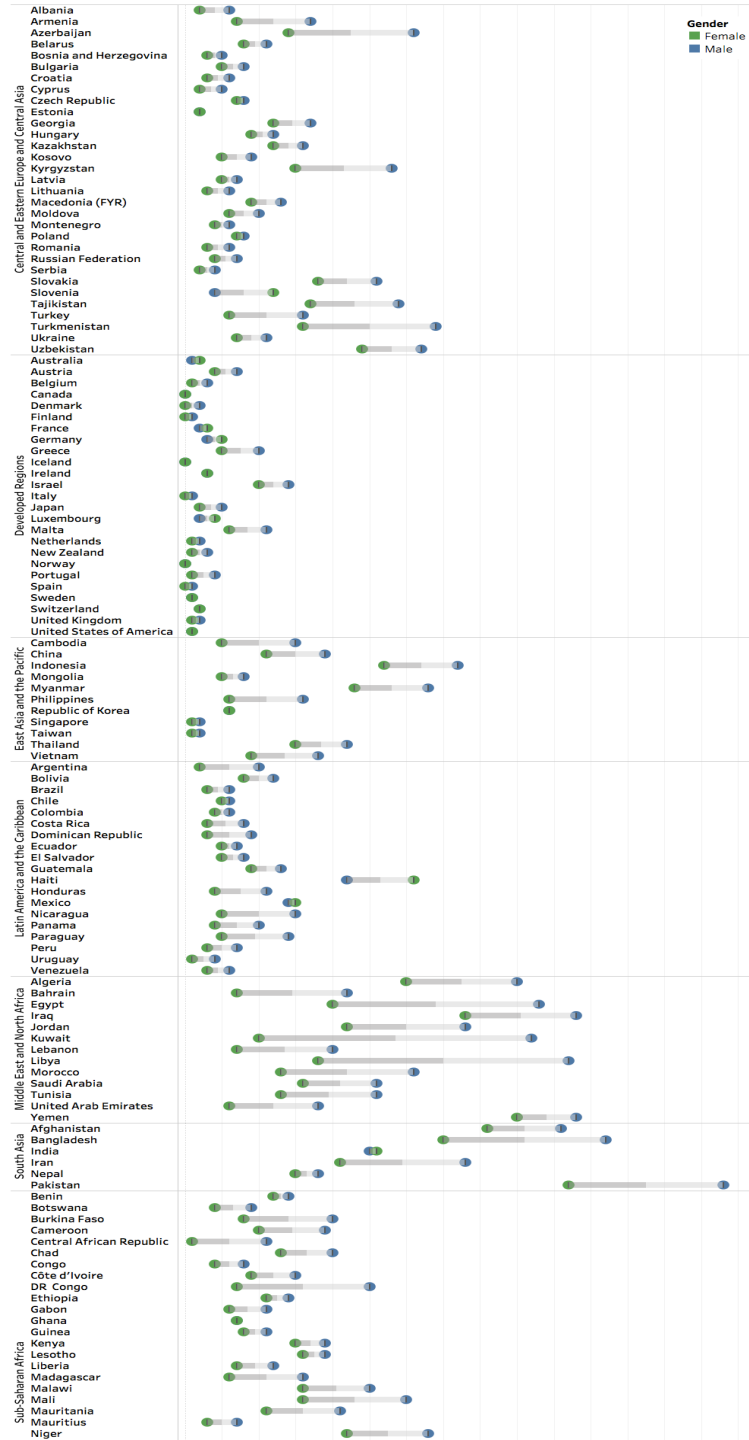


Source: Human Development Report 2015

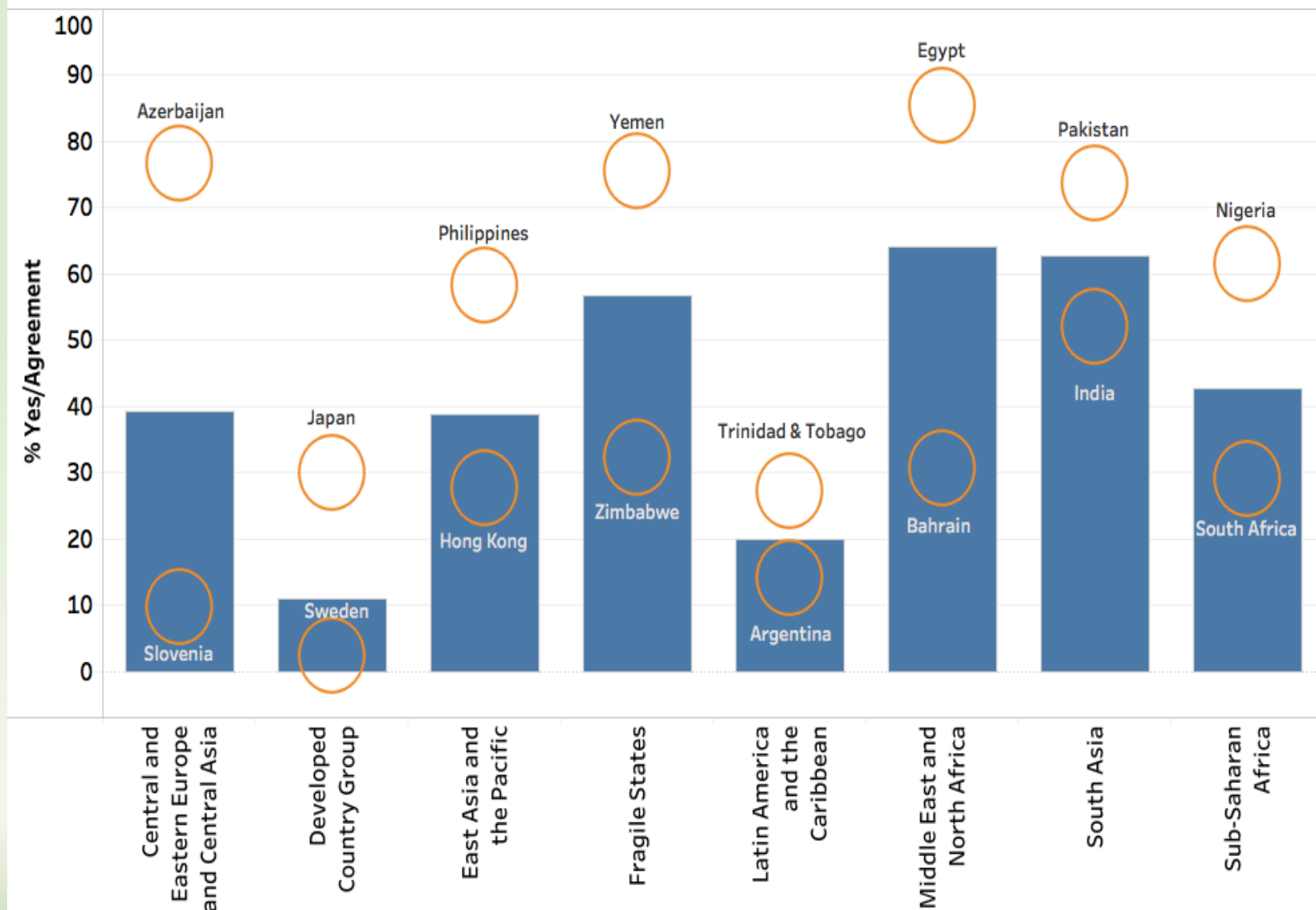
Shares of Men versus Women that Disapprove of Women Working,

Gallup World Poll/ ILO 2016

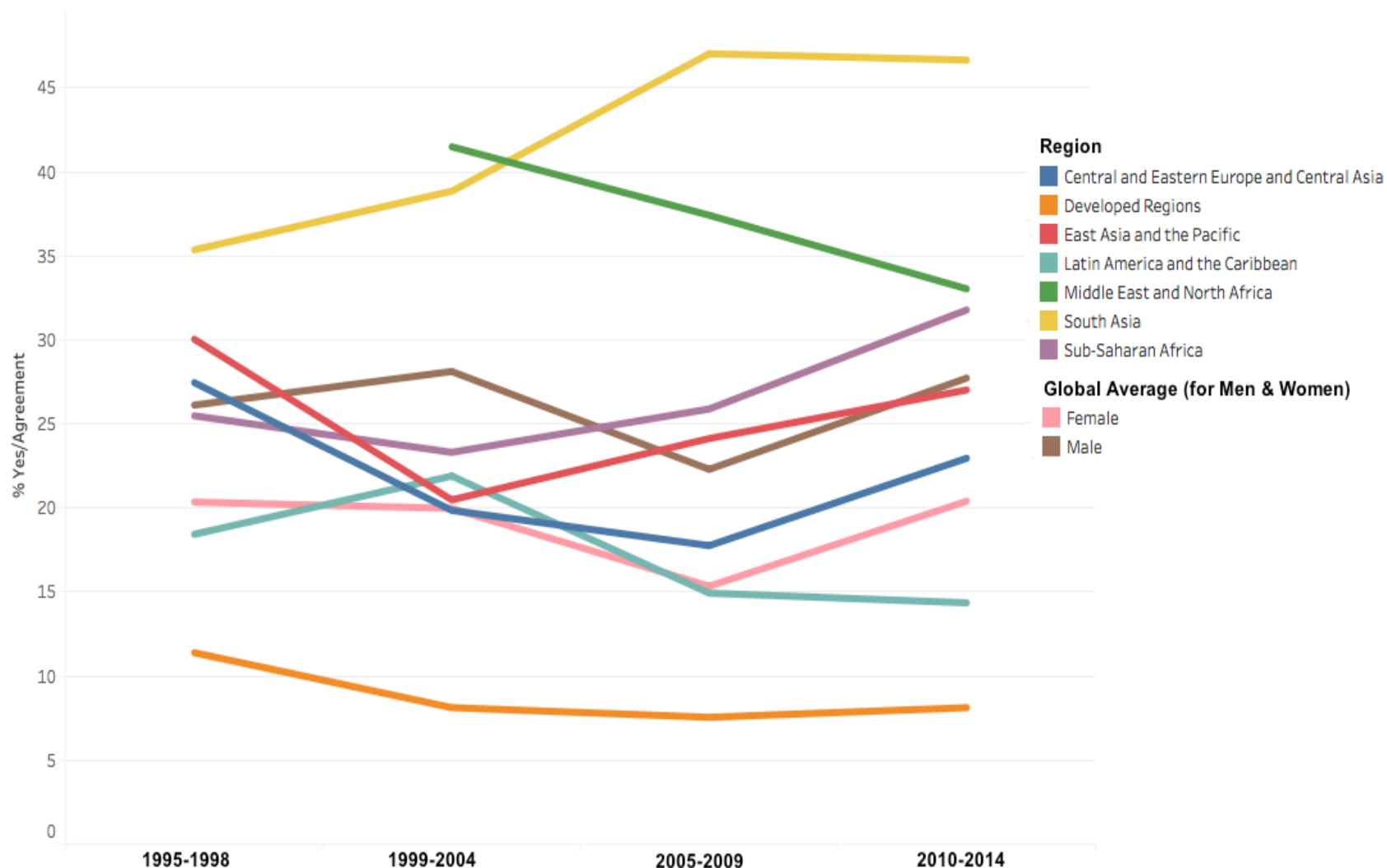
“Is it perfectly acceptable for women to work, if they want to”
Share disagreeing



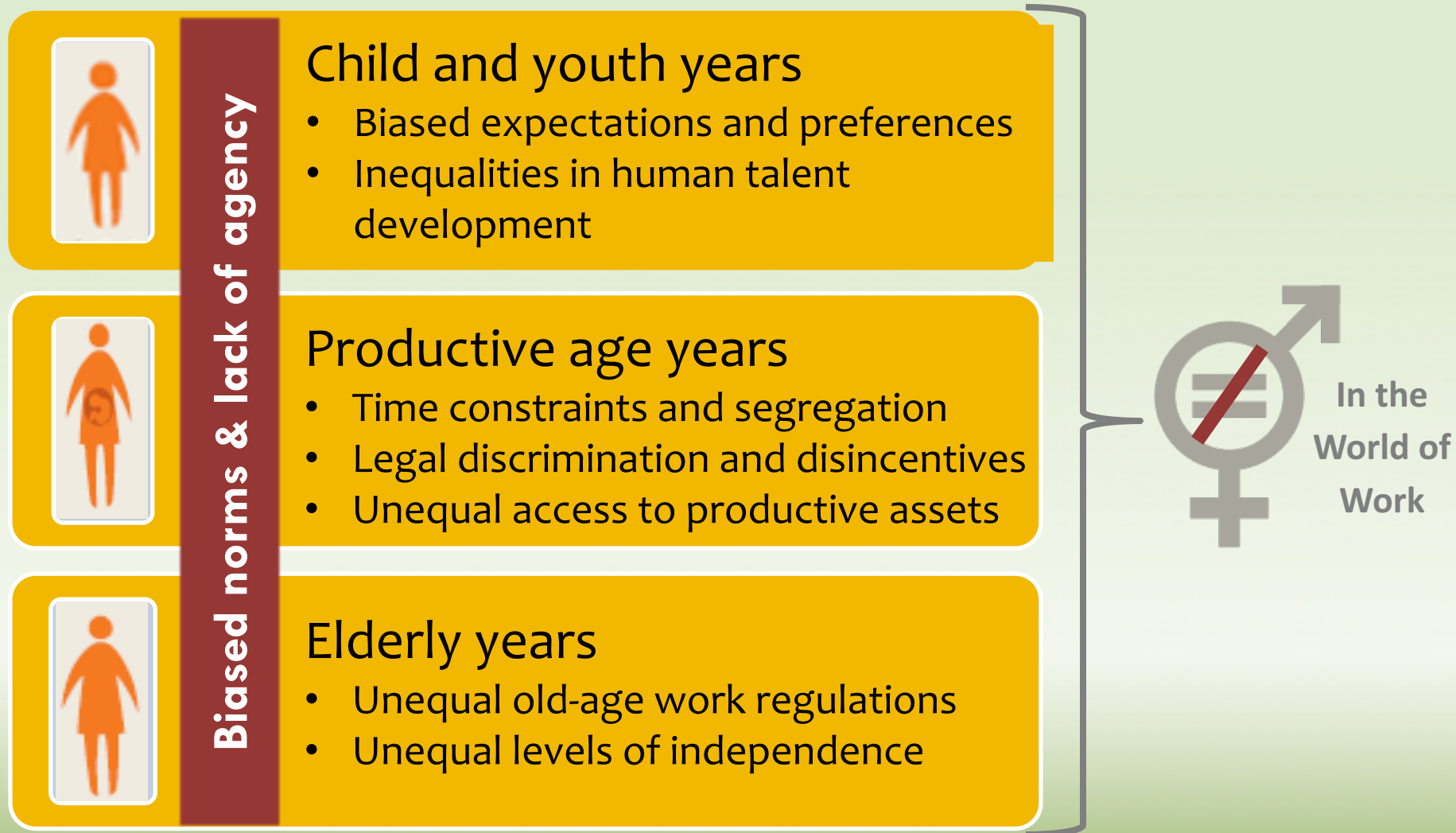
"When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women." (2010-2014)



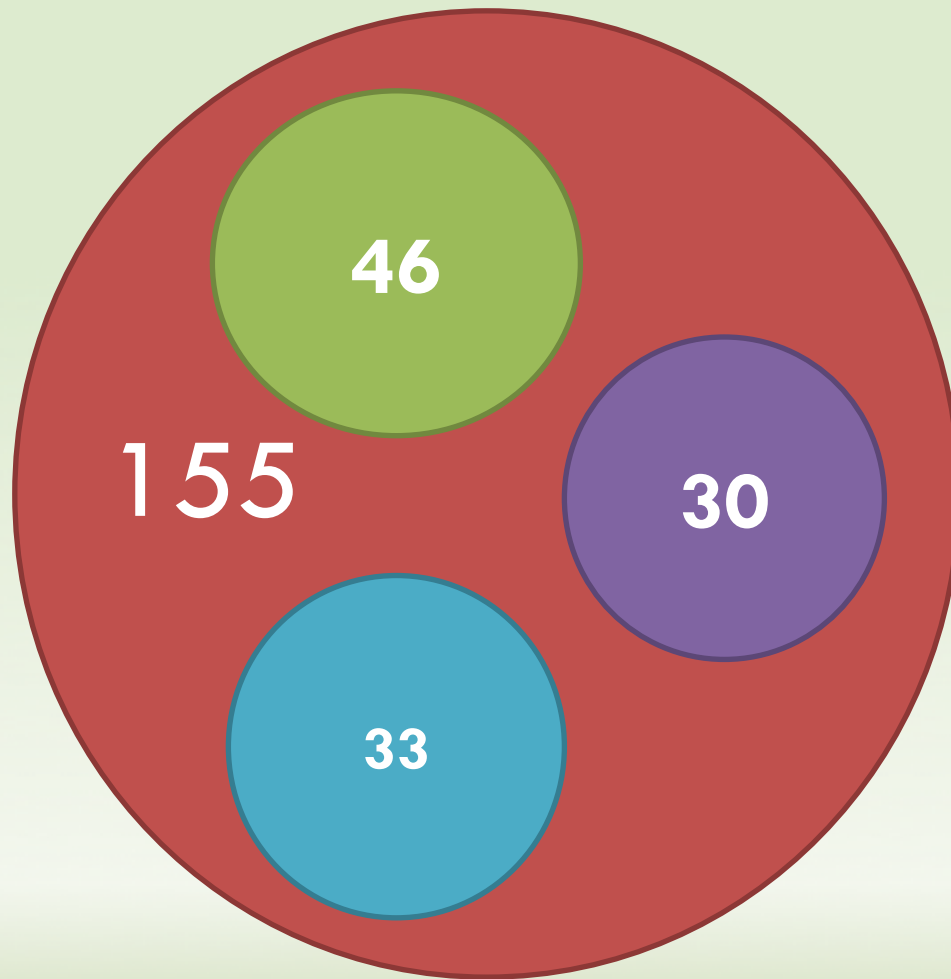
"A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl."
(Total, Gender Disaggregated & By Region)



How norms and institutions matter across the lifecycle



Norms reflected in legal discrimination



Number of countries=174

At least one legal difference between men & women

No laws on domestic violence

Restrictions on women as head of household

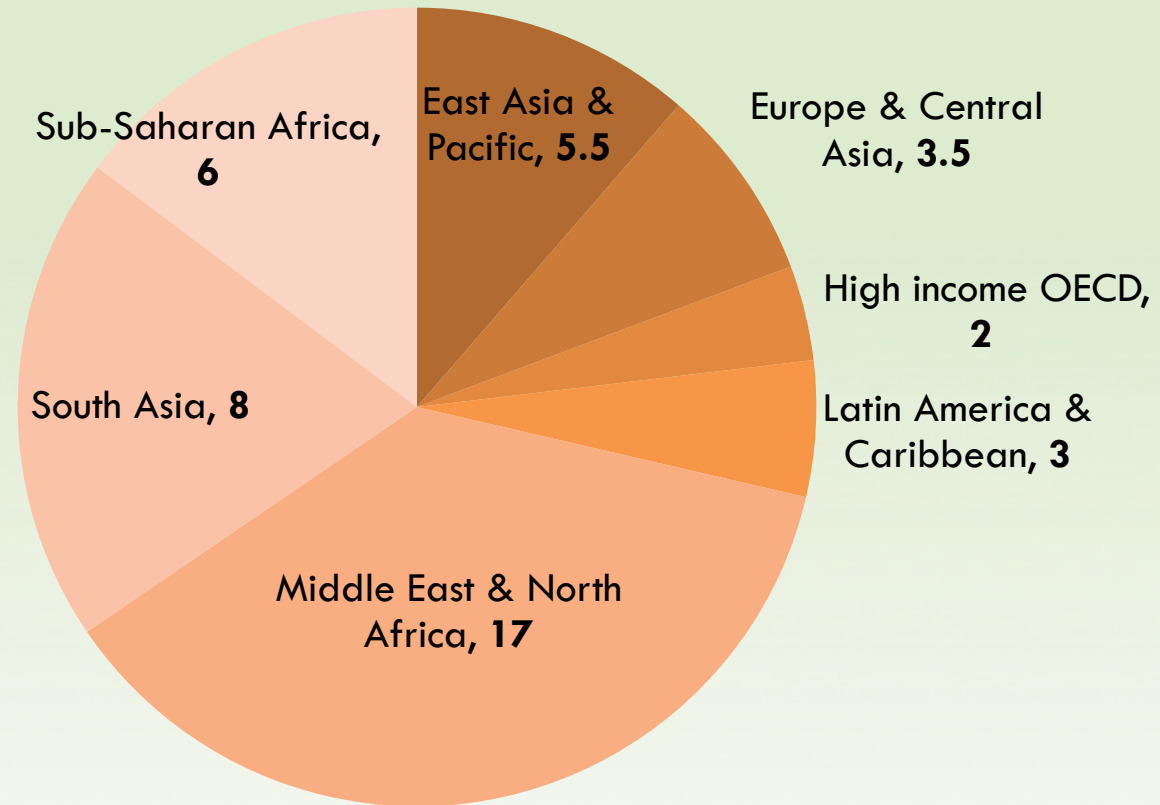
Unequal inheritance rights

Examples of laws that discriminate against women and limit their opportunities

| Action | Economies where married women cannot undertake some actions that married men can |
|--|--|
| Be head of household | Bahrain; Benin; Burundi; Cameroon; Chad; Chile; Congo, Dem. Rep.; Congo, Rep.; Djibouti; Gabon; Guinea, Honduras; Indonesia; Iran, Islamic Rep.; Iraq; Jordan; Madagascar; Mali; Mauritania; Morocco; Niger; Oman; Philippines; Rwanda; Saudi Arabia; Senegal; Sudan; Tunisia; United Arab Emirates; Yemen, Rep. (30) |
| Choose where to live | Afghanistan; Bahrain; Benin; Brunei Darussalam; Burkina Faso; Cameroon; Chad; Congo, Dem. Rep.; Congo, Rep.; Equatorial Guinea; Gabon; Guinea; Haiti; Iran, Islamic Rep.; Iraq; Jordan; Kuwait; Malaysia; Mali; Niger; Oman; Qatar; Rwanda; Saudi Arabia; Senegal; Sudan; Syrian Arab Republic; United Arab Emirates; West Bank and Gaza; Yemen, Rep. (30) |
| Apply for a passport | Afghanistan; Algeria; Bahrain; Barbados; Belize; Benin; Botswana; Cameroon; Congo, Rep.; Dominica; Egypt, Arab Rep.; Fiji; Gabon; Grenada; Haiti; Iran, Islamic Rep.; Iraq; Jordan; Malawi; Mali; Myanmar; Oman; Pakistan; Philippines; Saudi Arabia; Seychelles; St. Vincent and the Grenadines; Sudan; Trinidad and Tobago; Uganda; United Arab Emirates; Yemen, Rep. (32) |
| Confer citizenship on children | Bahamas, The; Bahrain; Barbados; Brunei Darussalam; Guinea; Iran, Islamic Rep.; Iraq; Jordan; Kuwait; Lebanon; Madagascar; Malaysia; Mauritania; Nepal; Oman; Qatar; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; Swaziland; Syrian Arab Republic, United Arab Emirates; West Bank and Gaza (22) |
| Get a job without permission | Bahrain; Bolivia; Cameroon; Chad; Congo, Dem. Rep.; Gabon; Guinea; Iran, Islamic Rep.; Jordan; Kuwait; Mauritania; Niger; Qatar; Sudan; Syrian Arab Republic; United Arab Emirates; West Bank and Gaza; Yemen, Rep. (18) |
| Obtain a national identity card | Afghanistan; Algeria; Benin; Cameroon; Egypt, Arab Rep.; Mauritius; Oman; Pakistan; Saudi Arabia; Senegal (10) |
| Travel outside the home | Afghanistan; Bahrain; Brunei Darussalam; Egypt, Arab Rep.; Iran, Islamic Rep.; Iraq; Jordan; Kuwait; Malaysia; Oman; Qatar; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; Syrian Arab Republic; United Arab Emirates; West Bank and Gaza; Yemen, Rep. (17) |
| Travel outside the country | Iran, Islamic Rep.; Iraq; Qatar; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; Syrian Arab Republic (6) |
| Open a bank account | Congo, Dem. Rep.; Niger (2) |
| Register a business | Bhutan; Congo, Dem. Rep.; Pakistan; Suriname (4) |
| Sign a contract | Congo, Dem. Rep.; Equatorial Guinea (2) |

Source: Women, Business and the Law database, 2015

Formal barriers are pervasive, but much higher in some regions



Average number of country sex-based legal differentiations by region

Source: Women, Business and the Law

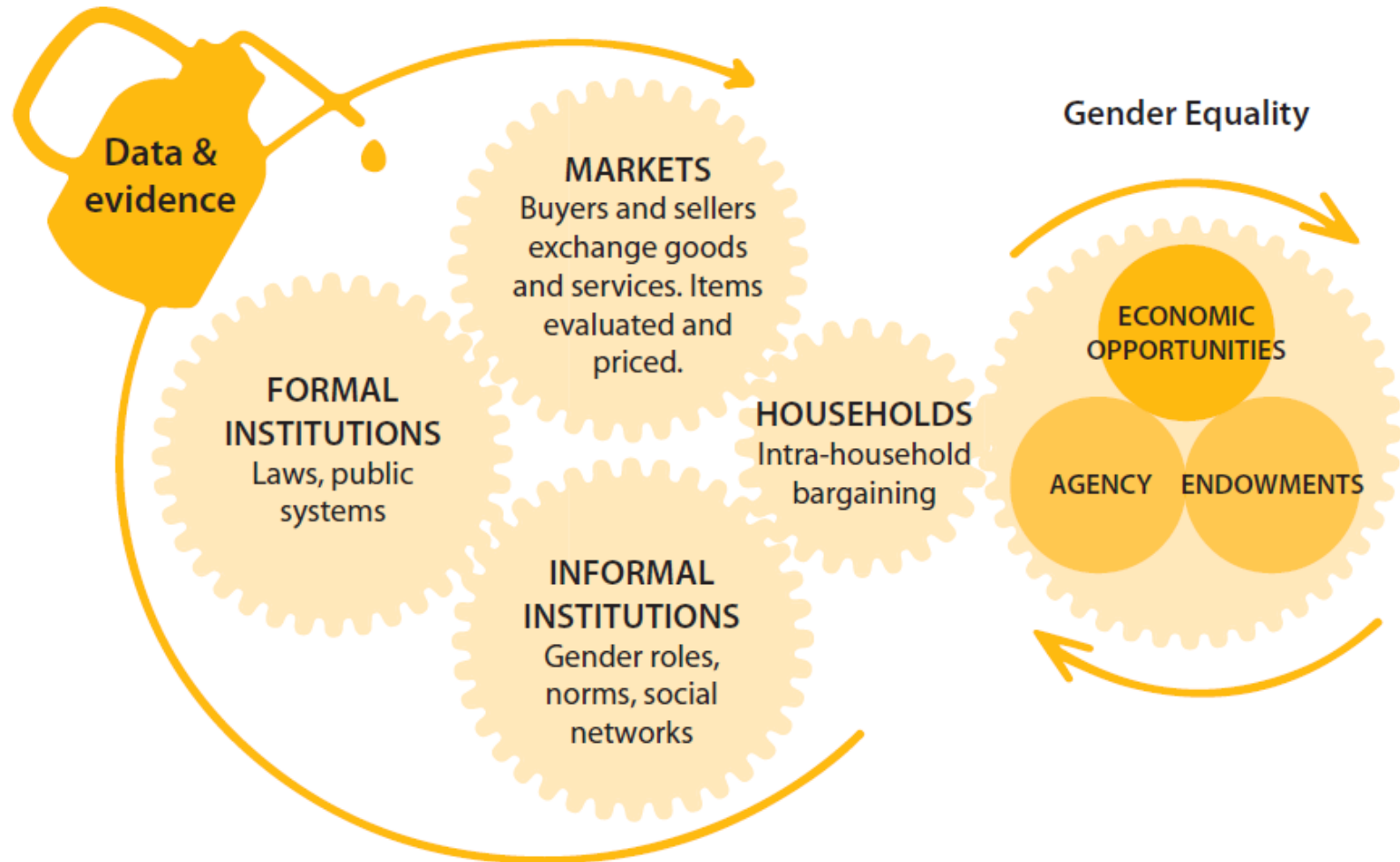
Breakout discussion

- Form small groups – 3-4 people :
 1. What are the most important types of gender inequality ?
 2. What are the most important sources of gender inequality ?

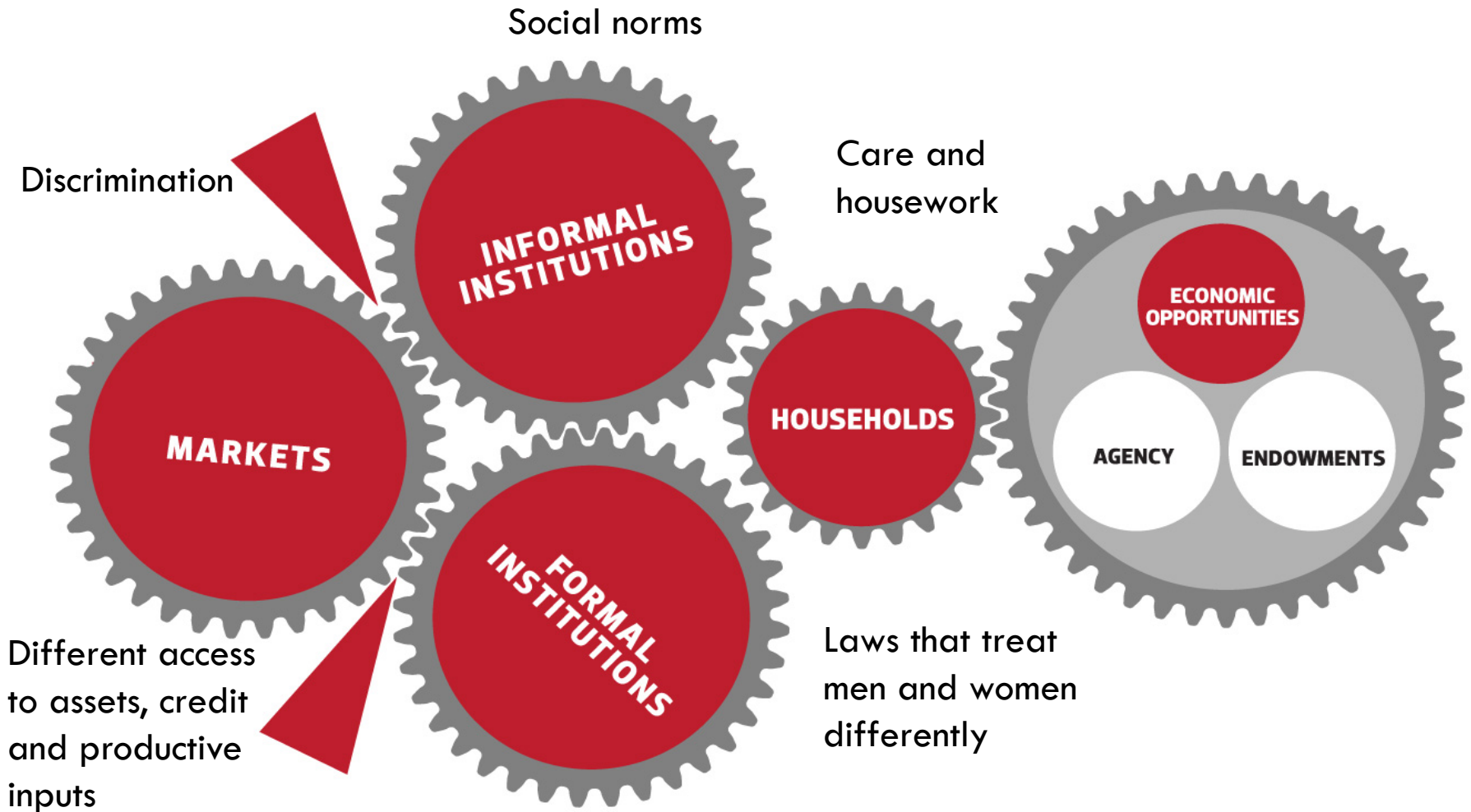
Session Outline, continued

1. A framework for thinking about drivers of gender equality and inequality
 2. Some major policy and program debates
-

A framework for understanding equality and constraints



Using the framework to understand lack of progress: Employment segregation



Some recurring debates

1. Gender equality comes with development...
Better to focus on growth
2. A matter of basic human rights, or
smart economics...
3. Need to respect local norms
4. Legal reforms cannot accelerate change
5. Mainstreaming gender vs targeted
interventions

Gender equality comes with higher incomes ...

Gender equality is a luxury that poor countries cannot afford, and in any case, more equitable outcomes will come with higher levels of income.

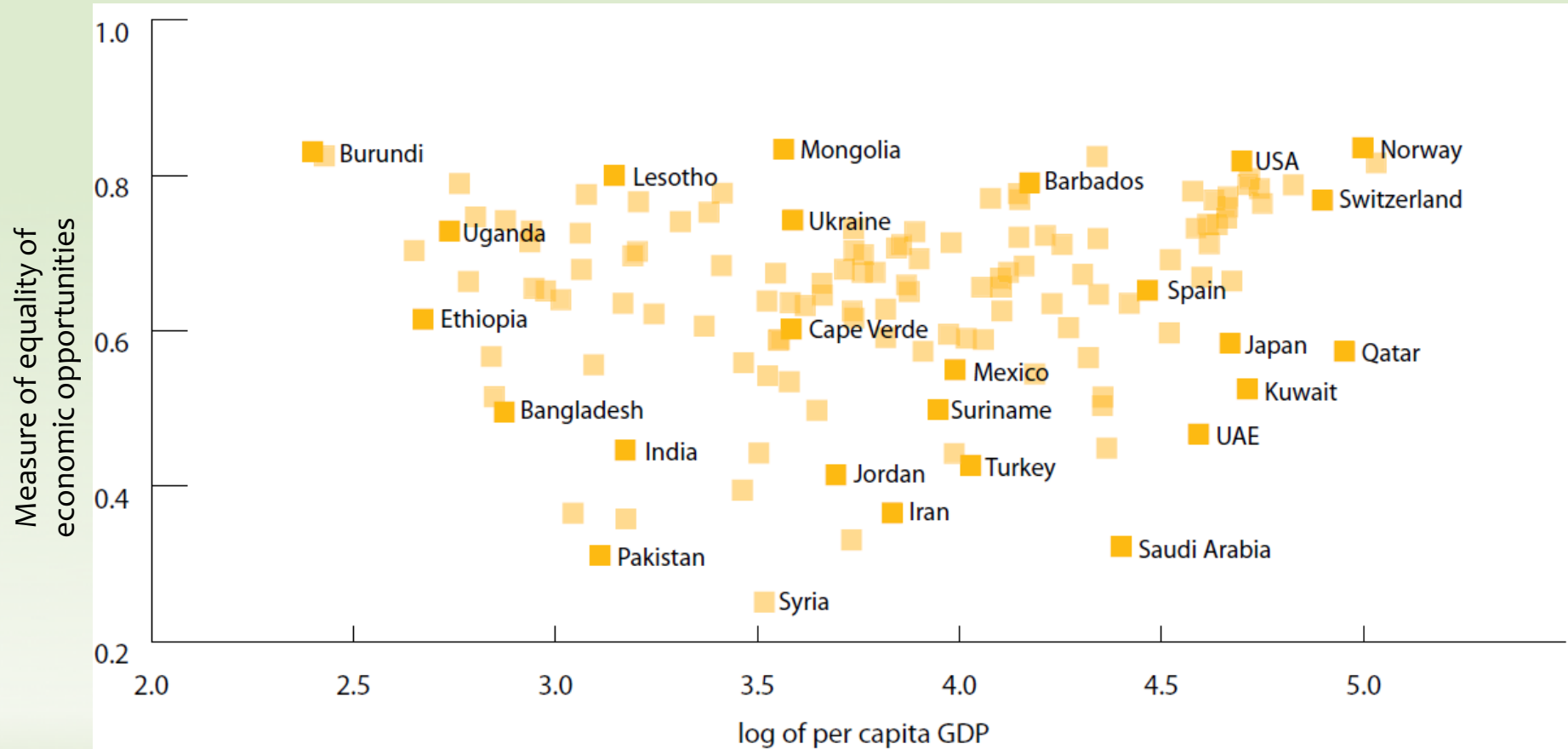
Compare, for example, Norway and Niger:

- Per capita income, PPP terms, \$63,909 and 873\$

Contrast Norway and Niger

| HDI rank | GII rank | Maternal mortality /100 000 | Teen birth rate/ 1000 | Women with at least secondary school | Female labour force participation | Share of women in parliament |
|-------------|----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 97 | 62 | 40 |
| 187/ 187 | 151/152 | 590 | 205 | 3 | 40 | 13 |

But high incomes do not guarantee gender equality



Note: WEF's measure of economic opportunities captures gaps in participation, remuneration and advancement (share of management).

Gender gaps do not disappear with high national incomes

Earnings gaps

South Korea – 37 percent; UK – 36 percent; Japan 28 percent

Gender differences in **political representation**

Qatar – 0, Kuwait – 6 percent

Japan – 11 percent

Violence – estimated lifetime prevalence

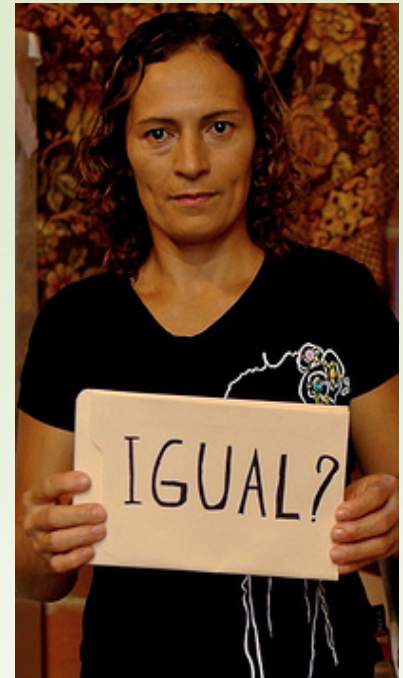
Australia – 41 percent; Czech R – 43; Denmark – 45,

Switzerland – 61 percent

Exclusion from corporate management

US: Share in top management positions below 9 percent, and on corporate boards stuck around 12 percent. Low shares in senior management in Germany (14 percent), and Switzerland (13%).

Contrast BRICS nations averaging 30%; Russia 43%



Economic growth is important, but not sufficient

Papua New Guinea

High economic growth from mining

- Averaged 7.4 % between 2008- 2012

Very high gender inequality

- Ranked 157 / 187 countries in 2014 on GII

Pervasive gender-based violence –
highest rate outside conflict country
- 70 % say they have been physically
abused by their husbands: PNG Law
Reform Commission

India

Growing challenges include:

- Strong preferences for sons -
> a quarter of a million Indian
girls missing at birth every
year
- Falling female labour force
participation

| Labour force participation rate | | Not in education, employment or training | |
|---------------------------------|------------|---|------------|
| Female level | Gender gap | Female level | Gender gap |
| 28.5 | 54 | 57.0 | 42.3 |

A matter of basic human rights, or smart economics...

Rights based: Discrimination on the basis of sex is prohibited, has intrinsic value – and is enshrined in international law.

- *Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948*
- *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1976*
- *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) -- ratified by 188 States, and obliges "to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices, which constitute discrimination against women."*

Instrumental value – gains to economic productivity and total output, benefits to families and children, improved decision-making...

- eg estimated growth impacts – 28 trillion: McKinsey Sept 2015

Need to respect local norms

Traditional local norms which favour men and boys reflect culture, and must be respected and not disrupted.

*“I was a girl in a land where rifles are fired in celebration of a son, while daughters are hidden away behind a curtain, their role in life simply to prepare food and give birth to children.”
(I Am Malala)*

Legal reforms cannot accelerate change

“Legal change without prior changes in norms is useless”

- Bangladesh - child marriage
- *Counter-examples* include
 - Violence – In countries with laws against domestic violence, women have 7% lower odds of experiencing violence – each additional year that the legislation is in place, associated with 2% reduction in prevalence
 - Use of CEDAW and constitutional rights to advocate for change
 - South Africa, Turkey...
 - panchayat quotas – Duflo et al

Effects of legal reforms on gender norms

Example of quotas -- mandates -- to increase female political representation
Risk of backlash versus value of role models and demonstration effects

In India, a 1993 constitutional amendment required states to reserve 1/3 of all village council chief posts for women. Each election cycle, 1/3 of villages are randomly selected to reserve their council chief seat for a woman → share of female village leaders rose from 5% in 1992 to over 40% in 2000.

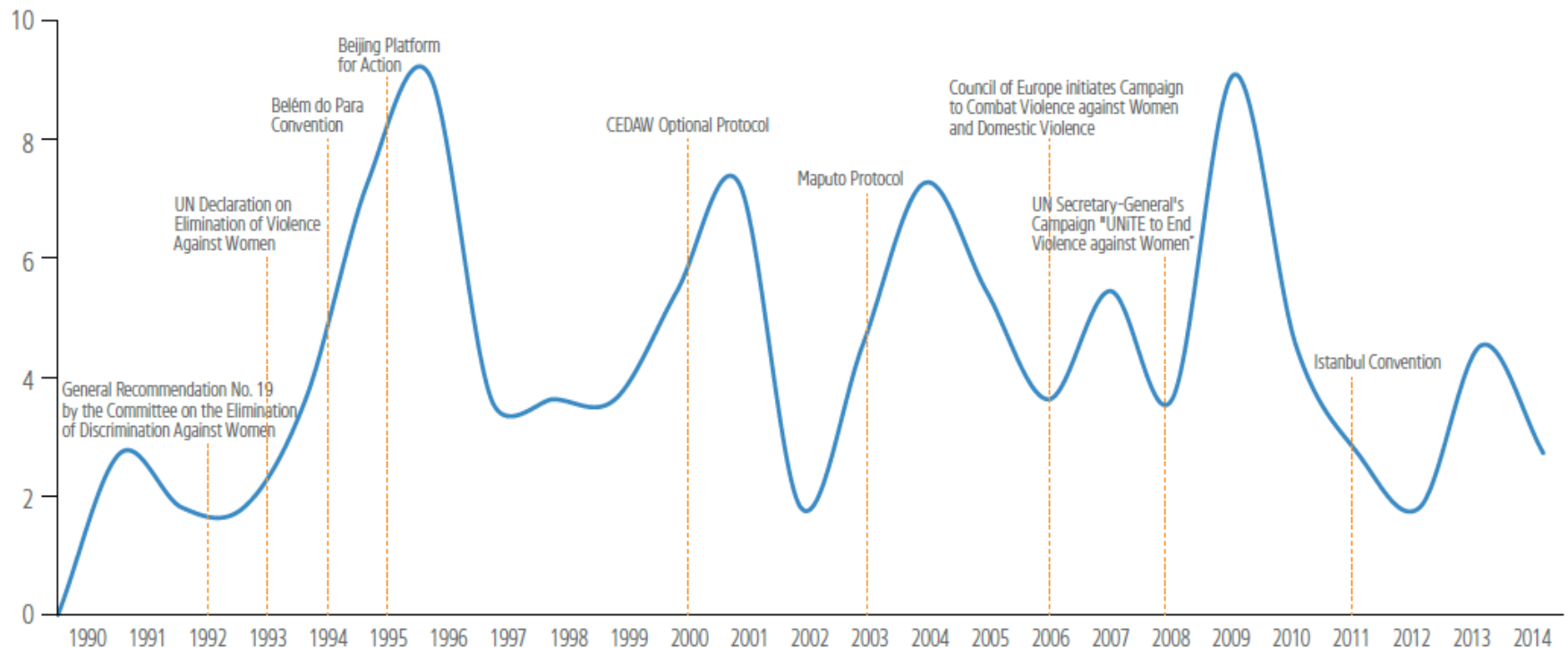
West Bengal, India – study found positive effects of introduction of quotas at the local level: improvement in voter perceptions of female leaders, followed by electoral gains for women

-> Role of public policy in addressing popular bias against women

Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?
QJE, Esther Duflo, Raghabendra Chattopadhyay,
Rohini Pande, Petia Topalova and Lori Beaman

International commitments can encourage legal reform: the case of domestic violence

In the past 25 years, the overall number of domestic violence laws has risen from close to zero to 118:



Source: *Women, Business and the Law* database.

Mainstreaming vs targeted

- Mainstreaming = “ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities - policy development, research, advocacy/ dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes and projects” UN Women
- Targeted interventions -- particularly where there are glaring gaps.

Breakout discussion

- Form different small groups – 3-4 people :
 1. Choose one of the recurring debates
 2. What are the key implications of the debate ?