

Measuring women's empowerment: participation and rights in civil, political, social, economic, and cultural domains

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The Beijing Platform for Action is a call for action to realise women's human rights and to empower women economically, politically, and culturally (UN 1996). Among its 12 critical areas of concern, one finds, *inter alia*, women's poverty, educational attainment, reproductive health and rights, employment and economic resources, political participation, violence against women, armed conflict, and women and the media. Around the world, activists and advocates are lobbying governments, building consensus within civil society, and enlisting international support for the realisation of the Platform's call for women's empowerment. Unlike the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which establishes women's rights and government obligations, the Beijing Platform for Action is not a legally binding treaty. And yet, inasmuch as it has been signed by the great majority of countries and has helped to develop a global consensus on women's rights, it retains considerable moral authority and legitimacy. It continues to motivate activists around the world while also inspiring social science research and policy initiatives.

Institutional mechanisms for women constituted one of the 12 critical areas of concern, and

a key objective identified was the development of gender-disaggregated data for planning, gender impact assessments, and gender budgeting. Consequently, new research programmes, policies, and instruments to measure aspects of women's lives were developed, along with new data bases and sources of statistical information. The latter included the celebrated UN report *The World's Women 1995: Trends and Statistics*; the UNDP's 1995 *Human Development Report*, which first

introduced the Gender and Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM); and an updated CD-ROM version of the United Nations Women's Statistics and Indicators (WISTAT) database.¹ The World Bank introduced its on-line *GenderStats*, which are gender profiles of countries with quantitative information. The UN's regional commissions produced the same, though with a focus on women and men in their regions.² Most recently, one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is to "promote gender equality and empower women". Like the seven others, Goal 3 has indicators meant to capture mea-

asurable areas of development that demonstrate progress in meeting the specified targets.

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But even before the Beijing conference, feminist social scientists were keen on developing ways of conceptualising and measuring women's legal status and social positions. They designed qualitative and quantitative measures for "the status of women" and "gender inequality". These data were used for research purposes in fields such as women in development (WID), the sociology of gender, and gender and development (GAD), and for advocacy and lobbying by activists in women's organisations. In this article, we turn the gender lens toward an examination of "gender equality", or of "women's empowerment", which was the call from Beijing. We begin on a conceptual and definitional note, and then move on to discuss various frameworks of indicators that have been introduced by feminist scholars and by international organisations. Finally, we present our own framework. We discuss the limitations as well as the advantages of our indicators, and also examine sources of data and statistics, both national and international.

Concepts and definitions

What do we mean by gender? In the social sciences, various concepts have been developed to explain structural or social inequalities based on group attributes or characteristics. Like "class" and "race", the concept of "gender" refers to a structural or social relationship in which economic, political, and cultural resources and power are distributed unequally (Lorber 1994). Gender shares some of the properties of class and race in that it is based partly on a structural relationship in the context of social production and reproduction, and partly on biological characteristics. At the same time, like class and race, gender entails internal differentiation. That is, the social category "women" is divided by class and race (just as "workers" are divided by race and gender, and "people of colour" are divided by class and gender). The complexities of class, race, and gender tend to be glossed over in many analyses. As we shall see, aggregate measures of "women's status" or of "gender inequality" cannot account for differences within the female population (and the male population). It is important to bear this in mind, even while acknowledging that in no

society are women completely equal to men (as in no society are workers equal to owners, or blacks equal to whites in a white-majority society).

The concept of gender was developed by feminist scholars, but international organisations have embraced it and adapted it to their own purposes. Researchers distinguish between sex as a biological attribute and gender as a socio-cultural relationship. Gender refers to the meanings and roles assigned to women and men, and the different resources and opportunities available to women and men. It is recognised that in most societies, men and women differ in the activities they undertake, in access to and control of resources, and in participation in decision-making. International organisations, including UN agencies, agree that gender inequalities are a brake on development as well as an impediment to women's enjoyment of rights.³

The goal, then, is gender equality, or – to use the call from the Beijing Conference – women's empowerment in all its dimensions. Since Beijing, various efforts have been made to conceptualise empowerment. Basing herself on the concept of human development, with its focus on choices and capabilities, Naila Kabeer (2001) defines empowerment as "a process of change during which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability". She distinguishes between first order or strategic, and second-order life choices. The former include choice of livelihood, where to live, whether to marry, whom to marry, whether to have children, how many children to have, freedom of movement, and choice of friends. These are critical decisions for people that determine the type of life they live or would like to live. Second-order choices determine the quality of one's life. The choices that lead to empowerment are shaped by resources, agency, and achievements.

Our conceptualisation is somewhat different though not incompatible. We define women's empowerment as a multi-dimensional process of civil, political, social, economic, and cultural participation and rights. We deliberately "frame" our gender indicators in this way because enhanced participation and rights in these domains underlie women's equal citizenship (Lister 1997, Moghadam 2003a). In addition, UNESCO's areas of competence are inspired by the major human rights instruments,

including the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Our approach, we believe, will help to give a gender-sensitive empirical content to the human rights frameworks.⁴ The advantage of our framework, and of the indicators that we have selected, is that it helps to measure, both qualitatively and quantitatively, women's *enjoyment of those rights* as well as their capacity for *participation* in key social domains such as education, employment, politics, and culture. We also feel that the framework has wide applicability and that it is comprehensive while also being manageable.

We conceptualise women's empowerment in terms of the achievement of basic capabilities, of legal rights, and of participation in key social, economic, and political domains. For groups that have been marginalised or unequal, empowerment comes about through legal reform and public policy changes, whether as a result of social movement mobilisations or state-sponsored initiatives, along with longer-term advances and social changes through socio-economic development.

Indicators describe general conditions and are usually based on statistical information on a quantifiable subject matter. Social indicators describe attributes of a population (such as those found in statistical yearbooks gleaned from census data or household surveys), while development indicators typically describe economic and social conditions for a country. Rights-based indicators differ in that they usually measure compliance by governments with the treaties they have signed, as well as enjoyment of those rights by citizens (Green 2001, Chapman 2005). In contrast to indicators, "benchmarks" are time-bound goals or targets (such as those found in the Beijing Platform for Action and the Millennium Development Goals), while "indices" are rating scales or scores based on expert knowledge and judgement (such as the indices developed and used by the *Human Development Report*). As mentioned above, most indicators are numerical, but some are not; an indicator may refer to information beyond statistics, such as whether or not a country has signed on to a particular set of international laws. International organisations now provide a wide array of sources of quantitative data for indicators, such

as the World Bank's World Development Indicators, the ILO's labour statistics, the UNDP's Human Development Report, the country profiles of the UN regional commissions, the ICFTU's data base on labour rights, and the Inter-Parliamentary Union's data base on political participation. Most of these data sets consist of statistical information, but some also provide qualitative information. (See Sources of Data at the end of this article for a complete compilation.) For any given year or country, indicators provide only a snapshot. But they also allow us to assess trends in development, in capabilities, or in rights.

In the human rights community, efforts are underway to give an empirical content to human rights, and in particular to develop indicators that will measure government obligations and citizen enjoyment of those rights (Frostell and Scheinin 2001, Green 2001). However, this field cannot be considered coherent or complete, as theoretical consensus has not been reached on some issues, certain confusion prevails, and it appears difficult to develop indicators on "cultural rights" (Chapman 2005). More progress is being made on developing indicators for "the right to education".

International law accords priority to civil and political rights, which are regarded as the "first generation" or "first dimension" of human rights. US-based institutes in particular, such as Freedom House, have long engaged in numerical and thematic reports on civil and political freedoms.⁵ Less work has been done to measure economic, social, and cultural rights, or the "second generation" of human rights.⁶ Both sets of rights, however, are important to women.⁷ We have included cultural indicators partly because of UNESCO's important activities in the cultural domain, and partly because of the ICESCR's well-founded attention to cultural rights. For example, in the 1990s efforts were made under the auspices of UNESCO and UNRISD (the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) to develop cultural indicators on development. A number of publications were produced (UNRISD and UNESCO 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d), but further conceptual work was put on hold until the UNDP's 2004 *Human Development Report*, which focused on cultural diversity and cultural rights and called for the elaboration of

appropriate indicators (UNDP 2004). More significantly, we recognise that women have been long excluded from cultural participation and decision-making. In some countries, issues of “cultural identity” have been politicised and sometimes translated into restrictive norms and codes for women (Moghadam 1994). In all societies, cultural policies and institutions influence gender norms, social identities, and women’s rights. Thus measures of women’s empowerment should include, in principle, cultural indicators, even though we recognise that consensus on definitions and measurement will be difficult to attain.

Development indicators assess the state of economic and social development in a country. Human development indicators assess the status of people’s capabilities. Human rights indicators show whether people are living in dignity and freedom, as well as state compliance. In our view, gender indicators, and especially the framework that we introduce here, combine elements of development, capabilities, and rights. They assess, broadly speaking, the social relations between women and men; the basic capabilities obtained by women; women’s enjoyment of rights; and states’ obligations to their citizens, especially to their women citizens. Gender indicators allow us to assess patterns and trends, and to determine stability and change in women’s positions. Gender indicators describe general conditions with regard to women’s development and rights that are ultimately held by individuals. Yet, in existing societies, and as mentioned at the start of this section, individuals are distinguished by the social groups in which they fall.

From “the status of women” to “gender inequality”

It has been said that women’s empowerment is difficult to measure (Kabeer 2001), but a number of models exist. In the mid-1970s, the UN’s Decade for Women was underway, the deliberations of the Commission on the Status of Women were becoming more prominent, the field of “women in development” (WID) was growing, and feminist scholars in the academy were producing research on “women’s status”. This was the context in which sociologist Janet Z. Giele devised a sixfold framework of dimen-

sions of women’s status to assess and compare the legal status and social positions of women in different societies (Giele 1977). With some updating, it remains useful and relevant, and is remarkably consistent with the spirit of the Beijing Platform for Action, even though the framework lacks attention to international standards and laws.⁸

- **Political expression:** What rights do women possess, formally and otherwise? Can they own property in their own right? Can they form independent organisations? Can they express any dissatisfaction within their own political and social movements? *How are they involved in the political process?*
- **Work and mobility:** How do women fare in the formal labour force? How mobile are they, how well are they paid, how are their jobs ranked, and what leisure do they get? *What policies exist to enable women to balance work and family?*
- **Family: formation, duration, and size:** What is the age of marriage? Do women choose their own partners? Can they divorce them? What is the status of single women and widows? Do women have freedom of movement? *Do family laws empower or disempower women?*
- **Education:** What access do women have, how much can they attain, and is the curriculum the same for them as for men? *Are separate girls’ schools adequately resourced?*
- **Health and sexual control:** What is women’s mortality, to what particular illnesses and stresses (physical and mental) are they exposed, and what control do they have over their own fertility? *What laws exist to prevent or punish violence against women?*
- **Cultural expression:** What images of women and their “place” are prevalent, and how far do these reflect or determine reality? What can women do in the cultural field?

Giele’s framework has several advantages. It asks questions about women’s status and conditions that may be applied across various types of economic, political, and cultural systems. It allows the researcher to specify and delineate changes and trends in women’s social roles in the economy, the polity, and the cultural sphere, and to assess the strengths and weaknesses of women’s positions and actions. The framework

is amenable to both quantitative and qualitative assessment. Its questions draw attention to women as actors and agents, and not just "targets" of policies. It also includes the important variable "cultural expression".⁹

As WID researchers embraced the concept of gender, the field transitioned into that of "gender and development" (GAD), and feminist social scientists began to study the ways that gender inequalities manifested themselves. In the 1990s, three GAD researchers noted that "In contrast to 'women's status', 'gender inequality' points to disparities in the distribution of women and men in the central arenas of social life" (Young *et al.* 1994: 55). They conceptualised gender inequality as "the departure from parity in the representation of women and men in key dimensions of social life". They then operationalised the gender inequality concept through a new set of social indicators of gender inequality, which they developed by using the WISTAT database. The indicators aimed to "measure disparities in the distribution of women and men in socially valued positions". Finally, they tested the newly created set of gender inequality indicators through cross-national analysis.

Young, Fort, and Danner's framework consisted of 21 social indicators of gender inequality, divided into two general groupings to reflect gender inequality within two spheres in five key dimensions of social life. The two main spheres are the human rights sphere and the social relations sphere. The human rights sphere encompasses (1) basic needs (sex ratio; infant mortality; births attended by health staff); and (2) civil rights (seats in legislative body). The social relations sphere comprises: (3) family formation (age difference in years at first marriage; total fertility rate; use of contraception); (4) education (illiteracy, age 15–24; achievement – no schooling, entered second level; enrolment, all ages – primary school, secondary school; teachers – primary school, secondary school); and (5) economic activity (labour force participation – age 15–24, all other ages; sector of economic activity, all ages – agriculture, industry, services).

In a subsequent article, published 4 years after the Beijing conference, the authors took note of the Platform's call for gender-disaggregated data to advance research on the situation of women and for purposes of policy formulation and implementation (Danner *et al.*

1999). The article discussed existing statistical resources and examined the issues surrounding them at different levels: conceptualisation, compilation, and application. Apart from its discussion of technical issues related to the collection and compilation of statistical data, the article noted the inability of existing statistical data to show social differentiations and diversities among women *within nations*, such as differences in social class, race, ethnicity, age, urban or rural residence. It is exactly these aspects, the authors wrote, that "determine the differences in women's condition and in gender relations".

Danner, Fort, and Young's articles drew attention to the importance of gender indicators as well as the shortcomings in the statistical information available. Their framework is concise and useful but perhaps not sufficiently comprehensive. Moreover, its indicators are largely measures of gender inequality (e.g., women's illiteracy) rather than of women's empowerment (e.g., mean years of schooling).

How women fare is a central element of the UNDP's human development framework. Since 1995, the UNDP's *Human Development Report*, the Human Development Index (HDI) of which ranks countries according to such measures as life expectancy, per capita income, and literacy, has also ranked countries according to gender measures. The Gender Development Index (GDI) corrects the HDI for gender inequalities, and it measures life expectancy, literacy, combined enrolments at the first, second, and tertiary levels, and earned income. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) is even more specific and ranks countries by women's access to political power and economic resources through measures such as the female share of parliamentary seats, women's share of managerial and administrative jobs, the female share of professional and technical workers, and women's GDP per capita, or share of earned income. The GDI and the GEM are complementary; the first is a composite index that corrects for the Human Development Index (HDI) by taking into account gender equality or inequality, while the GEM is a composite index measuring gender inequality in three basic dimensions of empowerment: economic participation and decision-making, political participation and decision-making, and power over economic resources.

The concept of human development and its constituent elements builds on Amartya Sen's conceptualisation of "capabilities", or the components of a person's ability to follow a life that he/she values. Feminists have been largely receptive to the human development framework (Kabeer 1999, 2001), but some have been critical (see, for example, Walby's discussion in this issue). We view the UNDP's measures and components as relevant and useful, with wide applicability, even though there are many gaps in coverage, especially for the developing countries. It is particularly gratifying to see an international data set with indicators on sexual assault and on gender, work burden, and time allocation.¹⁰ Our own criticism is that the indices serve a limited purpose, and could be flawed. An index is a kind of score, useful for ranking purposes, or "naming and shaming" (as with Freedom House's purported index of political freedom). But sometimes the ranking is counter-intuitive – how, for example, can Tunisia be ranked below Saudi Arabia on the GDI? Or, for that matter, how is it that Saudi Arabia's GDI ranking is higher than that of Iran?¹¹

Young *et al.*'s observation about aggregate data and social grouping leads to another criticism. By focusing on similarities and differences between women and men (the social relations of gender), the indicators do not measure differences within the female population (differences based on class or race/ethnicity). The indicators in the *Human Development Reports* database – as in all data sets – are presented in the form of aggregate figures, or averages. In principle the indicators could be used to measure differences among women across rural and urban settings, working class versus middle class, majority vs. minority ethnicity – if such surveys were done. Presumably, the national human development reports should be able to provide such disaggregated information.

MDG indicators: gender limitations

The targets and indicators of the Millennium Development Goals are acclaimed as an international consensus on global development goals. Studies carried out within this framework show that a failure to meet the goal of gender

equality in education leads to economic growth losses (Abu-Ghaida and Klasen 2003). And yet, the indicators for the MDGs do not contribute to the definition or measurement of women's empowerment. For example, the MDG indicators for Goal 1, eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, are not designed in a gender-sensitive way (UNIFEM 2002: 60). Nor are there specific targets and indicators for reproductive health, which in any case is subsumed under Goal 5 (maternal mortality). In fact, with respect to women's empowerment, the MDGs focus on achieving parity in education, which is Goal 3 (UNDP 2003: 22). The indicators of progress towards reducing gender disparities in education deal with literacy rates among young people; enrolment ratios at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels; share of women in wage employment in the non-agriculture sector; and the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments. This falls far short of the Beijing Platform for Action's 12 areas of critical concern, with their many objectives and indicators (ESCAP 2003). Under education alone, for example, there are six objectives and 17 indicators in the Platform. Feminists further argue that the MDGs also ignore issues at the heart of development, such as women's unpaid care work, conflict, human security, and reproductive and sexual rights (Painter 2004). Some object to the MDG linkage between gender and a growth-driven approach to development (Kabeer 1999).

Achieving parity and progress in education is of course a valuable goal, for reasons both of development and human rights. But there has been a tendency to focus on primary education or basic education, whether on the part of the World Bank or of UNESCO. There are many reasons why the focus should be on increasing secondary school enrolments, especially among girls. These include an increase in the age of marriage and fertility reduction, greater probability of gainful employment among women, and poverty reduction. Another limitation is that there is no indicator to measure the quality of education or of sex-segregated schools. These are points also made by Katarina Tomasevski, former UN rapporteur on the right to education. In criticising the common trend to focus on primary education, Tomasevski correctly argues that if children attend school only for 3 or 4

years, they face the risk of later sliding back into illiteracy. She also recognises that “girls are affected [by poverty] differently from boys, [and] rarely prioritised when educational resources are scarce” (Tomasevski 2004: 24). If the school is the most important institution for the socialisation of children, she adds, then segregated schooling creates fragmented societies. Certainly Tomasevski is correct in noting the importance of including the quality of education and especially the relative quality of sex-segregated schools as among the important indicators of the right to education.

On cultural indicators

If efforts are underway in the human rights and development communities to operationalise cultural rights or cultural indicators of development, women's cultural rights have yet to be theorised, let alone operationalised. Culture is difficult to measure because of its wide definition and its variability. We recognise the difficulty in defining, conceptualising, and measuring cultural rights, but we would argue that at a minimum, gender indicators should include the important area of women's access to and participation in cultural institutions and decision-making. One UNESCO database, contained in the *World Culture Report* (discontinued in 2000), included cultural indicators and some relevant gender-disaggregated data. They were, however, limited in scope.

What are “cultural rights”? References to the right to participate in cultural life and pursue cultural development appear in the Charter of the United Nations, the UNESCO Constitution, CEDAW, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, among others (Chapman 2005). According to Symonides (2000: 182): “A step forward in the development of the concept of cultural rights was made in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which, in article 15, provides that the States Parties to the present Covenant recognise the right of everyone to: (a) to take part in cultural life; (b) to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications; and (c) to benefit from the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of

which he is the author. The steps include those necessary for the conservation, the development, and the diffusion of science and culture. The ICESCR also stipulates that the States Parties should respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity, while also supporting the encouragement and development of international contacts and cooperation in the scientific and cultural fields.”

The website of the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (www.uis.unesco.org), informs users of the Institute's activities in four areas: (i) education; (ii) literacy; (iii) culture and communication; and (iv) science and technology. However, the website has very little qualitative discussion on gender indicators. In the area of culture and communication, the most recent statistics collected by UIS cover the period 1997–2000 and are in the following areas: press; libraries of institutions of tertiary education; national, other major non-specialised libraries and public libraries; book production; films and cinemas; museums and related institutions; and broadcasting. The UIS programme in the area of culture and communication has been under review, and as of February 2005 the new databank had not yet been posted. Moreover, the UIS has been re-launching its international surveys, including those on the press. A questionnaire on radio and television broadcasting contains seven questions, of which one is sex-disaggregated: number of broadcasting personnel for radio and for television. Again, as of February 2005, sex-disaggregated data on the media had not been posted on-line.

UNESCO's cultural indicators have to do in part with access to and participation in ICTs and the media. During the December 2003 World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), the UIS co-organised a workshop entitled “Monitoring the Information Society: Data, Measurements and Methods”. The co-organisers produced a report entitled “Gender Issues in ICT Statistics and Indicators, with Particular Emphasis on Developing Countries”, which provides an overview of the gender-based digital divide and suggestions for new gender indicators. These include female/male differentials in use of (i) the Internet; (ii) radio; (iii) television; information about female/male employees in new employment opportunities in (iv) e-commerce; (v) communications business; (vi)

telework; (vii) female/male participation in telecommunication and ICT decision making; (viii) telecommunication and ICT policies that include or not gender issues; (ix) participation of women in science and technology education;¹² and (x) differences in the kinds of material on the Internet that men and women access. Finally, UNESCO's *World Education Report* (the last of which appeared in 2000) and the 2003/4 *Global Monitoring Report* contain data on distribution of students by field of study and female share in each field, including science.

Data limitations

As we have seen, there exist many useful data sets and several fine frameworks. But measuring women's empowerment runs into problems of data deficiencies as well as issues of conceptualisation. We lack data on intra-household or intra-family dynamics, including relative distribution of and control over income, and issues of control over sexuality and fertility. We continue to lack adequate data on women's poverty; we can determine income levels of male-headed versus female-headed households, but not the relative poverty of men and women within households. Our knowledge of women's poverty is limited by the fact that household surveys do not seek information about individual economic activities and incomes, or about the division of household labour. Nor do they ask questions about control over income and patterns of distribution and expenditure (Moghadam 1997). The World Bank's recent series of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers are an improvement over earlier surveys, but they do not succeed in capturing intra-household dynamics. Some have complained that there are no indicators of empowerment that focus on freedom from violence and couple negotiations regarding sex (Malhotra *et al.* 2002). This is mainly because the surveys from which the data derive treat households as holistic and integrated units rather than as sites of conflict as well as cooperation. This limits our understanding of women's capabilities, especially as they manifest themselves in families and households.¹³

At the Beijing +10 deliberations, a high-level panel discussion of indicators and statistics noted that, among other things, sex-segregated

data on migration remained limited; data collection on trafficking was difficult; countries lacked a uniform or consistent system of data collection on violence against women; gender-sensitive methods were needed to track poverty; and because the Beijing Conference "was not completely reflected in the MDGs", an inter-agency UN subgroup had been formed to focus on gender indicators.¹⁴ Indeed, if gender indicators were to conform to the Platform's 12 critical areas of concern, they would be designed in such a way as to capture gender dynamics and relations at macro, meso, and micro levels (that is, at the level of policy outcomes as well as household decision-making), while also being comparable across countries, developing and developed alike.

In the meantime, data collection methods need to improve and countries need to provide more extensive quantitative information on gendered participation across various domains. Many international data sets lack sex-disaggregated data on important indicators, and there are far too many blank cells for many developing countries.

Measuring women's empowerment: participation and rights

We now turn to our own framework, with its seven domains of women's capabilities, participation, and rights, and its 44 indicators (including nine on legal instruments) largely inspired by the call from Beijing. What we present are not development goals per se, such as the MDGs, but a framework that is consistent with development goals, especially those that measure social development or human development. Nor does our framework focus on assessing "government obligation" as with human rights indicators. Yet what is implicit in our framework is "the political will of a state or the fulfilment of the principle of non-discrimination" (Green 2001: 1079). Because our framework includes non-quantitative information, specifically, references to adoption of international women's rights instruments, it provides information on the willingness and capacity of governments with regard to women's rights. As such, our framework includes development, human development, and rights-based indicators, starting



The nine women Ministers in the 18-member Finnish cabinet, 17 April 2003. Prime Minister Anneli Jaatteenmaki is in the centre of the front row. AFP/Jaakko Avikainen.

with basic indicators and moving to more complex ones. The framework measures women's empowerment across key domains and as such is an assessment of women's participation (referring to an active social condition), rights (referring to a formal, legal condition), and capabilities (preconditions for the enjoyment of rights and enhancement of participation).

In addition to indicators that rely on statistical data, we present thematic indicators, consisting of international legal instruments for women's rights. These say something about government obligations and public policies for women. Included are indicators on the year of ratification, and whether there are reservations, of the following legal frames: the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (adopted; with or without reservations and interpretative statements); the ICESCR; the ICCPR; two UNESCO Conventions; and three ILO Conventions.

For each of our seven sets of indicators there could be a host of more specific ones. Participation and rights in education, for example, could include additional indicators such as (i) access to specialised training programmes (vocational, technical, and professional) at the secondary level and above, by sex; (ii) per cent of women/men graduating in the fields of law/sciences/medicine; (iii) female/male completion rates at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels; (iv) per cent of female/male teachers at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels; (v) per cent of female to male school principals and university heads of departments. One could imagine many more indicators on women's economic participation and rights, as well.

Although our framework does not conform exactly to the 12 critical areas of concern of the Beijing Platform for Action, it is certainly compatible with the document's spirit and overall objectives. It also is consistent with the spirit and objectives of CEDAW.

Socio-demographic indicators

While at first glance these provide basic population data, these indicators in fact suggest some necessary preconditions for women's participation and rights, such as average age at first marriage, adolescent marriage, per cent married,

fertility, and sex ratio. A high proportion of married adolescent girls shows limited life options, while an imbalanced sex ratio (that is, a larger male population) is indicative of low female status. As such, this set of indicators may be regarded as referring to basic capabilities.¹⁵

Bodily integrity and health

Proceeding from the first set of indicators, this set reflects feminist concerns about women's control over their body, and ending violence against women. These have been critical issues in the international women's movement since at least the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, as well as the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. These indicators refer to the protection of the individual woman's right to life, physical integrity, privacy, and dignity – or constituent elements of women's civil rights.¹⁶ With the indicators that we have chosen, we would want to see low figures for all but one – contraceptive prevalence rate.

Literacy and educational attainment

In development circles and the human rights community, and among feminist researchers, literacy and educational attainment rates are considered a necessary condition for, respectively, economic development and growth, citizen rights, and women's life-options. Literacy and education are central to international agreements such as Education for All and the MDGs. However, many feminists are not satisfied with the achievement of primary education, given that low educational attainment for girls correlates with early marriage and childbearing, along with limited life-options. For this reason we emphasise secondary school enrolments as well as mean years of schooling. Progress toward women's empowerment is achieved by high figures in these indicators.

Economic participation and rights

Many feminists regard this domain as necessary to women's autonomy and empowerment. In particular, access to salaried employment with benefits, especially paid maternity leave, is of special concern to women. Among other things, paid employment lessens a woman's economic

dependence on male kin and the spouse, and it offers her an exit option in, for example, violent domestic circumstances. Research on the Middle East has shown that employed women tend to have fewer children (Moghadam 2003b: ch. 4), and earned income by women invariably contributes to the household budget. We recognise that an increase in the labour force participation rate per se does not necessarily have positive connotations; it could be the result of rising economic pressures, inequalities, or poverty in a given place and time. We also are aware that the activity rate is a limited statistic because it undercounts household labour, the urban informal sector, and women's agricultural labour. This is why the other indicators in this set are important. The length of paid maternity leave, in particular, suggests an environment conducive to a woman worker's capacity to balance work and family life, and to receive valorised recognition for her reproductive labour. (We propose that its cultural complement is the existence of paternity leave, to be discussed below.)

Political participation and rights

Enhancing women's participation in formal political structures has become a major area of feminist collective action and a key objective of women's organisations around the world. Many feminist scholars and activists have been calling for the establishment of gender-based quotas to enable women to be elected or appointed to political office, and these have been established in some countries. In future versions of this framework, an indicator on existence and type of political quota could be included. It should be noted, though, that international data sets do not take into account women's participation in local or community politics, which is where women tend to be more active in many parts of the world, and where their presence often makes a marked difference. Whether at the local or national level, for women to attain empowerment, participation, and rights in the formal political sphere are key indicators.

Cultural participation and rights

As has been discussed above, this is the most difficult arena to measure. Defining culture is hard enough. But how to measure women's cultural

participation, and rights? We are aware that our set of indicators may need refinement. We have been careful to avoid feminist concerns about "group rights" (usually understood as minority or ethnic rights) by conceptualising cultural participation and rights in terms of *women's* rights to participate in, define, and enjoy cultural practices, institutions, and products. We have included some indicators on cultural expression, especially in the arts, as well as one referring to technology. We have included women-owned and controlled media (e.g., newspapers, magazines, publishing houses, radio programmes) because we feel that these could influence popular images and representations of women. And we include "number of women's NGOs" because this is an obvious area of women's participation, and because many women's organisations are advocates for women's empowerment.

Earlier we discussed the importance of paid maternity leave for women's economic participation and rights, and for overall empowerment. Here we introduce *paternity leave* as a cultural indicator. We would argue that the presence of paternity leaves suggests cultural changes in gender relations and enhances women's capacity to enjoy their civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural rights.

We are aware that such indicators are not readily available in the international data sets. For this last set of indicators, the quantitative information are best obtained from national sources, including statistical yearbooks or census summaries, the reports of various ministries, and even some women's studies departments and their websites.¹⁷

Conclusions and recommendations

The framework presented here echoes the post-Beijing conceptual shift from the focus on "the status of women" and "gender inequality" to the objectives of "gender equality" and "women's empowerment". We have defined women's empowerment as a multi-dimensional process of achieving basic capabilities, legal rights, and participation in key social, economic, political and cultural domains, and we have offered a set of 44 indicators for its measurement (Table 1). We feel

TABLE 1. Social indicators of women's empowerment: measuring women's participation and rights in civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural domains

*Socio-demographic indicators*¹⁸

Life expectancy at birth (years, female/male)
 Sex ratio (female/male)
 Average female age at first marriage
 Adolescent marriage (% of female in age group 15–19 ever married)
 Number of births to 1,000 women (age 15–19)
 Total fertility rate (births per woman)

*Bodily integrity and health*¹⁹

Maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births)
 Child mortality rate (% age 0–5, female/male)
 Contraceptive prevalence (% married women)
 Female genital mutilation prevalence (%)
 People HIV infected (% female among adults)
 Sexual abuse of women (% total population)
 Physical abuse against women by an intimate partner (% of adult women who have been physically assaulted by an intimate partner, in past 12 month, ever in any relationship)

*Literacy and educational attainment*²⁰

Youth literacy rates (% ages 15–24, female/male)
 Adult literacy rates (% ages 15+ and over, female/male)
 School life expectancy (expected number of years of formal schooling, female/male)
 Net secondary school enrolment (% female/male)
 Tertiary enrolment rates, gross enrolment ration (% female/male)

*Economic participation and rights*²¹

Adult labour force participation rate (female/male)
 Female share of paid labour force
 Unemployment rate (% female/male)
 Estimated earned income
 Female professional and technical workers (as % of total)
 Length, amount, and source of paid maternity leave

*Political participation and rights*²²

Seats in parliament in Single or Lower chamber (% female)
 Seats in government at ministerial level (% female)
 Seats in government at sub ministerial level (% female)
 Female legislators, senior officials and managers (as % total)

*Cultural participation and rights*²³

Access to computers, internet (% female/male)
 Print and electronic media (number of existing feminist resources)
 Number of women's NGOs
 Tertiary students in fine arts and humanities (as % of all tertiary students female/male)
 Existence of paternity leaves (Yes/No)
 Museum staff (% female)
 Ministry of Culture decision-making staff (% female)

Ratification of international legal frames for women's rights

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 1979 + Optional Protocol, 1999 (year of ratification; ratification with or without reservations)²⁴
 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995
 (adopted; with or without reservations and interpretative statements)²⁵
 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), 1966 (year of ratification; with or without reservations)²⁶
 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 1966 (year of ratification; with or without reservations)²⁷
 UNESCO Conventions:²⁸
 Discrimination in education, 1960 (year of ratification, acceptance)
 Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, 1984 (year of ratification; with or without reservations)
 ILO Conventions:²⁹
 Discrimination in employment/occupation, 1958
 Equal remuneration for men and women for equal work, 1951
 Freedom of association and right to organise, 1948 (year of ratification).

that these indicators are useful in that they enable a researcher to ascertain the extent to which women's empowerment has been achieved and gender inequalities minimized – or, conversely, the challenges that remain for the achievement of women's equal participation and rights. At the same time, we have been careful to note that gender comparisons alone are not sufficient measures of social inequalities; aggregate data and statistical averages do not reveal anything about within-group inequalities. We could, however, isolate one or two key indicators from each of the sets of quantitative indicators in our framework to be able to determine within-group differences. These could be the indicators on: adolescent marriage; sexual abuse of women; net secondary school enrolment; estimated earned income; female legislators; and access to computers and the Internet. For feminist social scientists, it is as important to determine women's participation and rights across social groups as it is to understand women's access and rights in relation to men's access and rights.

Our paper also has reiterated the persistent problem of data deficiencies and limitations, which limit our ability to capture household dynamics, fully understand societal patterns and

trends, and make accurate comparisons over time and space. Feminists have pointed out that available data sets do not measure women's informal work or labour within the family and community (such as subsistence production, housework, child care, elder care, and other non-market activities). Nor are indicators on violence against women readily available. International data sets such as the UNDP's *Human Development Report* include some of this information, though largely for the developed countries. The indicators that we have identified to measure women's cultural participation and rights are largely unavailable from international data sets. This can be seen from the empty cells in Appendix 2, which applies the framework to three of the countries included in our work plan at UNESCO. An advance would be for the UN regional commissions to try to obtain such data for the countries in their respective region and include it in their own data sets. Timely, accurate, and comparable data will allow for better assessments of the extent to which the broad policy objectives of the Beijing Platform for Action have been realised, and women's empowerment across diverse domains has been achieved.

Notes

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1. The WISTAT database was first introduced in 1988 and was contained in a large number of diskettes. Version 3 appeared on CD-ROM in 1995. *The World's Women* was placed on the Internet after its second, 2000 edition, and is updated every 2 years.

2. For example, the UN's Economic and Social Commission for West Asia (ESCWA) produced a 1995 version on Arab women, which subsequently was improved and updated to include comprehensive quantitative

information on women and men by country.

3. See, for example, the definition used by OECD/DAC: "The term *gender* refers to the economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female. In most societies, women as a group have less access than men to resources, opportunities and decision-making. These inequalities are a constraint to development because they limit the ability of women to develop and exercise their full capabilities, for their own benefit and for that of society as a whole. The nature of gender definitions (what means to be male or female) and patterns of

inequality vary among cultures and change over time." Gender equality is defined as "equal enjoyment by women and men of socially valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards", which requires "changes in institutional practices and social relations through which disparities are reinforced and sustained" as well as "a strong voice for women in shaping their societies" (OECD/DAC 1999: 12–13).

4. Various efforts have been made to develop indicators of human rights, and especially to measure government obligations to realise or provide those rights, such as the right to education. See, for example, Green (2001),

Tomasevski (2004), Chapman (2005).

5. Because of its association with right-wing governments, Freedom House and its reports have not been universally accepted or cited.

6. Group, collective, or solidarity rights are considered “third generation” human rights. See, for example, Kymlicka (1996) and the UNDP’s *Human Development Report 2004*.

7. A definition of the rights in question follows, drawn from Symonides (2000):

“Political rights are the individualistic expression of democracy, the civil rights of liberalism. . . . Typical examples of political rights are the rights to vote, to equal access to public service and to take part in the government of one’s country. Civil rights are somewhat more complex and range from the protection of the individual’s physical, spiritual, legal and economic existence (rights to life, physical integrity, privacy and dignity; freedom of thought, conscience, religion and opinion; right to nationality and recognition as a person before the law; right to own property) via classical freedom rights (liberty of person, freedom of movement, prohibition of slavery, freedom of expression) to highly detailed procedural safeguards relating to fair trial and the rule of law in general. The category of ‘political freedoms’ (freedom of expression, media, arts, assembly, association and so on) serves both concepts of democratic and liberal freedom and thereby constitutes the link between civil and political rights”. (Symonides 2000: 69–70).

“Economic, social and cultural rights constitute three interrelated components of a more comprehensive package, with obvious links to civil and political rights. As human rights and fundamental freedoms are

indivisible and interdependent, equal attention should be paid to the implementation, promotion and protection of both civil and political, and economic, social and cultural rights. At the core of social rights is the right to an adequate standard of living [. . .]. The Enjoyment of these rights requires, at a minimum, that everyone shall enjoy the necessary subsistence rights: adequate food and nutrition, clothing, housing and the necessary condition of care. Closely related to this is the right of families to assistance [. . .]. In order to enjoy these social rights, there is also a need to enjoy certain economic rights. These are right to property [. . .], the right to work [. . .] and the right to social security [. . .]. Economic rights have a dual function, most clearly demonstrated in regard to the right to property. On the one hand, this right serves as a basis for entitlements which can ensure an adequate standard of living while, on the other hand, it is a basis of independence and therefore of freedom.” (Symonides 2000: 119).

8. This framework was used by Moghadam in her book, *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers), in both the first and second editions (1993, 2003). The italicised phrases are Moghadam’s updated additions to Giele’s questions.

9. For UNESCO this is particularly relevant, given the various declarations and conventions on cultural expression, not all of which are gender-sensitive.

10. For feminists, there can be no gender equality if all unpaid labour and care work (also known as reproductive labour) are carried out by women rather than shared by men and by society.

11. See UNDP, *Human Development Report 2004*, Table 24. Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Iran are all categorised as of medium human development, but their GDI ranking is as follows: Saudi Arabia 72, Tunisia 77, and Iran 82. Since the ranking is clearly not based on female educational enrolments (those of Tunisia and Iran are higher than those of Saudi Arabia), it may be explained by the way that the measure “estimated earned income” is computed.

12. UNESCO is a leader in this area. See, for example, “Gender-Sensitive Education Statistics and Indicators”, first prepared and published by UNESCO’s Division of Statistics in July 1997, available at: <http://unesco.org/en/pub/doc/gend-stat.pdf>.

13. It is precisely to fill such gaps that qualitative studies are so important. Studies based on ethnographic research or on small-scale surveys that included in-depth interviews have yielded rich information on issues of control, decision-making, aspirations, and other aspects of people’s lives that cannot be discerned from quantitative data.

14. Commission on the Status of Women, 49th session (NY, 28 February – 11 March 2005), Panel IV, “Remaining challenges in relation to statistics and indicators, building on the discussions at the high-level round table organised in the 48th session of the Commission 2004 as well as available data from the World’s Women: Trends and Statistics (2005) and the World Survey on the Role of Women in Development (2005)”; observations and notes by V. M. Moghadam, 8 March 2005.

15. In turn, these indicators are influenced by indicators in other domains, especially education and employment (see, for example,

Moghadam 2003, Roudi and Moghadam 2003).

16. T. H. Marshall described civil rights and citizenship as being related to individual freedom, including liberty of the person, freedom of speech, the right to own property, and the right to justice.

17. For example, relevant data on Iranian women's organisations are available through Tehran University, Center for Women's Studies, Women's Non-Governmental Organisations in Iran, 2003, <http://cws.ut.ac.ir/databank/wresearchers.htm>.

18. These indicators of women's basic capabilities may be obtained from the following sources: Human Development Report 2004, UNFPA State of World Population 2004, The World's Women 2000, World Culture Report 2000, EFA 2003/2004, World Bank GenderStats.

19. Data for this set of gender indicators may be obtained from the above as well as: Human Development Report 2004 (sexual abuse of women); WHO (Estimated Prevalence Rates for

FGM); Amnesty International (Female Genital Mutilation in Africa, 1997).

20. Quantitative information on literacy and educational attainment may be obtained from UNESCO's EFA database, the World Bank's World Development Indicators, and the UNDP's Human Development Report. In addition, the UN regional commissions sometimes have figures for the countries in their region that are not included in the larger data sets.

21. Data on economic participation and rights may be obtained from the ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics or Key Indicators of the Labour Market; the Human Development Report; the World's Women 2000; the World Bank's GenderStats.

22. Sources of data include The World's Women 2000; the IPU; Human Development Report; DAW Fact Sheet on Women in Government.

23. As discussed above, data for these indicators will have to come from national sources. However, see also Yearbook of

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24. <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>; Human Development Report 2004; World Culture Report 2000.

25. Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, <http://www.un.org/esa/gopher-data/conf/fwcw/off/a-20.en>.

26. http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_cesr.htm; Human Development Report 2004; World Culture Report 2000.

27. http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_ccpr.htm; Human Development Report 2004; World Culture Report 2000.

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Appendix II

Gender indicators: measuring women's civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural participation and rights

Islamic Republic of Iran, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Brazil (latest year)

	Socio-demographic indicators		
	Islamic Republic of Iran	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Brazil
Life expectancy at birth (years, female/male), estimates for the 2000–2005 period	71.9 f 68.9 m	42.8 f 40.8 m	72.6 f 64.0 m
Sex ratio (thousands, female/male), 2005	34,266 f 35,250 m	29,007 f 28,542 m	94,535 f 91,870 m

Socio-demographic indicators

	Islamic Republic of Iran	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Brazil
Average female age at first marriage, all women, 2000	22	20	21
Adolescent marriage (% of female in age group 15–19 ever married), 2000*	22%	24%	14%
Number of births to 1,000 women (age 15–19), 2000–2005	33	230	73
Total fertility rate (births per women), 2000–2005	2.3	6.7	2.2

Notes: The Democratic Republic of the Congo was known as Zaire from 1971–1997, and prior to 1971 it was known as the Congo.

*May include formal and/or informal unions.

Sources: UNFPA State of World Population 2004; The World's Women 2000 and its updated on-line version as of 29 April 2005; Population Reference Bureau: The World's Youth 2000.

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Bodily integrity and health

	Islamic Republic of Iran	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Brazil
Maternal mortality (per 100,000 live births), circa 2000	76	990	260
Child mortality rate under 5 (per 1,000 live births, female/male), 2002	36 f 42 m	198 f 221 m	34 f 42 m
Contraceptive prevalence (% of married women using contraception, any method), 2005	74%	31%	76%
Female genital mutilation prevalence (%)	n.a.	5%*	n.a.
People HIV Infected (% female among adults), 2003/2004	12%	57%	37%
Sexual abuse of women (% of total population), 1995	n.a.	n.a.	7.5% (Rio de Janeiro)

Bodily integrity and health

	Islamic Republic of Iran	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Brazil
Physical abuse against women by an intimate partner (% of adult women who have been physically assaulted by an intimate partner, in past 12 month, ever in any relationship)**	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Notes: n.a. indicates data not available or country not listed.

*Year not stated. According to WHO, this estimate is based on anecdotal evidence. It is cited in the following references: N. Toubia (1993), *Female Genital Mutilation: A Call for Global Action* (<http://www.rainbo.org>) (Some figures are updated in the 1996 Arabic version of the document.); and World Health Organization, "Female Genital Mutilation: An Overview" (1998).

***The World's Women 2000* includes the indicator "Physical abuse against women by an intimate partner (% of adult women who have been physically assaulted by an intimate partner, in past 12 month, ever in any relationship)", but there are no data for the three countries. World Bank's GenderStats lists an indicator 'Prevalence of physical violence against women by an intimate partner', but the database is under construction.

Sources: The World's Women 2000; World Health Organization, May 2001; The WHO's Reproductive Health Indicator Database; Human Development Report 2004; 2004 World Population Data Sheet of the Population Reference Bureau; Population Reference Bureau: 2005 Women of Our World.

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Literacy and educational attainment

	Islamic Republic of Iran	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Brazil
Youth literacy rates (% ages 15–24, female/male), 2000	91.3 f 96.2 m	74.9 f 88.4 m	96.7 f 94.0 m
Estimated adult literacy rates (% ages 15+ and over, female/male), 2000	68.9 f 83.0 m	50.2 f 73.1 m	86.8 f 87.0 m
School life expectancy (expected number of years of formal schooling (female/male), 2000)	n.a.	n.a.	13.6 f 13.1 m
Net secondary school enrolment (% female/male), 2000	*68 f 74 m (1995)	*9 f 15 m	74.0 f 68.7 m
Tertiary enrolment rates, gross enrolment ratio, (% female/male), 2000	9.5 f 10.3 m	n.a.	18.6 f 14.4 m

Note: n.a. indicates data not available.

Source: UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4; except for *, which comes from World Bank's GenderStats.

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Economic participation and rights			
	Islamic Republic of Iran	Democratic Republic of the Congo*	Brazil
Labor force participation rate (% female/male, ages 15 and above)	11 f 75 m (1996)	62 f 85 m	54 f 81 m (2001)
Female share of paid labor force %	12.6 (1996)	n.a.	42.6 (2001)
Unemployment rate (% female/male)	**4.1 f 8.2 m (2002)	n.a. n.l.	***11.9 f 7.5 m (2001)
Estimated earned income (PPP US\$, female/male), 2002	\$2,835 f \$9,946 m	\$467 f \$846 m	\$4,594 f \$10,879 m
Female professional and technical workers (as % of total)****	33	n.a.	62
Length, amount, and source of paid maternity leave, 2004	90 days 67% Social security	14 weeks 67% Employer	120 days 100% Social security

Notes: n.a. indicates data not available; n.l. indicates country not listed.

*Recent data for DRC are not available; the figures above refer to a period between 1991 and 2001.

**Official Estimates.

***Persons aged 10 years and over.

****According to Human Development Report 2004, data refer to the most recent year available during the period 1992–2001.

Sources: Human Development Report 2004; The World's Women 2000 and its updated on-line version as of 29 April 2005; ILO Labousta database and ILO's Yearbook of Labour Statistics 2003.

Gender indicators: measuring women's civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural participation and rights

Political participation and rights			
	Islamic Republic of Iran	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Brazil
Seats in parliament in Single or Lower chamber (% female), 2004	3 3	12 12	9

Political participation and rights

	Islamic Republic of Iran	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Brazil
Seats in government at ministerial level (% female), 1998	0	n.a.*	4
Seats in government at sub ministerial level (% female), 1998****	1	n.a.**	13
Female legislators, senior officials and managers (as % total)*****	13	n.a.	n.a.

Notes: n.a. indicates data not available.

*1994: 6%;

**1994: 7%.

***This indicator is not available in the World's Women 2005 version.

****According to Human Development Report 2004, data refer to the most recent year available during the period 1992–2001.

Sources: The World's Women 2000 and its updated on-line version as of 29 April 2005; Inter-Parliamentary Union; Human Development Report 2004.

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Cultural participation and rights

	Islamic Republic of Iran	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Brazil
Access to computers, internet (% , female/male)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Print and electronic media (number of existing feminist resources)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Number of women's NGOs	43	n.a.	n.a.
Tertiary students in fine arts and humanities (as % of all tertiary students, total/female), 1994–1997	13% total 18% f	n.a.	9% total 12% f
Existence of paternity leaves (yes/no)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Museum staff (% female staff)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Ministry of Culture decision-making staff (% female)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Note: n.a. indicates data not available.

Sources: World Culture Report 2000; Tehran University, Center for Women's Studies (data for Iran).

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Ratification of international legal frames for women's rights			
	Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI)	Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)	Brazil
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 1979 (year of ratification; ratification with or without reservations)	—	1986	1984 declarations or reserva- tions
Optional Protocol, 1999 (year of ratification; ratification with or without reservations)	—	—	2002
Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995 (adopted; with or without reservations and interpretative statements)	adopted; made general and interpre- tative state- ments or expressed re- servations	Adopted	adopted; made general and interpre- tative state- ments or expressed re- servations
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), 1966 (year of ratification)	1976	1977	1992
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 1966 (year of ratification)	1976	1977	1992
UNESCO Convention: Discrimination in education, 1960	1968 acceptance	—	1968
UNESCO Convention: Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, 1984 (year of ratification)	—	1996	1989
ILO Convention: Discrimination in employment/occupation, 1958 (year of ratification)	IRI 1964	DRC 2001	Brazil 1965
ILO Convention: Equal remuneration for men and women for equal work, 1951 (year of ratification)	1972	1969	1957
ILO Convention: Freedom of association and right to organize, 1948 (year of ratification)	—	2001	—

Note: — indicates no signature or ratification.

Sources: UNHCHR International Human Rights Instruments; UNHCHR Status of Ratifications of the Principal International Human Rights Treaties; DAW The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); UNESCO Legal Instruments, on-line database; ILO LEX, Database of International Labour Standards; Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women.