Gender Equality
Heritage and Creativity

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Foreword by Irina Bokova
Director-General of UNESCO

At a time when States are defining the contours of the post-2015 development agenda, there is rising recognition of the role of culture in promoting inclusive social development, in eradicating poverty and in advancing environmental sustainability. As a driver and enabler of sustainable development, culture determines the way in which individuals and communities understand today's world, and envisage and shape their future. Gender equality is an essential part of the equation for more inclusive and sustainable development.
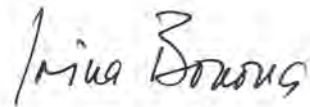
A UNESCO Global Priority, gender equality refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women, along with gender dynamics, created and embedded in families, societies and cultures. UNESCO's approach to promoting gender equality is based on a commitment to cultural rights and cultural diversity, underpinned by the international human rights framework. From this angle, cultural diversity and human rights must be seen to be mutually beneficial, with gender equality as a precondition for genuinely people-centred development. This was the argument that I brought to the 2014 Commission on the Status of Women, where I joined other UN leaders in highlighting the need to tackle all forms of discrimination against women and girls, including through discriminatory laws, social norms, practices and stereotypes. In all development efforts, we must ensure that culture is never invoked to justify the infringement on, or limitation of, human rights.

While there has been progress across the world, inequality persists with regard to who participates in, contributes to and benefits from culture. I believe we must do far more to harness culture for the empowerment of women – for this, UNESCO's standard-setting instruments provide a unique springboard. The implementation of the World Heritage and Intangible Heritage Conventions shows the importance of understanding gendered roles in safeguarding heritage and fostering dialogue and empowerment. Activities carried out in the framework of the Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions – especially in least developed countries – have generated positive social changes, such as enhancing gender equality through cultural entrepreneurship.

The key lesson is clear – we need to recognize women and girls as agents of change within their communities and value their achievements. This must include post-conflict situations, where we can draw on the leadership of women in rebuilding peace and in forging equitable public policies. Building a better future *for all* requires the full and equal participation of all women and men in the cultural sphere. As we move forward, every society must support the empowerment of all of its citizens as wellsprings for innovation and dynamism.

In this spirit, this publication provides a first global overview of the status of gender equality with regard to access, participation in and contribution to culture. Focusing on UNESCO's mandate in the field of culture, the analysis builds on United Nations reports and General Assembly resolutions, including the 1998 *Stockholm Conference Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development*, UNESCO's 1995 *Our Creative Diversity*, drafted by the World Commission on Culture and Development, as well as responses to a questionnaire sent to all UNESCO Member States, and also case studies from across the world. I am confident that this will deepen understanding of the importance of gender equality to achieving both human rights and development goals, and provide useful insight for creating new strategies for a gender-equal future beyond 2015.

Irina Bokova

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Foreword by Farida Shaheed
Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights

t is a privilege to write this foreword to 'Gender Equality, Heritage and Creativity'. As Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights appointed by the United Nations Human Rights Council, but also as an activist engaged in defending women's rights for more than thirty years, this complex subject is particularly dear to me. I am therefore delighted that UNESCO has released this important report on Culture and Gender Equality.

To start with, I want to stress that the tendency to view culture as largely an impediment to women's human rights is over-simplistic. It is also problematic as it diverts attention from the specific actors, institutions, rules and regulations that keep women subordinated within patriarchal systems and structures.

As I underlined in my 2012 report to the General Assembly, on the enjoyment of cultural rights by women on a basis of equality with men, it is time for a paradigm shift: from viewing culture as an obstacle to women's rights to one of ensuring women's equal enjoyment of cultural rights. This shift is crucial because culture, manifested in individual and collective self-expression, permeates all aspects of life and is inevitably gendered. Defining the parameters for social engagements, culture imposes the normative rules and roles for each gender and the penalties for transgressing these. Consequently, the realization of cultural rights of women is pivotal to the realization of their human rights in general.

At present, gender-discrimination is so frequently defended by reference to culture, religion and tradition that it seems safe to conclude that no social group has suffered greater violation of human rights in the name of culture than women. For example, women are denied the right to vote, subjected to violence and customs that deny them personhood, for instance, by being forcibly married (or denied the right to marry), being prevented from earning, or disallowed freedom of movement, association and expression, all in the name of culture. Such practices would not be tolerated were they predicated upon another identity marker, such as race for example.

The realization of equal cultural rights demands that women and girls are able to access, participate in, and contribute to all aspects of cultural life on a basis of equality with men and boys. This includes the right to equally determine and interpret cultural heritage; decide which cultural traditions, values or practices are to be kept intact; which are to be retained but modified, and which are to be discarded altogether. The right to participation includes the right not to participate in any ritual, custom or practice which contravenes the human dignity of girls and women, regardless of cultural justifications. Women and girls must enjoy the freedom to join, leave and re-join as well as create new communities of shared cultural values around any markers of identity they want to privilege, without fear of punitive actions, including any form of violence.

The struggle for women's human rights, and in particular cultural rights, is not against religion, culture, or tradition. From the human rights perspective, the critical issue is not whether and how religion, culture and tradition prevail over women's human rights, but how to ensure that women own both their culture including religion and tradition, and their human rights. In practical terms, a key challenge is how to ensure women's equal participation in discussions and decision-making on these issues and enable them to create new cultural meanings and practices.

Culture is in constant motion and is always linked to power relations. Cultural rights must be understood as also relating to who in the community holds the power to define its collective identity. Belonging does not confer equality within the community, and there can be multiple views within a community as to the elements that constitute the essentials of one's culture. It is imperative to ensure that all voices within a community, representing the interests, desires and perspectives of diverse groups, are heard without discrimination.

Discourses that essentialize cultures, presenting cultures as monolithic, static and ahistorical, must be vigorously contested to ensure these no longer form the basis for challenging the universal legitimacy and applicability of human rights norms. Under international human rights law, no one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon or limit human rights. International human rights norms clearly state that restrictions on the cultural rights of women,

which ultimately amount to restrictions on the principles of non-discrimination and equality, must not be imposed to preserve cultural diversity. In addition, the cohesion of a specific cultural community – be it transnational, national or sub-national –should not be achieved to the detriment of one group within the community, such as women.

All individuals, regardless of gender, simultaneously belong to multiple, diverse and changing communities. It is of crucial importance that persons are not forced to identify themselves only in terms of a singular aspect of their identity, such as being female, or of a particular ethnic, religious, or linguistic background. Protecting multiple identities helps to resist and overcome political forces which seek to deny any possibility of pluralism within self and society, as well as gender equality.

Combating cultural practices which may be detrimental to human rights does not jeopardize the existence and cohesion of a specific cultural community. To the contrary, it stimulates the evolution towards embracing human rights. It is time for women's perspectives, concerns and contributions to move from the peripheries to the centre of the processes that create, interpret, and shape culture. States must take all necessary measures to ensure that women are equal spokespersons vested with the authority to reshape all the communities they desire to be a part of and of those they want to create.

Cultural rights are transformative: they are empowering rights, providing important opportunities for the realization of other human rights. The lack of equal cultural rights, combined with economic and social inequalities, makes it difficult, if not impossible, for women to enjoy personal autonomy, to exercise their civil and political rights, and in particular to participate in the political life of their community or country.

Merely asserting the principle of 'equality' is insufficient however.

The effective implementation of human rights standards requires measures that transform the text of legislation into lived reality. Especially in the field of cultural rights, the principle of equality needs to transcend law and be embraced in society. Human rights need to be 'vernacularized': they need to be translated into culturally understood idiom. This can be, for example, initiatives that ground human rights concepts within the traditions of diverse cultures. 'Vernacularization' facilitates legitimacy, ensuring adherence to human rights standards which then have input from, and thus the consent, of those governed by the rules. Human rights practice must guard against imposing outsiders' ideologies. But they must, just as robustly, guard against shielding from criticism community practices and norms that perpetuate women's subordination. The process needs to simultaneously incorporate internal discourses to find legitimacy and cross-cultural dialogues for a reciprocal sharing of perspectives.

I have no doubts that the release of this new UNESCO publication on culture and gender equality will contribute greatly to shedding light on and unpacking the great challenges still ahead of us regarding these issues.

Acknowledgements

Acronyms
and abbreviations

ANIM	Afghanistan National Institute of Music
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASMT-CI	Association for the Safeguarding of the Music of the Transverse Trumps of Côte d'Ivoire
AWIFF	African Women in Film Forum
BRICS	Brazil, Russian Federation, India, People's Republic of China, and South Africa
CALQ	Québec Council for the Arts and Literature
CDIS	Culture for Development Indicators
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CLA	Cambodian Living Arts
CLP	Cultural Leadership Programme (UK)
COMPACT	Community Management of Protected Areas Conservation
CONICET	National Research Council (Argentina)
CSA	Audiovisual Council (France)
DIGEIBIR	General Directorate for Intercultural, Bilingual and Rural Education (Peru)
DRAC	Regional Directorates of Cultural Affairs (France)
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
ERICarts	European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research
ESFT	Egyptian Society for Folk Traditions
EU	European Union
FCS	Framework for Cultural Statistics
FESPACO	Panafrican Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou
FGM	Female genital mutilation
FNAC	National Contemporary Art Fund (France)
FRAC	Regional Contemporary Art Fund (France)
FUMDHAM	American Man Museum Foundation (Brazil)
FUNARTE	National Arts Foundation (Brazil)
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross domestic product
GGCA	Global Gender and Climate Change Alliance
HUL	Historic Urban Landscape
ICATUS	International Classification of Activities for Time-Use Statistics

ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICT	Information and communication technology
IFCD	International Fund for Cultural Diversity
IIFF	International Images Film Festival of Women
INAH	National Institute of Anthropology and History (Mexico)
INBA	National Institute of Fine Arts (Mexico)
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MoCFA	Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts (Cambodia)
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MDG-F	Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund
NEA	National Endowment for the Arts (US)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PASIH	Perkumpulan Hijau Siberut (Indonesia)
PCC	Pacific Congregational Churches
SODEC	Society for the Development of Cultural Enterprises (Québec, Canada)
TUS	Time-Use Survey
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Division
WFOZ	Women Filmmakers of Zimbabwe
WIFTSA	Women in Film and Television South Africa
WMF	Women and Memory Forum (Egypt)
WoS	Women of the Sun (South Africa)

Table of Contents

Boxes

Figures

Introduction

Gender equality in culture is not immune to the inequalities and discrimination that permeate other areas of society, and is influenced by a broader context that includes other forms of social categorization, such as class, race, poverty level, ethnicity, religion, age, disability and marital status, that can compound disadvantages

Why gender equality and culture?

Gender is a cultural and social construction, defined by the power relations between men and women, and the norms and values regarding 'masculine' and 'feminine' roles and behaviour. The cultural interpretation and negotiation of gender is crucial to the identity (including gender identity) of individuals and their communities. Gender is not universally understood the same way across cultures and it can have multiple definitions in different communities that go beyond a male-female dichotomy. Gender equality in culture is not immune to the inequalities and discrimination that permeate other areas of society, and is influenced by a broader context that includes other forms of social categorization, such as class, race, poverty level, ethnicity, religion, age, disability and marital status, that can compound disadvantages.

Gender equality has long been recognized both as a core development goal and a human right. Over the past four decades, there has been considerable progress in international efforts to promote women as empowered actors in development while at the same time encouraging men and boys to be active partners in the process of social transformation and in efforts to reduce gender gaps in opportunities and rights.

In recent decades, culture – in all its diversity of form, expression, practice and knowledge – has gained international recognition as both an *enabler* and a *driver* of development. This was articulated in the Hangzhou Declaration: Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies, adopted in 2013 at the eponymous conference co-organized by UNESCO and the People's Republic of China. This landmark document highlights culture's role as a fundamental enabler and driver of development. As an enabler, culture is 'a source of meaning and energy, a wellspring of creativity and innovation,' and as a driver it contributes 'to inclusive social, cultural and economic development, harmony, environmental sustainability, peace and security'. In turn, development policies responsive to cultural contexts have been evidenced as a crucial determinant in ensuring more sustainable outcomes. The full realization of the potential of culture in enabling and driving sustainable development has also generated international and national awareness that opportunities and resources must be underpinned by efforts to ensure access to culture for all in the first place.

Strongly supported by the growing evidence base on how discrimination and inequality is disadvantageous for development outcomes (World Bank, 2011; UNDP, 1995; OECD, 2012), international and national development interventions have targeted gender equality as a critical vehicle for sustainable and equitable development (General Assembly resolution 60/210 of 22 December 2005). In 2000, gender equality was identified as Millennium Development Goal 3 in recognition of its positive catalytic power for other development goals. And a stand-alone goal on gender equality, with gender mainstreamed across other goals, remains a priority area in current discussions on the post-2015 development framework. In the publication entitled *Realizing the Future We Want for All* (UN, 2012*b*), the UN System-wide Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda called for transforming structural barriers that reinforce the widespread persistence of gender inequalities and unequal development progress between women and men, girls and boys. In addition, the integral role of gender equality in achieving sustainable development through culture was highlighted in General Assembly resolution 68/223 on Culture and Sustainable Development of 20 December 2013 that called for Member States to 'ensure that women and men equally access, participate and contribute to cultural life and decision-making, and to further commit themselves to the development of cultural policies and programmes with a gender perspective at the local, national and international levels in order to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls' (art. 11c).

As human rights are a guarantee of fundamental freedoms and capacities, they constitute an important internal dynamic of development for individuals and society at large. The exercise of all universal, indivisible and interdependent rights concerns every aspect of society, and the enjoyment of rights in one area is dependent on the realization of rights in another. Across all areas of culture, human rights are a precondition for enriching cultural diversity and enabling human creativity. They encompass the freedom to express, to choose, to exchange and share freely, and of thought, ideas and information.

The right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, enjoy the arts and share in scientific advancement and its benefits is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly in 1948. Over the past sixty years human rights have begun to feature both implicitly and explicitly in provisions in international agreements including

UNESCO's standard-setting instruments in culture, including *inter alia* the UNESCO Concerning the Status of the Artist (1980), the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005).

When applied to culture more generally, gender equality and development discourses have tended to focus on the complex relationship between cultural diversity and human rights, including women's rights. Discriminatory practices that infringe upon or violate the rights of women and girls, such as female genital mutilation (FGM), early marriage, domestic violence or inheritance laws, have taken prominence in international discussions on culture and gender equality. This has tended towards an unfortunate and erroneous conflation between traditional harmful practices and 'culture', where human rights, particularly women's rights, have become contested on the grounds that these are alien concepts to 'our culture'. The universal idea of human rights has also been disputed as being a 'Western' and ethnocentric concept that has limited application within certain systems of governance and law. Thus the relativism vs. universalism debate has remained strong on the human rights, and specifically women's rights, agenda.

There is a strong and growing body of research disproving and challenging this blanket negative association. Respect for the dignity of human beings is not exclusive to any one geo-political region, a particular worldview, ethic or people. It underpins most cultures, religious texts and governance systems worldwide. Landmark reports by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2008), the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, as well as the various contributions and case studies of this report demonstrate the importance of examining, unravelling and understanding the (unequal) gender power relations that underpin discriminatory practices. As inequalities are about hierarchy rather than difference, the question of power within gender relations is of key significance in the discussion. Gender inequalities are embedded in many societies' institutions, from family through to the state. Embracing a reflective and critical view of this chain therefore forces us to examine how women, men, boys and girls are affected differently by power structures.

The human rights framework provides clear guidance on how tensions can be resolved. The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, for example, provides

As human rights guarantee fundamental capacities, they are a major internal dynamic for development, for individuals and society as a whole. Development relies on the ability of men and woman to speak, move, work and choose freely.

clear principles for addressing potential conflict between cultural diversity and human rights: 'No one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon human rights guaranteed by international law, nor limit their scope'. It builds on the significant corpus of international human rights literature, recommendations and reports since the adoption in 1966 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). For example, as stressed by General Comment 21 of the right of everyone to take part in cultural life[1] it is mandatory for States Parties to ensure equality between men and women with respect to the right to participate in cultural life by eliminating 'institutional and legal obstacles as well as those based on harmful practices, including those attributed to customs and traditions'.

The Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights clearly identifies the three principal and interrelated components of the right to take part in cultural life as: (a) participation in; (b) access to; and (c) contribution to cultural life.[2] The recognition of the importance of gender and cultural rights within the broader human rights system gives new impulse to recognizing and building on the capacities of each person and the available resources within his or her environment.

Cultural diversity is fully compatible with human rights, and indeed, together, constitute key ingredients for building 'the future we want'.[3] The respect for humanity in all its diversity is founded on equality and non-discrimination, constituting the very lifeblood of human rights.

No more so than in culture can we so vividly experience the scope and potential of human diversity – through our heritage and through creativity. Gender equality in cultural life recognizes that no members of society should be privileged or disadvantaged in rights, choices, opportunities, benefits and freedom because they are born, or identify as, male or female.

While policy and legislation are crucial, they are only a first step. Progressing to implementation on the ground however proves more challenging. Entailed in this is the will at all levels to ensure that equal opportunities are experienced and felt by all people. Perceptions of gender are deeply rooted and vary widely both within and between cultures. But in all cultures, gender determines power and resources for women and men.

Disparity ingrained along gender lines is both a human rights and a development issue. The equal participation of men and women in society is not only a legitimate right, but also a social and political necessity for achieving sustainable development. As human rights guarantee fundamental capacities, they are a major internal dynamic for development, for individuals and society as a whole. Development relies on the ability of men and woman to speak, move, work and choose freely. The promotion of gender equality does not fall exclusively on women, and there is a need to better understand how to forge a partnership between men and women and how men can further address barriers to gender equality to ensure sustainable development for all. There is a growing body of research and work at local level in recent years that has shown the benefits of involving both women and men in supporting gender equality, in what used to be commonly confined as a 'women's issue'. It should be seen as an issue for all people.

In order to move forward in this area, we must develop an acute awareness of when culture is given as the cause of – rather than the excuse for – inequalities. We must ask to what extent prejudice is a product of ignorance

1   E/C.12/GC/21.
2   A/67/287.

3   'The Future We Want' - Outcome document adopted at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development Rio+20, 20 to 22 June 2012. Resolution 66/288 adopted by the General Assembly on 27 July 2012.

cloaked behind barriers of tradition. Gender equality means that every person has the right to live a fulfilling life according to his or her own values and aspirations. The human rights gains of recent decades cannot be taken for granted, and discrimination and equality laws have become increasingly sophisticated within varied jurisdictions. Culture is never static and is constantly evolving. Cultural practices evolve or are discarded as community perceptions shift and alternatives are pursued. But deeper structures of discrimination embedded in the structures and institutions of society have proved remarkably resilient. These structures have lasting influences, shaping people's beliefs, sense of self and acceptance of the status quo as 'natural'.

This report therefore is very timely. The long-standing international consensus in this area demonstrates how opportune it is to look at the intersection of gender equality and access, contribution to and participation in heritage and creativity. In June 2014 UN Women called on the international community to end gender inequality by 2030. This challenge underscores the need to scale-up consolidated efforts if this objective is to be achieved. Gender inequality has long been a pertinent global issue, and the discussion around gender equality is conditioned by the fact that it is not new. Indicators have been developed, quotas have been tried, boxes have been ticked, with the common argument against employing these methods is that the focus moves away from creating great art and talent to an exercise in social engineering. More importantly, however, is the danger that the very real issue itself remains masked or largely unaddressed.

Through heritage and the cultural and creative industries, we can vividly grasp that women's status in society – politically, legally, socially, economically – has been fundamentally curtailed in most of the world throughout a large part of human history. There is a need to determine to what extent the whole process of identification, interpretation, conservation/safeguarding and management of heritage is truly inclusive and participatory. The roles of women and men, developed and shaped through our histories, also impact the capacity and extent to which women and men are able to access, participate and contribute to culture.

Methodology
and scope

As this report illustrates, culture can be a close ally to gender equality. The report aims to consolidate leading research, statistics and case studies in the field of culture and gender equality, focusing in particular on creativity and heritage, as a contribution to international debates on the post-2015 agenda. It aims to benchmark progress to date and proposes recommendations for governments, decision-makers, the international community and civil society.

This global snapshot draws on the statutory and programmatic work of UNESCO and is supplemented by desk-based research and focused contributions from the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, government representatives, international research groups and think-tanks, academia, artists and heritage professionals. Certain cultural sub-sectors have been be analysed from a gender perspective in order to generate nuanced understandings of the particularities and differences between these sub-sectors. Throughout the editorial process, the need to address the two global priorities of UNESCO, Gender Equality and Priority Africa, has underpinned the development of the publication.

The report's scope does not claim to cover the entire spectrum of culture; it draws on UNESCO's unique mandate, building on the recommendations and findings of recent UN reports and UNGA resolutions, the Stockholm Conference Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development (1998a), UNFPA (2008), and UNESCO research, reports, and statutory documents. Experiences from UNESCO colleagues at Headquarters and in the field have provided insight to inform the content. In August 2013, a questionnaire was sent to all 195 Member States, and a call to NGOs requesting the submission of research, case studies was disseminated widely through UNESCO field offices, UNESCO Chairs networks and through public media. While results from the 31 Member States that responded to the questionnaire cannot be seen to be globally representative, it has provided a baseline to better understand policy gaps and opportunities, and highlight good practices in this area. Submissions from civil society and research institutions from the call to NGOs have informed and been duly incorporated in this publication.

Organization
of the report

'Gender Equality, Heritage and Creativity' is structured in five main chapters: (1) A global challenge; (2) Heritage; (3) Creativity; (4) Conclusions and recommendations; and (5) Annexes.

Chapter 1. A global challenge establishes a policy dimension of gender equality in culture by drawing on statistical, policy and programmatic evidence at country level to identify major challenges and opportunities of gender equality in culture. Through an analysis of UNESCO Member States' responses to the questionnaire on gender equality and culture distributed in 2013, it outlines the main findings of the process, compiles statistical information, and highlights gender mainstreaming and gender-targeted policy actions undertaken by Member State respondents by local, regional and national public institutions.

Chapter 2. Heritage opens by examining gender equality and heritage in relation to the value systems that govern our sense of identity, and therefore influence the interpretation, identification and transmission of heritage over time. Case studies and texts illustrate examples of addressing particular issues in gender equality, and how gender equality has been mainstreamed in heritage policy, research and practices. Two analytical papers by Janet Blake and Mechtild Rössler extrapolate some of the key opportunities and challenges of gender equality and heritage from theoretical and operational perspectives. Blake examines the conceptual dimension of gender and intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and draws on solid case studies and field examples that clarify how gender is a constituent of cultural diversity and is integral to the creation and transmission of ICH. She touches on one of the key issues that surface when discussing gender equality in the context of culture: the relationship between cultural diversity and human rights, notably women's rights. Rössler focuses on gender concepts and questions in relation to the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, whose concept of value is central to the legislative and operational framework. She reviews current gender challenges and opportunities and draws on a number of cases of World Heritage-listed cultural properties from different geographical regions that reveal powerful gender aspects.

Chapter 3. examines gender equality in **Creativity**, understood as the human capacity, through imagination or invention, to develop to one's full potential and to build open, inclusive and pluralistic societies. In line with the prevailing global evidence base that reveals an under-representation of women in decision-making roles in the cultural and creative industries, it focuses on available information and data on policies and programmes for women's empowerment in the creative sector. A global overview is followed by analytical texts that sharpen the gender lens further to reveal the challenges and opportunities in certain creative sectors within particular national, regional and geo-economic contexts. The Minister of Culture and Communication of France, Fleur Pellerin, provides a policy perspective and outlines key figures and persistent challenges in addressing gender equality at national level in France. Yarri Kamara and Lizelle Bisschoff analyse gender dimensions in different creative sectors within the regional context of Africa. And Maria Luiza Gatto and Sarah Peters-Harrison explore women's leadership roles in the film industry in the developing/newly industrialized countries of the BRICS.[4]

Chapter 4. Conclusions and recommendations summarizes the main findings and lessons-learned, and proposes recommendations for forging new pathways towards gender equality in the field of culture.

Chapter 5. The **Annexes** outline UNESCO's work in gender data collection and the normative instruments that guide UNESCO's programmes in the field of culture. Lydia Deloumeaux from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) analyses some of the key gaps, challenges and opportunities in gender data collection for internationally-comparable statistics in culture. This chapter concludes with an outline of the six main international cultural conventions under UNESCO's mandate.

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4   Brazil, Russian Federation, India, People's Republic of China and South Africa.

The Leweton Women's Water Music Group, Vanuatu.
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Chapter 1:
A global challenge

UNESCO questionnaire on gender equality and culture

Introduction

In August 2013, a questionnaire on gender equality and culture was distributed to all UNESCO Member States. The key objective was to take stock of Member States' actions over the past ten years related to gender equality and/or women's empowerment in the field of culture, with the purpose of informing the current report and feeding into the work of UNESCO's Culture Sector. The questionnaire aimed to gage the current status and learn from past experiences in order to guide future strategic directions and reform. It was also an opportunity to better understand how and to what extent gender is addressed, prioritized and has a bearing on the cultural policies and programmes within the scope of UNESCO's culture conventions.[5] The responses will thus contribute to enhancing UNESCO's knowledge management on gender equality and culture, as well as to pilot and scale-up gender mainstreaming approaches across the Culture Sector's programming.

The questionnaire was structured around seven core areas: (i) national policies; (ii) national implementation strategies of UNESCO culture conventions; (iii) access to decision-making; (iv) education, capacity-building and training; (v) access to credit and financial resources allocation; (vi) visibility and awareness-raising; and (vii) statistics and indicators. Member States were requested to consider actions taken by a wide range of public actors, including national ministries, local and regional governments, and national public institutions.

The 31 Permanent Delegations to UNESCO that responded with questionnaires represent 16 per cent of the total number of UNESCO Member States (195).[6] Although neither globally nor regionally representative, the responses provide a unique resource of good practices and a snapshot of common trends, as well as recognize issues such as lack of adequate and systematic research and data collection, absence of gender dimensions in

5   Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954) and its two Protocols; Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970); Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972); Convention for the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001); Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003); Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005).

6   The submissions can be found on the UNESCO Gender Equality and Culture web page: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/gender-and-culture/gender-and-culture/

impact assessments and monitoring mechanisms, gender gaps in cultural consumption, and unequal access to decision-making roles in cultural professions. These have been reflected in the recommendations of this report.

Total survey respondents

1.	Albania	17.	Mexico
2.	Australia	18.	Monaco
3.	Brazil	19.	Montenegro
4.	Cambodia	20.	Niger
5.	Canada	21.	Nigeria
6.	Cook Islands	22.	Norway
7.	Cyprus	23.	Peru
8.	Czech Republic	24.	Portugal
9.	Ethiopia	25.	Republic of Korea
10.	Finland	26.	Republic of Tajikistan
11.	Greece	27.	Russian Federation
12.	Hungary	28.	Slovak Republic
13.	Iraq	29.	Spain
14.	Japan	30.	Sri Lanka
15.	Latvia	31.	Sweden
16.	Mauritius		

Main findings

1. Absence of regular and reliable research and data

A predominant finding was the lack of available gender statistics in the field of culture. Few respondents reported the regular collection of gender statistics or the sex-disaggregation of data. Cultural statistics are not systematically disaggregated by sex: gender statistics on culture are often collected only in certain cultural fields or through research initiatives and/or for individual projects. The availability of sex-disaggregated data was recognized as a necessary starting point for targeted policy-making to redress gender imbalances. This statistical baseline highlights gender gaps in specific cultural fields and thus contributes to more effective and inclusive cultural policies. Several respondents called for more information and research

on gender equality and culture to promote women's contribution to heritage and creativity. **Cambodia**, for instance, called for further research and plans of action that highlight women's central role in the safeguarding and protection of heritage and in the fight against illicit traffic of cultural property.

2. **Absence of gender in impact assessments and monitoring mechanisms**

A gender dimension is not consistently integrated into impact assessments, national and sub-national monitoring and evaluation and analysis. This poses a barrier to tracking the impact of policies, legislation, budgets and programmes. A number of respondents, e.g. **Ethiopia, Nigeria** and **Spain,** pointed to impact assessments as the principal challenge in elaborating gender-responsive cultural policies. **Spain** specifically called for increased analysis of the gender impact of programmes and actions.

3. **Mainstreaming gender into cultural policies, action plans and legislation**

Respondents reported on their country's efforts to translate their commitment to gender equality into national action plans, particularly in recent years. However, with a few exceptions, these efforts have not fully extended to cultural policies or action plans. Prioritizing and mainstreaming gender dimensions in cultural policies were identified as a strategic leverage for improving the gender equality status quo. Respondents identified a number of challenges they faced in elaborating gender mainstreaming strategies and implementing UNESCO culture conventions. **Ethiopia** expressed difficulties in elaborating effective implementation strategies that take into account gender. **Cyprus** noted that the implementation of gender mainstreaming plans can also be dependent on political will and resources, and the issue of gender equality can be overshadowed by other priorities.

4. **Gender gaps in cultural consumption**

Based on the responses received, women represented overwhelmingly the majority of consumers of cultural goods. **Australia** noted that cultural consumption can vary with age, reporting relative equality in the 15 to 24-year-old age range, yet male participation drops to 36 per cent of all people over 55 years of age. **Finland** noted the low rate of male participation in the use of publicly subsidized cultural services as a key challenge.

This disparity was taken into account in the formulation of the Policy Programme on Children's Culture 2014-2018. Finnish statistics also show that men read much less in 2002 than in 1981, demonstrating that the difference between women and men's participation in reading grew threefold in just a couple of decades. Based on these patterns of data, the 'Joy of Reading' (Lukuinto) project 2012 - 2015, was designed to strengthen reading and writing skills among children and adolescents, and to promote reading as a hobby.

5. **Targeted training and capacity-building**

Respondents reported on consolidated efforts to build core gender capacities of staff at country level through the establishment of gender units within ministries, and regular institutional training. The need to strengthen and target awareness-raising and training among a broad cross-section of stakeholders at all levels was underlined by respondents. More consolidated action also needs to be harnessed to develop and increase visibility for women's creativity through capacity-building initiatives. **Cambodia**, for instance, reported on the need for training on gender at all levels in the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts (MoCFA), especially at senior management level, in order to address the gaps of women in decision-making positions and to better promote the role of women. **Cyprus** noted that capacity-building activities for civil society organizations and cultural institutes are necessary vehicles for gender mainstreaming and for showcasing women's creativity, particularly through capacity-building activities.

6. **Gender imbalance in higher education**

Several respondents reported a majority of women enrolled in university courses related to culture. **Australia**, **Republic of Korea** and the **Russian Federation** noted that the number of women students in universities of art and culture far exceeds the number of men - in the case of the **Russian Federation** women account for 87 per cent of all students, and in **Australia** women comprise 85 per cent of all students studying towards a fine arts degree, the most common visual arts qualification. However, several respondents observed that this pattern is not borne out in the professional world in terms of career progression.

7. Unequal access to decision-making roles in cultural professions

It was reported that despite the strong presence of women in cultural professions, men have more chances for career progression as well as choices within cultural professions than women. In public cultural institutions, the employment data shows that, in general, women are the majority of employees, and have greater access to decision-making roles than in other areas of culture. Within cultural ministries, **Cook Islands** stated that 50 per cent of management and overall staff of the Ministry of Culture are women. **Latvia** reported that women comprised 76 per cent of employees of the Ministry of Culture, 74 per cent of all employees of accredited state, municipal and private museums, and 99 per cent of all employees of municipal public libraries. However, no data was provided on how many of these women occupy leadership positions. **Cyprus** noted that corporate culture is still predominantly male. **Mexico** mentioned positive trends in recent years towards equality in their domestic film industry with an increase in women's participation in activities such as film direction, producing, writing and editing. **Finland** noted sharp gender segregation in professions and organizations in the field of culture, both between and within different artistic fields.

8. Gender stereotypes within cultural fields

Several respondents underlined persistent gender stereotypes in culture professions. **Greece** highlighted the importance to eliminate gender stereotypes in all aspects of life, and recalled that stereotypes of men and women are largely reproduced in the fields of art and culture, as culture in general may become a transmission mechanism for the social beliefs, attitudes and gender patterns of their creators. Among the general points raised by Member States, it is noteworthy to relay **Ethiopia**'s comment on the perception of women as confined to the informal sector in culture. The **Republic of Korea** identified several targeted actions pertinent to gender equality in the cultural sector: (i) increasing support for women's employment and leadership; (ii) enhancing efforts to support childcare; (iii) encouraging women in culture and the arts; and (iv) building networks among women artists.

Summary analysis by section

National policies

58 per cent of respondents indicated that their country has, or is in the process of developing, a cultural policy that includes specific reference to gender equality and/ or women's empowerment. **Brazil, Mexico, Peru** indicated that gender equality and/or women's empowerment is mentioned in their country's cultural policies, and **Montenegro** stated that their National Action Plan for Culture 2011-2015 affirms a gender-sensitive approach in the decision-making processes concerning culture and development. Where explicit reference was absent in cultural policy, several respondents pointed out that gender equality is reflected in constitutional requirements or national policy, or exists as a policy area in its own right and is applied across all policy areas, including culture.

Several respondents drew attention to their commitment to gender mainstreaming in all spheres of public policy as a result of their adherence to various treaties and international agreements. At regional level, gender equality was notably mentioned in the responses of countries of the European Union, whose laws, regulations and strategies require that EU Member States integrate gender mainstreaming in all spheres of state policy (**Czech Republic, Latvia**). Others (**Monaco, Peru, Spain**) recalled their commitment in accordance with the UNESCO culture conventions and the 1998 Stockholm Programme Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development, which calls for women's empowerment and equality between women and men in culture. **Peru** cited the 2012 Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights (Shaheed, 2012) as a framework for gender mainstreaming policy in culture.

Brazil, Montenegro, Portugal and **Spain** highlighted that gender mainstreaming strategies and legal and strategic frameworks incorporate specific objectives in the area of culture. As an example, in **Spain** Article 26 of the Law 3/2007 for equality between men and women refers to six objectives with regard to equality in the field of intellectual and artistic creation and production.

Several Member States highlighted specific measures in monitoring and reporting obligations. **Norway** integrates a gender equality perspective in its fiscal budget, intended

to contribute to equitable, targeted and efficient use of public resources and the involvement of various policy sectors. Subordinate agencies of the Norwegian Ministry of Culture must report annually on the issue of gender equality. Impact assessment was noted by several respondents as critical to promoting gender equality and enhancing the visibility and awareness of women's contribution to cultural life, as well as to inform policy-making and programming.

National implementation strategies of UNESCO culture conventions

Several Member States highlighted gender mainstreaming strategies in national plans in conformity with the conventions. **Niger** reported that it prioritizes gender mainstreaming strategies in the implementation of UNESCO culture conventions through: (i) communication, information-sharing, awareness-raising of actors, notably women; (ii) capacity-building for women and men in the cultural field through education and training; and (iii) research and data collection in order to better understand women's participation in cultural life in Niger. **Slovakia**'s Ministry of Culture elaborates and periodically updates strategy documents for the implementation of UNESCO culture conventions in compliance with principles of solidarity, tolerance, non-discrimination and equal opportunity. **Montenegro** and **Portugal** highlighted that their national plans for gender equality target increased visibility of women's past and present contributions and achievements in culture. **Nigeria** and **Tajikistan** reported that their policies approach gender mainstreaming through the recognition and interconnection of diverse inequalities, including age, disability, origin, race, ethnicity, language, education, and religion. **Albania** and **Monaco** reported that non-discrimination and equality principles were enshrined in their constitutions and applied in public policy.

- **Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005)**

Some Member States mentioned the introduction of quota systems and/or temporary measures to promote equal opportunities between men and women for initiatives funded by ministries or subsidiary institutions. For example, the Government of **Québec (Canada)**, through its Society for the Development of Cultural Enterprises (SODEC), addresses the under-representation of women film directors by applying a gender element in eligibility

criteria for film financing. All companies need to include at least one scenario by a woman in their proposals.

- **Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)**

- **Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001)**

- **Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)[7]**

Ethiopia and Japan insisted on the vital role of women in transmitting culture from generation to generation, while **Nigeria** noted women's prominent role in most festivals, rituals, social events, and oral expressions such as poetry. It also emphasized that cultural practices discriminating against women, children, adolescents and other vulnerable groups is forbidden by the Nigerian Constitution, national policies and state laws. In **Peru**, the Directorate of Intangible Cultural Heritage of the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage has led ethnographical research by women anthropologists on specific women's cultural practices. Women's groups have also been encouraged to participate in the identification of intangible cultural heritage, as well as in the design and implementation of safeguarding measures.

Access to decision-making

Quotas

Several Member States mentioned that according to their national laws and regulations, a minimum quota of women shall be represented in decision-making positions in the public sector, as well as in the field of arts and culture. In **Albania**, a quota at least 30 per cent for the underrepresented gender in the political and public decision-making is applied to every sector. **Australia** reported its commitment to achieving a target minimum of 40 per cent women and 40 per cent men on Australian Government-appointed boards by 2015, including those related to arts and culture. **Niger** referred to its quota law, noting that gender equality is an essential component in all sectors of public life in employment recruitment, to ensure equality in pay and nomination processes.

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7   The Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention (1954) was not mentioned by respondents.

Nomination process

A few Member States highlighted the necessity to make nomination processes to public institutions transparent and gender-sensitive. The **Cook Islands**, through its Gender and Development Division (GAD), established a service that provides nominations of women to statutory boards in the public sector. A special measure in the statutes of the Maori Language Commission requires female representation in the Commission. In **Québec (Canada)**, the Québec Council for the Arts and Literature (CALQ) ensures that the composition of juries and evaluation committees reflects the diversity of the population according to gender, place of residence, language and ethno-cultural origin. **Norway** reported that gender diversity is taken into account when the Ministry of Culture is appointing members to government boards, councils and committees. **Finland**'s Act on Equality between Men and Women is applied when appointing working groups and committees in the Ministry of Education and Culture and government arts committees.

'Glass ceilings' and 'glass walls'

Several countries highlighted the high participation of women employed in cultural institutions, notably governmental institutions (**Cook Islands, Mauritius, Norway, Peru, Slovakia, Sri Lanka**). Several Member States, namely **Cyprus, Montenegro, Nigeria** and **Cambodia**, stated that even though women occupy a large number of positions in cultural institutions, they often do not have the opportunity to access senior management or artistic directorship positions. **Finland** noted that the segregation of the overall labour market in Finland is reflected in gendered labour division in the arts and culture sector. A policy analysis survey showed that jobs in the field of culture are mostly held by women, yet there is clear gender segregation in many occupations and organizations, both between and within different cultural fields. Within public museums in Finland in 2013, women accounted for 80 per cent of all staff and 75 per cent of senior management positions. Yet 73 per cent of artistic directors of theatres and 68 per cent of all theatre directors were men in 2003. Likewise in film and music, women are a clear minority. For instance, artistic directors and conductors of member orchestras of the Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras numbered 29 men and one woman (2009), while 34 per cent of all permanent orchestra players were women and 66 per cent were men (2007). Gendered divisions

of labour within creative industries was also mentioned by **Australia**, which reported that women are more likely to participate in art and craft, and men are more likely to participate in song-writing, composing music and digital media-related activities.

Education, capacity-building and training

Several countries highlighted targeted gender sensitive approaches to education, capacity-building and training in the field of culture. It is noteworthy to highlight the following actions, which demonstrate the diversity of approaches.

Vulnerable communities: In **Nigeria**, 12 training courses in cultural industries have been carried out in the last two years countrywide to address socio-economic challenges faced by women in rural areas or indigenous women who are unable to pursue formal educational programmes. The Ministry of Culture of **Brazil** reported on the Programme for Cultural Factories, whose purpose is to invest in cultural infrastructures and programming in areas of high social vulnerability. The promotion of women's empowerment is one of its stated goals.

Endangered languages: In **Peru**, the Bilingual Intercultural Education and Rural Department (DIGEIBIR) of the Ministry of Education leads the Multisectoral Commission for the Promotion of Education for Rural Girls and Rural Teenagers, which promotes multilingualism in enrolments and collects information on the girls and indigenous women from rural educational networks.

Endangered art forms: The **Cambodian** Living Arts (CLA) runs programmes to promote and protect Cambodian arts from disappearing. 30 per cent of all students are women and girls. The programmes encourage women's participation in traditionally male-dominated arts, such as music and puppetry. It highlights the importance of promoting access to artistic fields, and that women and girls may face barriers in the performing arts that are not necessarily linked to economic status.

Awareness-raising and gender-based violence: Led by the National Institute of Fine Arts (INBA) in **Mexico**, the Programme to Strengthen the Participation of Women in the Arts targets gender equality, non-discrimination and violence against women. From January to August 2013, the INBA held 407 cultural promotion events, including 143 counselling sessions on gender issues in the Institute's 29

schools. **Slovakia,** through its Culture of Disadvantaged Population Groups Programme (Ministry of Culture), built a programme designed to support cultural projects by women from marginalized communities to protect against multiple forms of discrimination and all forms of violence.

Organizational training: In the **Czech Republic**, the Ministry of Culture prepares educational programmes to raise awareness about gender issues among its employees. The programmes target newly recruited employees, employees in managerial and decision-making positions at all levels, and employees charged with drawing up policy documents.

Access to credit and financial resources allocation

Several respondents (**Australia, Brazil, Niger, Nigeria, Portugal, Peru** and **Tajikistan**) expressed their commitment to improving women's access to financial resources as a general policy. In **Australia**, the New Enterprise Incentive Scheme helps eligible job seekers to start new small businesses through accredited small business training, mentoring and support. Of the 56,74 business start-ups under the scheme in 2012–13, almost half were established by women. **Sweden** reported that in 2013 women comprised over 70 per cent of all participants in projects of the European Social Fund for entrepreneurship in the creative industries. **Québec (Canada)** mentioned the importance of gender-sensitive reporting and impact assessment in funding processes. **Norway** reported that institutions that receive government funding have to ensure a gender balance. Several respondents , however, noted the lack of a specific policy in culture that favours gender equality in the allocation of budget and financial resources.

Grants

Cook Islands, Latvia, Mauritius and **Niger** cited existing national programmes, funding allocations and grants for cultural entrepreneurs and artists. Respondents claimed that while gender was not specified in the text, these initiatives often showed gender-sensitiveness in practice. For example, Nigeria set up a US$ 200,000 Film Intervention Fund to support and develop the film sector 'Nollywood' in which women have prominent roles as actors, producers and directors. Sweden stated that grants from the Swedish Art Council are equally divided between the sexes.

Targeted actions: women's participation in income-generating cultural activities

Ethiopia, through its Ministry of Culture, provides technical and financial support for training in income generating activities in tourism or handicrafts. **Cook Islands** established a business mentoring programme directed at nurturing people's capacities to develop equitable markets and businesses. A local NGO, Business and Professional Women's Association, extended this model to run specific workshops for women. The sub-sectors have been traditionally dance, music and craft, although other areas such as tattoo art, photography and film are emerging. **Ethiopia** works closely with other stakeholders to ensure that women are involved in activities in the cultural industries that generate income. **Mexico** inaugurated a programme targeting indigenous people with a focus on gender equality. Among its five main lines of action it provides support for indigenous cultural micro-entrepreneurs.

Visibility and awareness-raising

Cook Islands, Ethiopia, Iraq, Niger, Slovakia and **Sri Lanka** reported on leveraging media to bolster the visibility of women's contribution to the cultural sector. **Cook Islands** and **Ethiopia** mentioned International Women's Day (8 March) as an opportunity to celebrate and recognize women in this regard. Cultural events, festivals, exhibitions, galleries, publications and film screenings are considered critical spaces for both women and men artists. **Iraq** reiterated that cultural festivals in and outside the country can be fruitful opportunities for women's participation in culture. **Spain** established a series of focused initiatives, including Patrimonio en Femenino, to bring to the forefront women's contribution to culture throughout history, and Ellas Crean, a festival tailored to women artists. Gender-sensitive research was also considered by respondents as crucial to reinforcing awareness-raising objectives. For instance, **Greece** has led several innovative studies on women's representation, access and career development in various artistic fields. As reported by a number of Member States, awards and contests can be another avenue to promoting women creators, such as the award 'Women as Producers of Culture' in **Portugal**, and the 'Women in Visual Arts Award' launched by **Brazil's** National Arts Foundation (FUNARTE). To boost public awareness of women's contributions to culture, **Montenegro** founded the Women's Museum of Montenegro, in cooperation with civil society partners, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights and the Parliament of Montenegro.

Statistics and indicators

Several Member States indicated that their national cultural statistics are not disaggregated by sex.

Finland's Ministry of Education and Culture carries out studies and compiles statistics on gender equality in the arts and culture, with a view to systematically monitor equality between men and women in culture. For example, it reported that while general employment declined in the cultural sectors from 2010 to 2012 by over 5 per cent, in predominantly feminized fields in the arts and in literature there was an increase in women's employment. Based on sex-disaggregated statistical data for 2012, women comprised 53 per cent of all employees in creative industries. Statistics Sweden, the central state agency for statistics in **Sweden**, gathers comprehensive data to measure implemented policies and identify gaps. Drawing on these statistics, Sweden reported greater equality in recent years in the performing arts, as well as a general increase in income for women culture professionals, which varies according to the cultural domain.

Most Member States referred to the use of indicators developed at national level on the consumption of cultural goods. For instance, **Peru** leads time-use surveys and household surveys to build sex-disaggregated data on annual participation in cultural activities at national level.

Some respondents reported on the collection of sex-disaggregated statistical data on employment in the cultural sector. **Canada** cited the 'National Household Survey: Education and Labour' of 2011, which provides a breakdown of employment data, including various cultural industries. In **Latvia**, employment data in the culture sector covers cultural domains, such as museums, art galleries, cultural and creative industries and artistic collectives (e.g. choirs, dance groups and folk art collectives). **Norway** reported that Statistics Norway publishes annually gender data in culture from varied sources, including employment and positions in museums, the cultural industries, funding and grants, and cultural consumption and leisure activities such as reading and cinema visitation. **Australia** collects data via a range of sources, including the national census, and targeted surveys of attendance at selected cultural venues and events, and participation and employment in arts and culture. Statistics are disaggregated both by sex and age.

Pura Tirta Empul Temple purifying pools, Bali, Indonesia.
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Chapter 2:
Heritage

Overview
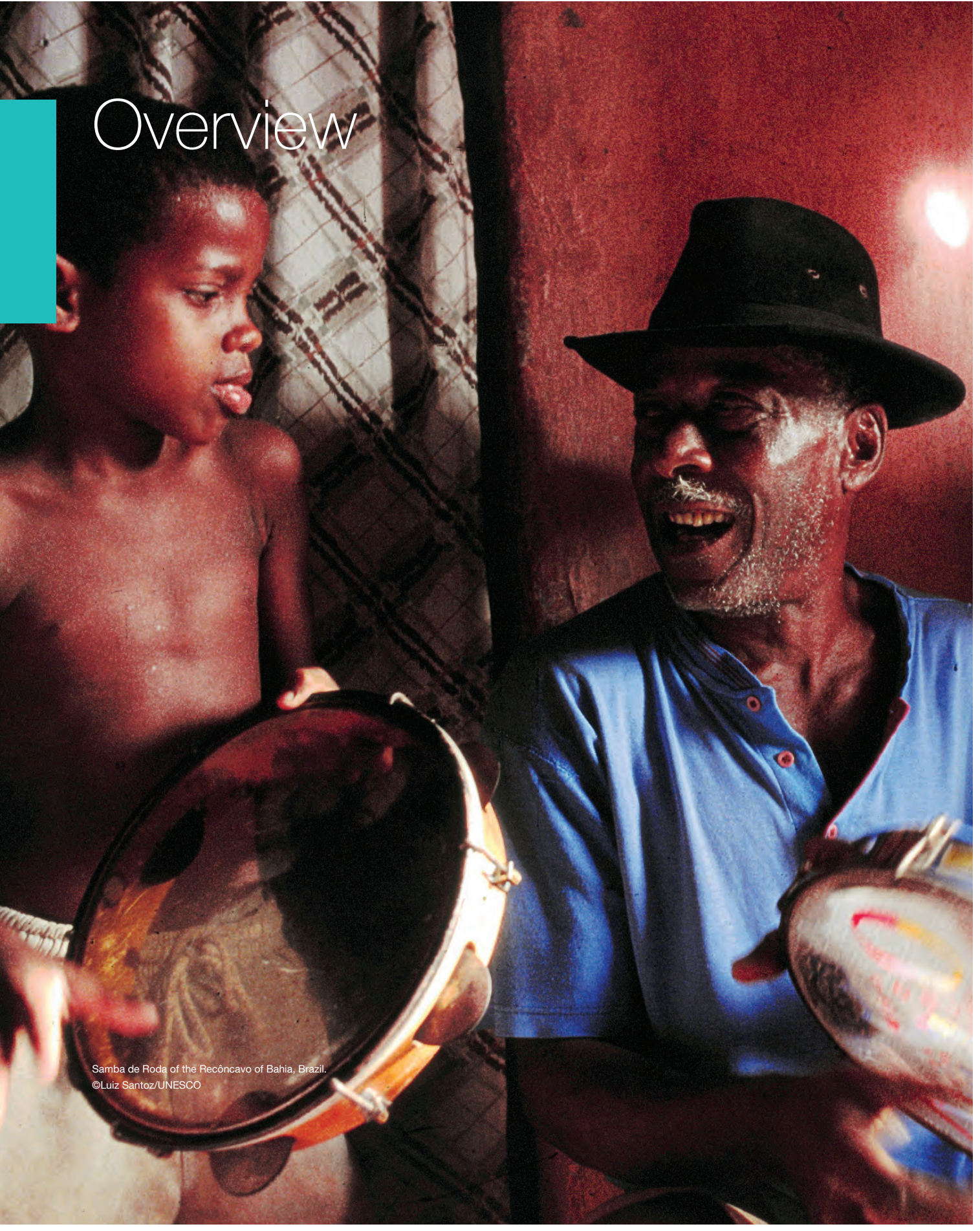
Samba de Roda of the Recôncavo of Bahia, Brazil.
©Luiz Santoz/UNESCO

Heritage: a subjective, gendered concept

Heritage is commonly understood as a legacy from past generations, cherished in the present for its recognized aesthetic, spiritual and social values within society. It comprises historic monuments, cultural properties and artefacts, landscapes, natural environments, as well as intangible, or living, heritage. These same values compel individuals, groups and communities to draw significance and enjoyment from their heritage in the present, and to transmit it to future generations. The historical continuum to which societies aspire relies on the transmission of heritage and its associated values through time. No community will strive to preserve or transmit what it does not value, and heritage mirrors the values it chooses to transmit. Heritage identification, preservation and transmission are therefore the result of a choice.

This explains why some artefacts, places or expressions that had no particular value or cultural significance at one point in time may later take on high value due to new historical, archaeological or symbolic meanings of a different period. Creation, reinterpretation, rehabilitation and transmission of heritage traverse diverse and unexpected trajectories. Heritage is not static and is constantly evolving in response to shifting circumstances, needs, knowledge and values.

This also explains why heritage identified in a given time and place is necessarily impacted by gender relations within society. Gender relations play a determinant role in shaping what we understand and value as heritage. Applying a gender perspective to heritage brings to the fore the different ways individuals experience heritage and contribute to its transmission and reinterpretation over generations. Moreover, certain heritage practices or places that had restrictions for men or women in the past may be recognized and perpetuated today by a different value system than when they were initially created. A human rights framework in heritage builds on the common principles of equality and non-discrimination enshrined in the core human rights treaties and the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. Questions then surface over the often-disputed delineation between discrimination and difference, and who is best positioned to make these decisions.

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This overview will address the ways in which gender equality and heritage interconnect and, specifically, the extent to which gender equality provides a framework for a more inclusive and broader definition of heritage. It will also examine how heritage interpretation, transmission, conservation, safeguarding and management can, in turn, encourage gender equality. To date the relationship between gender equality, cultural heritage and development has figured at the margins of policy-making and research despite the tacit recognition of the multiple layers of interconnectedness between them. This is an emerging interdisciplinary field of study and one that, as this report will highlight, can provide valuable lessons for approaches to sustainable development, which could prove useful to governments, civil society and communities in their development efforts.

Since its establishment almost seventy years ago, UNESCO has developed a comprehensive set of standard-setting instruments in the area of heritage that constitute a global cultural governance system. The framework of analysis in this chapter takes into account

experiences from the implementation of these instruments[8] as well as from responses by UNESCO Member States to the questionnaire. It is complemented by insights from academia and cultural professionals.

Gender equality for heritage

What is valued and recognized as heritage is significantly impacted by gender, and the unequal power dynamics between genders in society at large impact directly on the definition of heritage. Heritage, like other policy areas, does not exist in a vacuum and is shaped by and reflects power structures that govern the rights and opportunities of genders in a given community.

The way heritage is passed down from one generation and conveyed to the next is most often gender-specific. Intergenerational transmission can happen from father to son, mother to daughter, mother to son, or father to daughter. Not only can practices be gender-defined (e.g. specific crafts, agricultural practices), but also spaces and their access. In all cases, gender roles are defined within the heritage concerned and are transmitted as such, strengthening social reproduction and its gender relations and stereotypes, including their unequal nature.

Looking through a 'gender lens' at the processes that create and recreate heritage's ongoing value shows that assigning significance to heritage is the outcome of choice and has a direct connection with participation in decision-making processes. Individuals and groups marginalized from this process will have no say in determining which heritage expressions are valued. In addition, they will not be able to impact on how it is valued, for what reasons, and whose contribution is acknowledged in such heritage.

A gender equality approach to heritage therefore requires consideration of how genders are affected differently by power structures within their community and families.

- Who defines what heritage is and its significance?
- Who decides the collective identity?
- Who speaks? Who is heard?
- Who benefits and who is disadvantaged?
- Who can access and enjoy heritage?
- Who decides limitations to heritage?
- Who has the power to make decisions over individual and community resources?
- Who decides which heritage expressions deserve protection?

Applying a gender lens to heritage definition exposes the extent to which women often remain largely unrecognized or undervalued in heritage, including their contribution to its creation and recreation, and how they are maintained in this invisible role as part of a broader domination system. Gender inequalities come into play from the process of heritage identification and are interweaved through its transmission and formal protection. Androcentric interpretations of heritage have been noted as dominating the ways in which heritage is identified and selected at national and international levels (Moghadam and Bagheritari, 2005; Labadi, 2013). In discussing UK heritage, Lowenthal (1998) argues how heritage interpretation can often restrict women's roles to 'bearing and birthing the men who succeeded to it' and that 'heritage is traditionally a man's world, inheritance largely a matter of fathers and sons'. Local decision-making structures can also have a strong bearing on heritage identification. For example, the *kgotla* (ward) system,[9] a living heritage in Botswana, decides upon socio-cultural issues at local authority level, including those relating to cultural heritage values and interpretation. While the kgotla system has democratic qualities, it is patriarchal in nature and can discriminate against women in decision-

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8   Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954) with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention and its 1954 and 1999 Protocols; Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970); Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972); Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001); and Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003).

9   Case study courtesy of Susan O.Keitumetse, University of Botswana, Botswana.

making and actively participate in a male-dominated environment as concerns heritage. At local level where cultural heritage is more diverse, it is the kgotla that vets heritage for various uses and conservation. Therefore, decision-making on what is considered valuable and worthy of identification as cultural heritage is likely to follow male-oriented heritage lines. Boswell's (2011) research on gender and heritage in the southwest Indian Ocean region reveals that while women are vital to the creation and transmission of heritage, they are rarely encouraged to participate in the identification and 'formal' safeguarding of their heritage. This marginalization and exclusion from decision-making and representation in heritage has implications for women's identities in today's societies. As Smith (2008) argues, 'if women are invisible and devalued in the way they are portrayed through a nation's heritage, this will reinforce the contemporary values and inequalities given to women's identities, social values and experience'.

Cultural spaces are often gendered, which includes the idea of female-only/male-only spaces as well as 'grey' areas where infringement of these parameters is permissible, albeit taboo. The public and private spheres have been noted as having a significant influence on the development and prevalence of gender roles and relations in many societies. Across all societies, women who have traditionally performed their roles in the private or domestic sphere have seen these activities treated as inferior, while men historically have dominated public life, which has been valued as more relevant or important.[10] In turn, it has traditionally influenced heritage creation, identification and transmission. Storytelling and oral tradition can be a tool to promote self-assertion, negotiation skills and to claim rights and freedoms. As Blake describes in this chapter, the cultural practice of the *Naqqāli* in Iran (story-telling in verse or prose, accompanied by special gestures and movements) can offer women Naqqālis social status as bearers of Persian culture in a society where women don't usually perform publicly. Blake also notes the importance of distinguishing between women's ability to have a voice, visibility and agency within the private sphere from 'empowerment' and the exercise of their rights in the public sphere.

Urban development can also reflect and reinforce gender inequalities. The 'spatial expression of patriarchy' in cities (Valentine, 1989) can impact women's equitable access to space and resources, and can compromise safety and mobility in public spaces (Narayanan, 2012). Over half the human population now lives in urban areas, and structural demographic changes and increased urbanization will also further impact the negotiation of gendered spaces within cities. Cities and urban ensembles are today one of the most represented categories of properties on the UNESCO World Heritage List. As a policy guideline for national and local authorities, the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 2011, recognized the dynamic nature of urban living and recommended refocusing urban development into a more inclusive process to increase the long-term sustainability of planning and design interventions. It underlines that:

> Under processes of demographic shifts, global market liberalization and decentralization, as well as mass tourism, market exploitation of heritage, and climate change, conditions have changed and cities are subject to development pressures and challenges not present at the time of adoption of the most recent UNESCO recommendation on historic areas in 1976 (Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas)'.

This reflects the increasing impetus for local authorities to address the relationship between urban development, public space and gender inequalities.

As heritage is a result of choice, it evolves together with its social context, identification and interpretation. There are countless heritage practices or spaces that have had gender restrictions and that are today recognized and perpetuated today without restrictions, by a different value system than when initially created. There are also more and more places, monuments or artefacts linked to non-dominant genders that are recognized as heritage and valued as such.

Opening heritage access to both women and men can be a powerful means of challenging gender norms and stereotypes while at the same time strengthening its value within the community. Policies and measures taken by Member States and UNESCO provide illustrative guidelines on how heritage can be socially transformative and critical for the sustainable development of heritage. For example, in the Millennium Development Goals

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10   The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) notes that '[i]n all nations, cultural traditions and religious beliefs have played a part in confining women to the private spheres of activity and excluding them from active participation in public life'. General Recommendation 23, Political and Public Life (1997), A/52/38/Rev.1 at para. 10.

Achievement Fund (MDG-F) Joint Programme in Turkey, women were strongly encouraged to join and practise the historically masculine Minstrelsy singing tradition.[11] In Nigeria, women play significant roles in festivals, as well as rituals, social events, and oral expressions such as poetry.[12] Festivals and other cultural events have demonstrated a high participation of women and beneficial results for income generation for women and their families.[13] Likewise, the MDG-F Joint Programme, 'Sustainable Cultural Tourism in Namibia', targeted cultural tourism development as a vehicle for poverty reduction, particularly among women, disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. A national mapping exercise was implemented through surveys and local campaigns in order to identify and document places of importance to the communities living in each region of Namibia. Local community members were trained to document intangible cultural heritage (ICH) elements, and women and youth were given preference in both the selection process and for inventorying.[14] In the case of the *Namsadang Kari* 'all male vagabond clown theatre' in the Republic of Korea, gender equality is championed through public satire performances that mirror social issues, such as the oppression of women in a male-dominated society. Heritage thereby serves an important social function of union and exchange between performer and audience, and contributes to raising awareness and giving voice to key issues in the public realm.

Moreover, whether heritage is identified as being practised solely by men or by women does not necessarily signify that the other sex is not present or relevant in processes of interpretation, transmission and protection/safeguarding. Putting a gender lens to heritage within a community highlights the often complementary roles of women and men. For example, in the Leuven age set ritual repertoire in Belgium of the rites of passage for men leading up to their 50th birthday, women have increasingly played prominent roles in different stages of the organization of the celebrations, as 'godmothers' and supporters. A particular heritage expression may be practised only by one sex but can have strong value

Gender equality can be instrumental in broadening the definition of cultural heritage and enriching its scope and meaning for the benefit of society at large.

in terms of identity-building that is socially inclusive and based on respect for the mutually complementary roles of women and men within that community. As heritage is constantly evolving, sex-specific transmission may shift at community level to include the participation of both women and men, such as in the case of the *Sanbasomawashi* (New Year Performance) in Japan that was once a male-male transmitted practice. Similarly, in the case of *compagnonnage*, a network for on-the-job transmission of knowledge and identities (France), a training system for young people has recently highlighted women's contribution to this practice, whereas previously it was limited to men.

Gender equality can be instrumental in broadening the definition of cultural heritage and enriching its scope and meaning for the benefit of society at large. It can promote a new interpretation of history, where women and men's contributions are equally recognized and valued. It implies negotiating new opportunities of expression from different gender perspectives that in turn will define new expressions of heritage. This enlarged and inclusive heritage definition can in turn promote greater gender equality and respect within society, impact on power relations between genders, and support the human rights framework and its transformative potential to ensure participation in, access to and contribution of all to cultural life.

11   With funding from the Government of Spain of approximately $US 710M, the MDG-Fund financed 18 Joint Programmes on culture and development. For further information on the MDG-F Joint Programme in Turkey, see: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/TURKEY%20MDG-F%20C&D%20JP%20web%20fiche.pdf
12   Response by Nigeria to the UNESCO questionnaire.
13   Response by Ethiopia to the UNESCO questionnaire.
14   See http://www.mdgfund.org/sites/default/files/Namibia%20-%20Culture%20-%20Final%20Evaluation%20Report.pdf

Women in African History: An E-Learning Tool. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti (Nigeria).
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Heritage
for gender equality

Many years ago, anthropologists, white men, came to collect information about us. They spoke to the men, and the men gave them information on their stories. We waited for them to come to us, but they never returned. We want our stories recorded so the young women will be able to continue and keep our information alive – not let it die. We want this for our jarjums (young children) to come. We have already lost so much of our language, we do not want our stories to go.[15]

As heritage interpretation mirrors the gendered inequalities that exist more broadly in society today, the individuals who make the decisions concerning heritage can play a vital role in the evolution and sustainability of the heritage. In matrilineal societies such as the Banyankole, Banyora and Toro in Uganda, the princesses and queen mothers made decisions on the selection of new leaders and performed leadership roles. Traditional leadership roles of women have largely dissipated over time, but the transmission of such roles has prevailed in some communities, such as in the case of the World Heritage site of Kasubi Tombs in Uganda (Box 1). Giving voice and visibility to women leaders in African history who were previously not included was the driving force behind the UNESCO 'Women in African History: An E-Learning Tool',[16] which supports the implementation of the Pedagogical Use of The General History of Africa. The open educational resource and multimedia content is a result of the collaboration of young comic strip artists, illustrators, hip-hop artists and slammers from across Africa and the African Diaspora. Through creative content, the tool is designed to enhance gender equality in African historiography and highlights the contributions of African and Diasporic African women as key figures in the process of development.

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15   Robyne Bancroft quoting her grandmother in Bancroft, R. (2001).
16   See http://en.unesco.org/womeninafrica/.

Kasubi Tombs, World Heritage property, Uganda.
© CRAterre / Sébastien Moriset

BOX 1. Recognition of women's roles in the management and conservation of heritage: Kasubi Tombs, World Heritage property, Uganda

As the burial site of the previous four Kabakas - or rulers - of the Buganda kingdom, the Kasubi Tombs are a renowned spiritual centre for the Baganda people. Rituals related to Ganda culture are frequently carried out at the tombs, which are visited by numerous Baganda medicine men and women who consult the Kabaka's spirits for blessings in their trade. As the traditional custodians and guardians of this site, women have been recognized for their vital role in the spiritual significance, conservation and management of the site.

The Kasubi Tombs are under the overall guardianship of the *Nalinya*, the titular sister of the king of the Baganda people and the spiritual guardian of the site. The management of the heritage site has remained under the responsibility of the Buganda kingdom, namely the Nalinya, as well as the custodians – the Kabaka's widows, the guards and the thatchers. The women are responsible for the transmission of stories and spiritual values of the tombs by practising the rituals and ensuring that traditions are respected. In 2010 a fire destroyed the main tomb, known as the Muzibu Mzaala Mpanga. By subsequently placing the site on the List of World Heritage in Danger, the international community emphasized the vital role and profile of the custodians and artisans in relation to their knowledge of traditional practices as well as to ensure they have appropriate living and working conditions.[17] Most of year the women live within their communities, but one month each year they assume their roles on-site as the Kabaka widows. While the women have been appointed these special spiritual and management roles, they receive no financial remuneration, and it still needs to be understood how their key spiritual roles at the site affect their status in their communities, and whether they are 'empowered' by these roles.

17   See World Heritage Committee Decision 35 COM 7A.17. (UNESCO, 2011*b*).

Heritage interpretation and the way in which collections are presented to and understood by the public in cultural institutions can also be gendered. As mirrors of society and storehouses of knowledge, museums and other cultural institutions help define and reinforce collective identities. In heritage, sex-disaggregated data for cultural consumption is predominantly drawn from museum visitation, revealing women as the primary cultural consumers. For example, data collected by Kulturstyrelsen, the Danish Agency for Culture, shows that from 2009 to 2011, six out of ten museum users were women, while men are underrepresented in almost all age groups in proportion to the population (Kulturstyrelsen, 2012).

Recent studies have put the spotlight on underlying gender dynamics and inequalities in museums. In 2011, the UNESCO Office in Hanoi (Viet Nam) conducted a gender analysis of Viet Nam's culture sector with a specific emphasis on museums, including exhibition content, staff and personnel policies, and museum visitors. The study revealed that staff across all six museums was largely feminized, and there was a gendered division of labour in certain professions. Male staff tend be more highly qualified, working in research, and are often responsible for fieldwork, photo-shoots and physical labour. Women predominate in roles such as tour guides, educators and conservators. Women's and men's representation at decision-making level was gender balanced. The study's analysis of exhibition content revealed dichotomous representations of men and women. Women are commonly depicted as war victims, in traditional contexts, clothing, and involved in agricultural activities, and as mothers, in the household and rural areas. Men are predominantly featured in urban spaces, wearing modern clothing as active contributors to modern society, and as the heroic soldier. This tendency to underrepresent and sometimes exclude women from heritage interpretation counters pluralism in historical narratives, and undermines women's contribution to, and recognition within heritage.

Concerning government policy, several initiatives have targeted the promotion of gender equality within museums. For example, in 2010 the Swedish National Historical Museums was requested to produce material and develop methods for more gender-equal representation in collections and exhibitions to be applied throughout the entire museum sector. The remit also includes highlighting good examples nationally and internationally and cooperating with higher education institutions and other institutions and organizations in the

The gaps between women and men in choices and voices in heritage affect its role within the community, as well as its management and representation.

area of culture. In total, US$ 440,000 (SEK 3 million) was allocated for 2011 to 2014.[18] In 2000, Museums Australia introduced a 'Women's Policy for Museum Programmes and Practice' seeking to ensure equal representation of women and men on museum boards and participation in the development of museum policies and programmes. The desired objective is to ensure that the diverse lives of women are represented in museum collections.[19]

The extent to which individuals and communities can make decisions about their heritage, its conservation, safeguarding and management is also marked along gender lines. The equal right of women and men to take part in heritage means having a voice and the ability to make choices on determining which forms of heritage hold significance for the community and why. It also includes an individual's right to choose his or her heritage.[20] The gaps between women and men in choices and voices in heritage affect the role of heritage within the community, as well as its management and representation.

Due to broader structural gender inequalities within society, women are often marginalized from decision-making processes concerning heritage. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU, 2014), globally women represent on average one in five members of national parliaments, and the absence of women in decision-making processes and mechanisms at national and local levels affects the policies that directly impact on them and their families. For example, studies in India have shown that the increase in elected women policy-makers in village decision-making fora (*panchayat*) has led to

18 Response of Sweden to the UNESCO questionnaire.
19 See http://www.museumsaustralia.org.au/userfiles/file/Policies/women.pdf
20 A/HRC/17/38.

more policies on issues directly affecting their quality of life, such as health, education and public infrastructure (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004). In Ethiopia, women's representation in political decision-making has increased, evidenced by women representatives within the national legislative house (14% in 2000, 21% in 2005 and 29% in 2010), and a majority of discriminatory laws that have been in force for decades have been revised and replaced with more progressive laws that respect and protect the rights of women.[21]

Ensuring women's participation and decision-making in heritage through a multi-stakeholder and contextual approach has shown beneficial results for gender-responsive action in national policy-making. Working in close collaboration with local communities and actors to open dialogue and promote gender equality has underpinned the approach of the capacity-building activities of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), which has yielded sustainable results (Box 2.) Recognizing the role that local leaders play in shaping perception in communities, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Ethiopia works extensively with traditional leaders, who can be engaged as critical allies in fostering an enabling environment for gender equality.[22] In the Pacific region, faith-based organizations can often maintain a moral authority in the societies and influence a wide range of issues. For example, in 2013 the Pacific Congregational Churches (PCC) in cooperation with the UNESCO Office in Apia, launched 'Church Leadership to End Violence against Women', a project focused on engaging men as partners in gender equality, targeting gender-based violence. A manual was developed in consultation with both women and men, and its implementation was generated and supported through the leadership roles of churches in their denominations, congregations and communities as a means of encouraging other men to promote gender equality and women's empowerment.

In recognition of the importance of gender equality for the good governance of culture, including heritage, the Stockholm Action Plan on Cultural Policies (1998) noted that 'cultural policies should aim to create a sense of the nation as a multifaceted community within the framework of national unity - a community rooted in values that can be shared by all men and women and give access, space and voice to all its members'. In this regard, it recommended that Member States 'ensure [women's]

participation in the formulation and implementation of cultural policies at all levels'.[23]

Gender has a bearing on the access to and mobility within professional fields in heritage, and broadly reflects prevailing gender roles and stereotypes in society. Targeted gender-responsive policies and measures can have a major impact on equal participation in heritage (Box 3). Gender can affect critical factors, such as researchers' access to information and heritage locations and, as explained by underwater archaeologist, Dolores Elkin (Box 4), it can also affect the extent to which people can exercise certain heritage professions.

Burundi.
© Gary Barker/ Promundo

21   Response by Ethiopia to the UNESCO questionnaire.
22   Ibid.

23   See http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ files/35220/12290888881stockholm_actionplan_rec_en.pdf/ stockholm_actionplan_rec_en.pdf

BOX 2. Strengthening capacities for gender-responsive action: International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)

Capacity-building is an IUCN-led action of the Global Gender and Climate Alliance (GGCA), a strategic collaboration convening now nearly 100 UN agencies and civil society organizations focused on developing capacities on the linkages between gender and climate change. The GGCA's objective is to facilitate and drive implementation on the ground to enhance the understanding of women as agents of change rather than vulnerable persons or victims, and to demonstrate that advancing gender equality benefits climate resilience and broader development outcomes. It also promotes a more active role for women in discussions

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and decisions about climate change, expanding the capabilities of community-based and women's organizations to critically engage in dialogue with policy-makers. Through these exchanges, decision-makers gain insight into women's needs and perspectives and can pursue appropriate government responses.

As part of the GGCA capacity-building continuum, **Climate Change and Gender Action Plans (ccGAPs)** have been developed in 110 countries, thereby becoming a driving force behind the development of gender-sensitive policies and initiatives at national level. Each country's distinct context is taken into account in the approach. However, some elements of the methodology are universal: an understanding of the political, socio-economic, and environmental circumstances; capacity-building on targeted themes to ensure strong engagement and ownership; and a participatory and multi-stakeholder process. Specific training is given to women and women's organizations as part of a four-step methodology developed by IUCN to strengthen multi-stakeholder engagement:

1. *Take stock.* Analyse the country's legislative and policy framework and institutional initiatives on gender and climate change through stakeholder mapping, interviews with key stakeholders and potential champions, and assessment of technical capacities.

2. *Level the playing field.* Provide training for women and women's organizations, and establish women's priorities in relation to gender and climate change.

3. *Capture diverse voices.* Ensure workshops are multi-stakeholder with government, civil society, international institutions, academia, etc. Carry out in-country assessment of gender and climate change, and develop action steps across priority sectors.

4. *Prioritize and put into action*. Create action plans by national teams through multi-stakeholder workshops. Validate process with government staff. Ensure monitoring of implementation through progress reports and course corrections.

Lorena Aguilar
Global Senior Gender Advisor, IUCN

BOX 3. Implementing labour policies for gender equality and women's empowerment: Serra da Capivara National Park region, Brazil

A gender-responsive labour policy introduced by the management of the World Heritage site of Serra da Capivara National Park in Brazil has highlighted the benefits of boosting women's roles in the management of heritage sites to catalyse social transformations and dialogue over gender roles, thereby strengthening the social position of women and ensuring the sustainable and efficient protection of heritage sites. The labour policy was introduced in 2002 to hire women for surveillance activities and to guard the entrances to the park in view of improving productivity and demonstrating that women were also capable of carrying out traditionally male-orientated functions. The female staff performed their work with responsibility and efficiency, and their economic independence enabled them to provide for their families.

Today, FUMDHAM employs 140 employees, including 104 women. Of these, 58 women are entrance booth staff or rangers that deal directly with the flow of visitors to the Serra da Capivara National Park and help protect its assets. Women also hold positions in architecture, coordination, administration, accounting, research laboratories, archaeology and archiving. The Serra da Capivara National Park, through its management entity, has made a deliberate choice to promote gender equality by assisting women, with mutual benefits, and strengthening their social position. This example shows that there are different ways to protect heritage, provide financial freedom for women and generate positive impacts on local development.

Anne-Marie Pessis, Niéde Guidon, Gabriela Martin
Fundação Museu do Homem Americano – FUMDHAM
(Museum of the American Man Foundation), Brazil

BOX 4. Perspective[24]

As a female archaeologist and professional scientific diver there are certain challenges that women face in the profession. Worldwide, diving often involves more men than women and tends to be related to other 'male-oriented' tasks, such as driving boats, using and repairing machines and equipment, and handling heavy items. This probably explains the 'glass ceiling' for women, which I have experienced at times with certain male divers. For instance, when I had to take a diving exam with the local coast guard authorities, I felt that the person supervising the exam was expecting me to fail, and even made jokes about me being a woman. On occasion you feel you have to double your efforts to prove that you are capable of something, and to cope with disrespectful attitudes.

It is true that women are usually physically smaller than men and in a diving environment they may need the assistance of men for certain activities. This is especially the case when dealing with equipment on a vessel or diving platform. But once underwater any woman can be as good as any man for performing tasks such as excavating, assessing the nature of an archaeological site, interpreting the stratigraphy, drawing, taking photographs, sampling, etc. Additionally, diving is just one component of dealing with underwater cultural heritage. There are many other tasks, such as laboratory or desk-based work, writing, publishing, fundraising, teaching, talking to the media, and interacting with the public, which do not require physical strength, or even diving. In my view, in the research and management of underwater cultural heritage 'package', there is room for a variety of people, with all sorts of skills, to get involved. And definitely both men and women. It is not a matter of giving privileges to women, just equal opportunities.

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Archaeologist and professional scientific diver
Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas
– (CONICET National Research Council), Argentina

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Based on the gender roles attributed to certain types of heritage, information gathering may entail gender restrictions or protocols. Female knowledge holders, when discussing women's affairs, may not share this information with a male recorder, and likewise for men's affairs. In such a way, gender roles that render people invisible in their societies may also make them invisible to the external gaze. In recent decades, gender has taken on greater consideration within heritage disciplines,[25] which has been reflected in policy initiatives. For example, in Peru, the Directorate of Intangible Cultural Heritage has taken steps to appoint women anthropologists to register information about specific women's cultural practices.[26]

In Mexico, gender equality, particularly within indigenous communities, was the focus of research and action plans implemented from 2003 to 2013 by the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH).[27] The need for more research and action plans highlighting women's roles in the safeguarding and protection of heritage or in the fight against illicit trafficking of cultural property also emerged in the questionnaire from Member States. Reassessments of research and re-interpretations of the past have broadened and elucidated questions pertaining to how the past is understood, how the present is questioned, and who controls these interpretations. Strengthening the awareness of gender equality in education is therefore instrumental in developing new generations of heritage professionals.

24   Excerpt of an interview with Dolores Elkin. Full interview available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/gender-and-culture/gender-and-culture/
25   See, for example, Conkey, M. W. and Spector, J. (1984).
26   Response by Peru to the UNESCO questionnaire.

27   Response by Mexico to the UNESCO questionnaire.

Gender equality
and heritage for development

Heritage and gender equality enjoy a mutually reinforcing and dynamic relationship with tremendous potential for supporting and achieving development goals. Identifying the synergies between heritage and gender equality can generate positive social transformations at the community level.

Traditional knowledge of natural heritage environments can be vital to ensuring a balanced ecosystem, food security, biodiversity, and addressing climate change impacts. Traditional knowledge is gendered (Berkes, 2012), and while men and women share knowledge, they also hold distinct knowledge sets relating to differing and complementary roles in society and in production. Strengthening the intergenerational transmission of Kallawaya traditional medical knowledge and practices to younger members of the community and highlighting women and young people's contributions are the objectives underpinning a series of six workshops currently underway throughout Bolivia involving the participation of 25 Kallawaya men and women. The Kallawayas have long been regarded as a group of male travelers and healers, and generally only Kallawaya men have had access to training opportunities. These workshops led by UNESCO Quito over an 18-month period work to highlight the participation of women and young people who contribute to collecting plants, preparing night remedies and cures. In the Cook Islands, for example, while traditional practices in natural medicine are often gender-specific, no gender restrictions exist and non-traditional genders can participate.[28]

The international legal framework for the protection of indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge, traditional cultural expressions and genetic resources has been an area of significant development in recent years.[29] Women's traditional roles as keepers of biodiversity are widely recognized and reflected in several international

plans of action and organizations concerned with biodiversity, health and food security. The Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, for example, in 2004 launched the guidelines 'Akwé: Kon' for conducting cultural, environmental and social impact assessments of developments proposed to take place on, or which are likely to impact on, sacred sites and on lands and waters traditionally occupied or used by indigenous and local communities. The guidelines are voluntary and intend to support parties and governments in the development and implementation of their impact-assessment regimes in cooperation with indigenous and local communities, and contain a particular focus on the potential impacts on women in the affected community.

Recognizing women's roles as primary land and resource managers is central to the success of biodiversity policy and heritage. Although women's contribution to agricultural production is significant, particularly in developing regions, it is undervalued and underreported; their work is often unrecognized because it is carried out in the framework of the informal economy or is considered part of household responsibilities (UN, 2008). Reaching their full potential can also be curtailed due to discriminatory succession laws, and restrictions to resources or controlling financial assets. From 2012 to 2013, the Women Farmers Training Cooperation Protocol in Turkey implemented a women's rights and gender-responsive approach in the training of 760 rural women farmers to strengthen their technical skills and knowledge of agricultural production. In recognition of women's traditional knowledge and practices of land management, the programme further focused on building up management skills, as well as raising awareness about key women's rights issues, such as violence against women.[30]

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28 Response by Cook Islands to the UNESCO questionnaire.
29 See especially the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Convention on Biological Diversity. Cultures and languages are an integral part of the mandate of UNESCO, see for example the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Other international standards reinforce the importance of rights to cultures and languages and can be of relevance to indigenous peoples, including the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities, and the ASEAN Declaration on Cultural Heritage.

30 Case study courtesy of the Permanent Delegation of Turkey to UNESCO.

COMPACT apiculture ecotourism project at Punta Allen, Mexico.
© J. Moure

Heritage also offers community-driven economic development opportunities, for example, through tourism and traditional craftsmanship, or learning and sharing new skills. Gender equality is not necessarily applied when it comes to economic opportunities. For example, the case of the 'hanyeo' of Jeju Island, Republic of Korea, illustrates the vulnerability of women in maintaining their traditional livelihoods when faced with the pressures of new technology or external competition due to their own weaker socio-economic position and more limited access to productive resources. In Jeju Island, this traditionally female-only practice has been transmitted from generation to generation from mother to daughter. In recent years, the rise of tourism on the Island, new technologies and other factors have increased the economic return of this particular form of diving, attracting new competition from male divers, who have entered the market with more sophisticated diving equipment and are now controlling the practice. Losing the female traditional practitioners of this diving goes beyond the economic impact to their livelihood: it

risks losing valuable knowledge of marine ecology on the basis of inherited teachings and direct experiences of the topography of the seabed, tidal time, wind, rocks and other marine resources. Several initiatives implemented at policy level have demonstrated how gender equality and heritage can be instrumental for development. For example, a mentoring and apprenticeship workshop in Cyprus in 2013 provided young female and male artists, educators, archaeologists and designers the opportunity to study with women lacemakers of Lefkara to enhance the intergenerational transmission of this heritage. The workshop further strengthened community awareness of the womens' roles, and boosted their teaching and income-generating activities.[31]

Broadening participation in the income-generating activities at and around heritage sites can have significant benefits for women's empowerment as well as for the wider community. As vital contributors to cultural life in urban and rural areas in Ethiopia, women play key roles in performing the traditional coffee ceremony, and contribute to the tourism industry through site interpretation at cultural heritage sites.[32] Fostering women's participation in the sustainable use of available resources and providing training in tourism management can provide women with a conducive environment and skillset to initiate entrepreneurial initiatives in areas that may be male-dominated. The UNDP-UNESCO partnership through the COMPACT programme,[33] for example, has provided a systematic approach to benefiting local communities and women's agency in this regard. The Ecotourism project at Punta Allen, part of the World Heritage property, Sian Ka'aN, in Mexico, established capacity-building programmes for women that generated eco-tourism initiatives led and managed by women in the biosphere reserve of Sian Ka'an. Noting the commercial success of their husbands in fishing and tourism, the women (now referred to as the 'orchids of Sian Ka'an') came together to diversify the resource base of the community and boost their family incomes through an innovative project in Quintana Roo, Mexico. They had little experience as tourism entrepreneurs, and combined their work with their roles at home and within the community. Interpretative training and investment in appropriate infrastructures became critical over the two-year duration of the project. Twenty six women aged between 20 and 64 were trained as community entrepreneurs and certified tour guides.

31   Response by Cyprus to the UNESCO questionnaire.
32   Response by Ethiopia to the UNESCO questionnaire.
33   Case study courtesy of Amareswar Galla, International Institute for the Inclusive Museum.

WHV 2013 - Dougga/Thugga, Tunisia
© UNESCO/ATAV

In 2010, a mapping of cultural assets of South Punjab was carried out in order to create an evidence-based platform in three districts, Vehari, Multan and Bahawalpur, with support from the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Islamabad and the UN's Delivering as One initiative. The mapping sought to identify cultural assets that are intrinsic to the identity as well as economic life of local communities. As the mapping highlighted the vitality of the local traditional craftswork, notably the embellishment of textiles, basic business and technical skills training were provided to women across the three districts to scale up the impact of their traditional skills and boost local livelihoods.

Bandō Tamasaburō.
© Kishin Shinoyama. Courtesy of G/P Gallery, 2014

Conclusion

Recognizing and enabling an inclusive, integrated and multi-stakeholder approach to heritage will have a significant bearing on the future sustainability of heritage and its impact on future generations. Culture itself is transformative and is manifested in individual and collective self-expression. Within a single society, there are multiple identities, users and producers of culture. While heritage, by designation, encompasses a vast spectrum of monuments, objects, practices and environments, it is people who identify, choose and carry out the actions for its protection, conservation and safeguarding. And therefore heritage is inevitably gendered.

Heritage's close connection to identity makes it a potent instrument of voice and representation for individuals, groups and nations. While we may proclaim that all voices are entitled to be heard, we know that some voices still carry further. Treating people as agents of change means giving the chance to be heard, to have access to the necessary resources and capabilities, and to be involved in decisions to choose and build their futures.

Culture itself is transformative and is manifested in individual and collective self-expression. Within a single society, there are multiple identities, users and producers of culture. While heritage, by designation, encompasses a vast spectrum of monuments, objects, practices and environments, it is people who identify, choose and carry out the actions for its protection, conservation and safeguarding. And therefore heritage is inevitably gendered.

Gender and Intangible Cultural Heritage

Janet Blake[34]

Taquile textile weaving, Peru.
© Curioso/Shutterstock.com

34   University of Shahid Beheshti, Iran

Introduction

Gender is largely ignored in heritage discourse and, where it is addressed, it is usually reduced to women's issues, as if men have no gender.[35] This is not surprising since the broader issue relates to the way power is gender-distributed in society. The existence of special status rights in the human rights field shows that international law treats women as a special category where necessary and such an approach is appropriate also to implementing international standards for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH). The role of women in achieving sustainable development is explicitly recognized in the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992) and should also be considered as an important factor when identifying ICH, drawing up safeguarding action plans and carrying out other ICH safeguarding actions.

The 2003 Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter the 2003 Convention) is the sole international treaty to address this heritage directly. However, the discussion here is a broader one that relates to ICH in general. Moreover, as this paper illustrates, the large invisibility of gendered roles in documentation and research on ICH makes it an often ignored category.

The issue of gender with regard to cultural traditions has been a concern in the human rights field at least since the late 1970s. In its 1995 report, the World Commission on Culture and Development (UNESCO, 1995) noted that the resourcefulness, initiative and creativity that women exhibit in resolving their daily problems of survival represent important local forms of organization, association and self-help[36] that are essential for taking a 'bottom-up' approach to development. In many if not the majority of cases, this knowledge and these coping strategies form part of the ICH practised and/or transmitted by women. In 1997 UNESCO adopted a programme to study the role of women in relation to intangible cultural heritage and its findings concluded that women play a central role in various areas of ICH, in particular in its inter-generational transmission.[37] Its Action Plan also noted 'the co-responsibility of women and men in sustaining the role women play in transmitting ICH'. UNESCO further decided in 1999 to undertake feasibility studies in six regions of the world for developing activities aimed at supporting women as central actors in maintaining ICH and in development. A follow-up meeting in 2001 expressed the following important insight

> … in the same way that the productive work that women do is undercounted and rendered invisible … so is their contribution to the transmission of intangible cultural heritage. Women's sphere is frequently devalued through association with the 'traditional', treated as the inferior partner in the 'modern/traditional' dichotomy.[38]

In 2003, the debate was extended to the question of Gender and Intangible Heritage[39] as one of a series of meetings aimed at clarifying issues touching on the implementation of the 2003 Convention.

During its early years of operation, there was concern that the 2003 Convention might address ICH in a 'gender-blind fashion' that would 'unwittingly reproduce or reinforce the discrimination and exclusion experienced by women' (Moghadam and Bagheritari, 2005). There is a need for mainstreaming gender perspectives into the implementation of the 2003 Convention at the national and international levels, but in a way that avoids an overly deterministic male-female conception of gender. This will be addressed below.

A note on gender in relation to ICH

Mainstreaming is intended to transform development such that equality becomes both a means and an end (UNESCO, 2008). This involves, *inter alia*, enhancing awareness of the gender dimensions of intangible cultural

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35   See Smith, L. (2008). Smith notes further that '[g]ender, alongside concepts of ethnicity and class, is perhaps one of the most un-problematized and naturalized aspects of identity within heritage discourses'. More broadly, see Logan, W.S. (2012), who argues that heritage needs to be understood as cultural practice with human rights brought to the foreground.

36   Such as the informal women's economic networks or *gamiyya* in Egypt and the similar traditions of *gharz-ul hasaneh* in Iran and women's credit unions in Britain.

37   The results were presented at the International Symposium on the Role of Women in the Transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage, Tehran, Iran, 27 to 30 September, 1999. Report available at: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00156-EN.pdf

38   See Synthesis Report http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00160-EN.pdf

39   See Final Report http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00125-EN.pdf

> Thus, a *gender-based perspective* needs to be employed which contextualizes the practices and activities of women by analysing the social relationships that women establish and the power system of the society in which they live.

heritage. There is, however, a danger inherent in such an approach, namely the preservation, or even reinforcement, of the mainstream gender order that assumes a dualistic form of gender equality between men and women.[40] This over-simplistic understanding of gender dynamics is particularly problematic, as we shall see, when applied to an area such as intangible cultural heritage. Rather, it is necessary to apply a critical reflection which places dualizing gender concepts under question instead of reinforcing them.

An important starting point in this discussion is the position that gender – however it is understood – should not be conceived of as an isolated category, but should always be viewed within the context of other social power relations. The use of the term 'gender' here is aimed at showing that differences often attributed to a woman's biological nature are, in fact, often the result of a woman's position in the social structure and the expectations placed on women by society in terms of their behaviour (Lorber, 1995). Thus, a *gender-based perspective* needs to be employed which contextualizes the practices and activities of women by analysing the social relationships that women establish and the power system of the society in which they live. This will also allow us to identify the differences that exist between individual women themselves and avoid taking a monolithic view

that essentializes all women while taking account of the processes of subordination and negotiation that women experience. Two important questions relate to this: How far is women's ICH neglected and unidentified? How does its interpretation and management legitimize gender stereotypes?

Women's productive work is often uncounted and made invisible (Massiah, 1994)[41] and so is their contribution to the creating and safeguarding of ICH, resulting in an uncomfortable paradox: the marginalization of women from a public sphere dominated by men often itself leads them to become the privileged reproducers of the ICH of their communities. The social spaces where women's ICH is enacted may, for example, simply represent the only spaces in which they are permitted by men to operate, and so the gender dimension of such ICH has to be taken account of when evaluating it (Sutherland-Addy, 2001). Thus, it is important to be aware of the dangers of celebrating their marginalization and exclusion from participation and decision-making within their communities. Again, this implies that the social relations and power dynamics associated with ICH practised solely by women and/or in women-only spaces be examined carefully: as much as they may empower, they may also reflect a deep disempowerment and a form of segregation that disadvantages women (and girls). It may, even, be necessary to examine the assumptions underlying the designation of certain ICH practices as predominantly female ones (e.g. handicrafts and certain *rites de passage*).

Gender relations are embedded in ICH and so applying a 'gender lens' to safeguarding it has to include looking at women's experiences vis-à-vis men *and* vice versa, as well as in relation to other genders that go beyond the male-female dichotomy and the power negotiations involved in that. In order to understand the roles of men and women in relation to ICH, we should concentrate not on the differences between these roles, but rather consider whether or not they generate the power to dominate and humiliate. In addition, it is important to compare and contrast these roles through a gendered analysis, for example by comparing the roles they play in producing and transmitting ICH (Sigel, 1996). When gender analyses of ICH are undertaken, the community's own understanding of gender balances should be given prominence although, as always, it is important that a diversity of voices from within the community is heard.

40   See Frey, R. and Hartmann, J. (2006).

41   See also Nussbaum, M. (2000).

Gender is a complex matter: we should be aware that it does not operate in the simple terms of biological sex[42] and it cannot be assumed that there is a single, globally universal understanding of gender.[43] For example, some native North American tribal groups recognize up to seven different genders, including transgender and double-spirited people.[44] Moreover, programmes for documenting ICH in the Pacific region frequently misinterpret the nature of traditional gender roles and ignore the gender complementarities that exist there (Bolton and Kelly, 2001).

Indeed, gender, in all its variety, is itself an important form of diversity. Since the concept of gender diversity has its roots in culture itself, it should be a key idea applied when addressing the gender dynamics of ICH. The gender dynamics of ICH are many and various. In the rite of the Châu van shamans' song from Viet Nam, for example, gender roles are reversed with female mediums taking on traditionally 'male' roles and dress, and male mediums taking on traditionally 'female' roles, dress and behaviours (Norton, 2009). Similarly, in the art of *onnagata,* gender performance (female roles played by male performers) in Japanese Kabuki and the manipulation of corporeal gender acts itself has come to constitute a specific onnagata gender role.[45] Certain ICH elements demonstrate clear gender-based divisions of labour, some are practised/performed by only one sex and may also be of a narrow age band[46] while others represent a more cooperative relationship.[47] In other cases, such as the Carnival of Binche (Belgium) women are generally involved in some secondary role in an otherwise male-

exclusive activity although they may become practitioners themselves over time.[48]

In contrast, the human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination are predicated upon the fact of biological sex, not on gender *per se* (Charlesworth and Chinkin, 2000) Hence, 'gender' in this paper refers to differences relating to social norms and the expectations often placed on both biological sexes that govern their behaviour, roles and shape their identities. 'Female' gender roles derive from the position of women in the wider social structure and the expectations placed on them by society.

When considering the social significance of the gender dynamics of ICH, a fundamental point is how it serves as a powerful source of social cohesion and cultural identity for individuals, as well as for social groups and communities,[49] and gender relations play a central role in this. ICH may also provide a space for societal dialogue which may present an opportunity for ICH itself to be harnessed in efforts to minimize gender-based discrimination. In extreme situations, it may even contribute to conflict prevention and resolution[50] and the role of women and women's social organizations has often been prominent in this process.[51]

As a living heritage, much ICH has contemporary meanings and roles. Some ICH represents a form of social commentary or may even be socially subversive (as in cases where there is a form of role reversal between authority figures and others). In this way, ICH may provide a cultural space within which alternative social attitudes are expressed, including ones that subvert 'traditional' gender biases and roles. Hence, giving value to such ICH can in itself be a means of encouraging respect for subaltern social groups and their cultures among the majority community. In fact, some ICH elements reflect the dominant intellectual and/or religious traditions, philosophy and worldview of a community or people and so may, in contrast, encourage social conformity and even discourage gender diversity.

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42   Smith (2008) argues that '[gender is often] 'naturalized' as a biologically determined category … [but is] … a socially and culturally constructed concept that helps structure and understand our behaviour and experiences as 'women' and 'men'. It is interlinked with, but is not determined by our biological reproductive functions as 'females' and 'males'. Rather, people are 'gendered', socially defined through masculine, feminine or indeed other culturally determined gendered categories'.

43   See, for example, Oyewumi, O. (1997; 2002), and Strathern, M. (1988).

44   In the paper by Tara Browner 'Protecting the Cultural Knowledge of Women in Native North America: Issues and Concerns', presented to the *Expert Meeting on Gender and Intangible Heritage*, UNESCO, Paris, 8 to 10 December, 2003.

45   See Mezur, K. (2005).

46   For example, the Bistritsa Babi (Bulgaria) which is performed by 10 women aged between 50 and 80 years old.

47   In the Ceremonial Keşkek Tradition (Turkey), men and women work together to cook the ceremonial meal in huge cauldrons and then serve it to guests.

48   Women defend their right to accompany 'their' Gilles and they also play a central role of welcoming invited persons to the carnival and this has led to a female tambourine player becoming accepted into the previously closed masculine world of the musicians.

49   For example, the Ganggangsullae element in Republic of Korea serves as a medium for female marriage immigrants to participate in local community activities.

50   For example, in Mali and Cambodia.

51   As has been seen in countries around the world from peace-building in Northern Ireland to the Truth and Reconciliation commissions in South Africa and post-conflict reconciliation in Rwanda.

ICH also has an economic function, providing practitioners with commercial benefits from their artistic or artisanal creativity or through its exploitation for tourism. It can also be a source of mobilization for community development which has led to related rural development activities. When ICH is transferred to an urban environment, it may continue in the frame of modified contexts and forms, which may include changes in the gender dynamics of the element. The different gender roles implicated in such processes and their related social impacts are therefore important areas to understand.

Transmission of ICH is often a gendered activity and it is important to appreciate the implications of this fact. For example, Falconry is almost exclusively transmitted through a male master-pupil apprenticeship while the pottery art of the Mangoro in Cote d'Ivoire has been transmitted by women to girls for centuries. Other elements, in contrast, remain viable because they continue to be enacted by all members of society and their transmission appears less obviously gendered. Where viability relies on inter-generational transmission masters/tradition holders are often elderly and/or few in number and young people are unwilling to commit themselves to acquiring a difficult, 'old-fashioned' and/or non-economic skill. In such cases, it is worth considering whether gender-bound attitudes contribute to problems in transmission. Formal schooling can help in introducing young people to ICH, but it may also militate against its acquisition through traditional and non-formal means – it is interesting to consider what the gender dimensions (if any) of this may be.

Relationship between cultural rights and human rights (notably women's rights) within the framework of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage

Cultural rights comprise not only rights that explicitly refer to culture, but 'include all human rights that protect or promote components of the cultural identity of individuals and communities as part of their dignity' (Donders, 2007). This latter points to a much deeper question — namely, the role cultural rights play in protecting aspects of identity that are essential to protecting the dignity of both individuals and communities.

Discrimination constitutes any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference or other differential treatment that is directly or indirectly based on the prohibited grounds of discrimination (including language, religion and ethnicity) that has the intention or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, equal enjoyment or exercise of human rights.[52] This principle, of course, also underpins the discussion on gender and taking a human rights approach to ICH. It is, however, important to understand the wider social context of the intangible cultural heritage in question and the ways in which it may provide social benefits as well as losses and never to lose sight of the fact that gender conceptions are diverse and that transformative dialogue about discrimination is only possible, if articulated in relation to the gender conception at stake.

Cultural rights continue to pose specific challenges to the theoretical basis of human rights which are significant when applying a human rights approach to safeguarding ICH, in particular with regard to the questions of collective rights and cultural relativism. At the same time, traditional cultural practices are also a powerful social resource and so their safeguarding should also be seen as protection of communities' cultural and other human rights. If we understand women's empowerment as involving women taking control over their lives through developing skills and self-reliance, building self-confidence and solving problems, we can see how their traditional skills, know-how and creativity can be powerful social resources, among other things, for addressing social impediments or as a source of income (UNESCO, 2008).

The challenge is how to strike a balance between the needs of the community as a whole (whose identity may rely heavily on particular cultural practices) and those of individual members – often women and girls or other persons with specific gender roles – whose individual rights may be violated by such practices. Some degree of internal tension should be expected between universalism and relativism in human rights standards in the domain of cultural rights since cultural differences may form the basis for relativist arguments. This, then, leads to the following question: Is it really feasible, for example, to take a rights-based approach to culture that can apply equally to everyone in all societies?

It should be remembered also that, in the exercise of any right (and the concomitant guarantee of that right), there is room for interpretation and differences the details of

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52   See E/C.12/GC/20.

its implementation. Human rights are and must be the same everywhere in the *substance* of the right but may be implemented nationally in 'culturally influenced forms' (Steiner and Alston, 1996). The Vienna Declaration (1993) statement of the universality of human rights standards also allowed for some recognition that differences of culture and system require universal human rights standards to be implemented in appropriate ways.[53] Moreover, the ideas contained in international human rights instruments are not limited to Western thinking or intellectual antecedents (Schmale and Aldeeb Abu-Sahlieh, 1993).

Of course, questions will be raised about the validity of claims to 'preserve' traditional cultural practices that include and may even promote non-egalitarian elements.[54] Such claims should be measured against the rights of women, children and others who may be marginalized and disempowered by traditional cultural practices. It is clearly stated in the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) that States Parties

> *shall take all appropriate measures to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women* (art. 5).

Limitations do exist on the right of everyone to take part in cultural life, in particular in the case of harmful practices attributed to customs and traditions that violate other human rights.[55] However, these limitations must be proportionate so that the least restrictive measures are taken when there exists a choice in the limitations that may be imposed.[56] Certain practices can obviously never be condoned from a human rights perspective – such as infanticide, bodily mutilation (including female genital cutting or FGM), forced marriage, cannibalism, etc. – but many others lie in a difficult grey area in which identifying the degree of harm to individuals can be

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extremely problematic and the thorny question is raised of who should make such determinations.[57]

Moreover, when discriminatory traditional practices (such as menstruation taboos) occur, women may themselves support and even encourage them. The reason for this is often related to the social function of the practice and reminds us of the importance of understanding the gender dynamics at play.

African feminist writings on the subject of FGM have emphasized the importance of considering the cultural context within which it occurs, which includes the gender dynamics. Moreover, among the strongest advocates for the eradication of FGM are African men and women themselves.[58] It is important to ask: What socio-economic purposes does FGM serve for a particular group? Are there any alternative ways in which these needs can be fulfilled? (Lewis, 1995) While it is vital to tackle social norms and taboos that result in discrimination and recognize that victims may often collude in their victimization for many reasons, communities also need to become aware of what these are in order to address them appropriately and in terms acceptable to the people involved.

53   Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (1993), art. 5.
54   It is important to distinguish here the term 'preservation' (keeping things exactly as they were) from 'safeguarding' (ensuring viability while recreating and/or adapting to change). The latter is the 2003 Convention's paradigm.
55   These might include infanticide (right to life), refusal to educate girls (right to education –equality of access), certain public practices which may violate the individual's right to privacy.
56   E/C.12/GC/21, para. 19.
57   See Blake, J. and Azimi, N. (2007).
58   See, for example, the work of the Inter-African Committee on traditional practices affecting the health of women and children (IAC), available at: http://www.iac-ciaf.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=10&Itemid=3

A justification for accepting the potential collective character of these rights is on the basis that social groups and communities may enjoy a collective sense of dignity based on their collective cultural identity or 'world visions'.[59] A clear distinction needs to be drawn between the cultural needs of the community – their 'collective dignity' – and the rights of individual members. Individual choices (such as the choice of one's marriage partner or matters of dress or behaviour) frequently conflict with the norms of the community to which a person belongs (Sunder, 2001). In such cases, the right of an individual to choose in such matters is generally seen in human rights as a 'trump' which overrides other group-based considerations,[60] is given priority over that of the collective of which they are a member[61] and, as a high priority norm, it overrides other group-based considerations (Nickel, 2007).

Notably, it is not the traditional cultural attitudes and practices themselves (or even separate roles assigned to men and women) that are perceived by CEDAW as the challenge but rather any specific negative consequences from regarding women or men as inferior and applying stereotyped roles (which disempower or otherwise harm their interests). Work concerning gender and ICH should be similarly framed around avoiding these while celebrating potential positive outcomes for women and persons with other specific gender roles from enacting, practising and performing ICH.

When speaking of gender-based discrimination with regard to ICH safeguarding, we should be extremely careful to avoid an overly simplistic view that discounts practices, for example, on the basis of the fact that they are sexually segregated. It is a reality in many if not most societies worldwide that many social and cultural practices are segregated (on the basis of age, sex and other criteria) and this fact alone should not be taken as a sign that discrimination is taking place. Only through a gender-based analysis can communities recognize whether their ICH – a social practice, ritual, piece of know-how, oral tradition etc. – is actually discriminatory; as a corollary to this, it is not necessary for sexual segregation to be involved for discriminatory aspects to be identified.[62]

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59   See A/HRC/14/36.
60   To use Dworkin's (1986) terminology in which he suggests that individual human rights act as a 'trump' card that defeats all other rights in such a situation.
61   As the wording of Article 27 of the ICCPR itself suggests, since it is couched in terms of an individual right held by members of ethnic, linguistic and religious minority communities.
62   For example, violations of the following rights: the right to a private life (e.g. forced marriage); the right to education (cultural traditions that prevent girls from attending primary school); and the right to life (e.g. female infanticide or selective abortion).

The opportunities and challenges of mainstreaming gender equality in intangible cultural heritage safeguarding

Having grown out of the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, the 2003 Convention has the preservation of cultural diversity at its core. The promotion of cultural diversity is compatible with the universality of human rights and, in particular, gender equality: the promotion of cultural diversity must be tempered with a gender-based awareness. Moreover, it is important to appreciate that gender is a form of diversity (itself based on culture) and that to promote cultural diversity fully we need to take account of its gender-related aspects.

As Smith (2008) makes clear, 'heritage is gendered, in that it is too often 'masculine', and tells a predominantly male-centred story promoting a masculine… vision of past and present'. This is an issue not only for the identification of ICH on the community and national levels, but is germane also to the nomination process at the international level under the 2003 Convention. In considering 'community consent' to a particular nomination file, it is valid to question how far the process of generating community consent reflects consideration of gender relations and this is an issue that requires further analysis by state agencies and the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

ICH is a resource of both individuals and communities that has the potential to empower everyone, including women, as much as to marginalize them. Although, as we have seen, some traditional cultural practices may serve to embed pre-existing prejudices against women, ICH also holds a great potential to develop the wider social, cultural, economic and even political value of women's skills and know-how and demonstrate this both to women and the wider community. A central objective of any gender-aware safeguarding strategy will, therefore, be to maximize this potential and create better awareness of it among women themselves, their communities and at the national and international levels.

We should be especially careful not to assume that the identities created by heritage are positive and empowering ones for all members of the community in question. The

fact that some voices — including those of women — may not be heard in constructing the community's view of its identity and heritage should always be considered. This is an issue not only for the identification of ICH on the community and national levels, but is germane also to the nomination process at the international level under the 2003 Convention. In considering 'community consent' to a particular nomination file, it is valid to question how far the process of generating community consent reflects consideration of gender relations and this is an issue that requires further analysis by state agencies and the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Since much ICH is gendered in terms of who practises it and where it is practised, communities should be aware of giving recognition to and perpetuating harmful and/or discriminatory practices. In cases where sexually discriminatory cultural practices are perpetuated and supported by women themselves (for some other social benefit they derive from it, for example, or on the grounds of cultural diversity) an attempt should be made to confront their discriminatory aspects through community-level negotiation in a way that preserves the aforementioned social and cultural benefits.

Gendered forms of ICH can serve important social and cultural needs – both for individuals and groups (including women) as well as the wider community. Traditional cultural practices and performances that are female-exclusive may be used by women to express themselves in ways they cannot express otherwise do, as well as conferring on them social status.[63] Storytelling in many Arab countries has provided women with a public voice otherwise denied to them and an interesting modern take on this is the work of the Women and Memory Forum (WMF) in Egypt: It produces and disseminates gender-sensitive fairytales which seek to challenge prevalent representations of women and empower women through positive and active role models presented in stories and fairytales. In Afghanistan, *landays* (a form of oral poetry of Pushtun women) is an example of a traditional cultural performance that provides its (mostly illiterate) female practitioners with a much-needed outlet for expression as well as other social benefits and a social/cultural space

for women who are frequently unable to enter into the public sphere (Griswold and Murphy, 2013).

A fundamental challenge, then, is how to recognize which ICH is harmful and to what degree to specific members of a community, and often, but not always, to women and girls in particular. Given the constantly evolving character of ICH, the implementation of the 2003 Convention can encourage a dialogue within communities that leads towards adaptations that respect the rights of all members of the community, regardless of their gender or age. An interesting case of the evolution of an inscribed ICH element relates to the recent involvement of women and children in traditional archery in Mongolia which has led to the introduction of bows of different sizes and patterns.

This process of negotiation requires the various stakeholders to find ways in which a cultural practice might be transformed and adapted to enable its social acceptability within the current agreed human rights framework without changing or losing its core significance. Of course, it is ultimately the decision of a community (group and/or individual) whether a practice constitutes ICH or not, although national authorities should be encouraged to consider the question of gender, encourage communities to have a gender dialogue and exercise their discretion in deciding whether or not to include it on a national ICH inventory and/or propose it for international inscription on one of the 2003 Convention's lists. This then raises the question as to *who* is qualified to make such determinations and represent the community.

Since gender mainstreaming is a cross-cutting issue and cultural rights operate as 'transversal' human rights (Bouchard et al., 2014) it is clear that they will frequently interact and collide with each other in safeguarding ICH. It is therefore fundamental to recognize that harmful practices are occurring in some cases[64] and it is incumbent on UNESCO and the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage to clarify ways of ensuring the dialogue on the limits[65] which makes it clear that only that ICH which is compatible with international human rights standards

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63 It is significant that female Naqqālis perform the Naqqāli in Iran (story-telling in verse or prose, accompanied by special gestures and movements) inscribed on the Urgent Safeguarding List of ICH (USL) in 2011 since female singers or dancers do not normally perform publicly in contemporary Iran. This gives them a social status as bearers of Persian literature and culture.

64 As noted by Kurin (2004), many ICH elements appear to contravene global standards of sexual equality and non-discrimination and the concern is that a high proportion of ICH would be excluded if these were applied too strictly.

65 This will require theoretical consideration. UNESCO can draw upon the work being done in the Human Rights Council by the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed.

> More importantly, the potential of ICH to empower marginalized members of society should be understood and harnessed in a positive way.

can be included in the scope of the 2003 Convention.[66] The human rights dimension to safeguarding ICH under the 2003 Convention operates in two fundamental ways: (1) by regarding the safeguarding of ICH as a human right *per se* of the cultural community and its members; and (2) through the fact that human rights are generally necessary for fostering an enabling environment within which ICH can flourish.

More importantly, the potential of ICH to empower marginalized members of society should be understood and harnessed in a positive way. The neglect of their contribution to creating and safeguarding ICH continues today in the identification of ICH for official recognition and this is an issue that should be seriously addressed in mainstreaming gender in the 2003 Convention's operation. The 2003 Convention make no specific mention of the gender roles to safeguarding and transmitting ICH: as a result of this silence gender specific groups do not enjoy any positive right to the recognition of their ICH under the Convention.

Although it might be argued that women, making up half of human societies, are already covered by implication in the Convention's references to 'community, groups and … individuals', women frequently constitute a marginalized and/or disadvantaged group within their community. Since this marginalisation of women (and those of a non-conformist gender orientation) may be exacerbated and shored up by certain ICH practices, a gender-based approach is essential when considering community involvement and participation within the framework of the 2003 Convention.[67] Up until now,

this does not seem to have been a priority when involving communities; for example, neither the *Operational Directives* to the Convention nor the periodic reporting process has thus far required it.

The provisions of the 2003 Convention regarding community involvement also raise important questions about 'ownership': Whose cultural heritage deserves protection? Who defines the cultural heritage and its significance? To what extent do individuals and communities have access to and enjoy it? If we view this from within the community, it leads us to ask: Do women have a sufficiently strong voice in making decisions about identification and safeguarding ICH and how *truly democratic and participatory* is this process? The duty placed on Parties by the Convention to ensure the involvement of groups and communities as well as individuals in identifying, safeguarding and managing their own cultural heritage[68] does not *per se* guarantee gender equality in that participation. Applying a human rights-based approach here would ensure not only the *fact of participation* but also the *quality* of it, including ensuring gender equality in a way that is meaningful in the framework of the distinct gender conception of the community concerned.

Gender dynamics of safeguarding ICH in the community and under the 2003 Convention

The following analysis of the gender dynamics of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage within communities can help to identify the key areas for intervention. In order to understand this better, it is helpful to address the question according to some of the main actions defined as safeguarding under the Convention:

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66   See ICH definition in the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, art. 2(1).

67   As noted by Deacon and Bortolotto (2012) 'Although the text of the Convention acknowledges a new role for social actors, in different countries the interpretation of the notions of 'participation' and of 'community' varies widely and depends on cultural, political and institutional frameworks'.

68   ICH is defined in art. 2(1) as 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – *that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage*. This intangible cultural heritage … provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity...' (emphasis added). Arts. 11(b) and 15 of the Convention directly address community involvement in the Convention's implementation and this remains an important objective, as evidenced in the periodic reporting of States Parties to the Convention.

identification, documentation (including inventorying), research, enhancement and transmission.

Identification

Since identification is a basic step in safeguarding, this process should be subject to a gender-based analysis. This would involve, for example, avoiding assumptions about gender-based differences and being aware of any dualistic constructions of gender. In doing this, it is important to highlight the multiple contexts within which gender operates and the way in which it interacts with other social categories, such as age or professional status. It is also important to view a person's gender identity – as much as their cultural identity/ies - as open-ended and dynamic: with regard to intangible cultural heritage, appreciating the interplay that exists between ICH and gender is fundamental. Also, in view of the centrality of cultural communities and other social groups in implementing the 2003 Convention, any analysis of gender must also be placed firmly within that social and political context. In working with communities on gender issues related to ICH, the process should be participative, using interactive rather than instructive tools, and one that grows as much as possible out of the local cultural traditions and has culturally-appropriate appropriate content.

An interesting case of an initiative driven by women, for example, is the Waanyi Women's History Project, an oral history project set up by Aboriginal women in Australia and aimed at recognizing heritage of relevance to them and, significantly, asserting their rights to control the management of it (Smith et al., 2003). The identification of the significance of ICH is also a contested matter and one for which a gender-sensitive lens needs to be used.

Research/documentation

Research into and collecting documentation on ICH elements was traditionally an expert-driven activity (frequently devolved onto community-level investigators trained by researchers). The 2003 Convention has fundamentally reconfigured the relations between the bearers and practitioners of intangible cultural heritage and the officials, experts and institutions involved in its safeguarding through establishing a fundamentally new paradigm that emphasizes the active agency of communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, and their indispensable role in recognizing their own intangible

heritage and taking responsibility for its safeguarding.[69] It is important for those active in researching ICH to be aware of the potential for gender bias in the design of their research, including in the activities of community-based investigators or among the community that is the subject of the research. Differences in male and female roles vis-à-vis ICH is itself an important area for research, not well covered up until now.

An Egyptian experience with regard to women's involvement in ICH documentation is noteworthy: the National Council for Women commissioned the Egyptian Society for Folk Traditions (ESFT), an NGO, for help in documenting the Art of Tally and to train women in Upper Egypt to safeguard it.[70] Over 300 women attended the first training programme which was followed by a second one and this programme has managed to revitalize an art which was near extinction. What is most striking about this experience was the strong interest shown by women within the cultural community to become involved which suggests very fertile ground for such community-based training in future.

Inventorying

Women's contribution to ICH is often dismissed as being simply part of their gender role (child-rearing, food production and preparation, textile weaving, making pottery etc.) rather than a form of 'heritage' to be valued and safeguarded. A key requirement for the inventorying of ICH under the 2003 Convention is that it be undertaken with the involvement of cultural communities, and UNESCO has engaged in training in community-based inventorying.[71] In this regard, attention should be given to whether and how far 'community' involvement gives a voice to women as well as men. This may lead not only to identifying more ICH of significance to women, but even to challenging certain assumptions underlying heritage management approaches. A positive example of where the possibility exists for the voices of non-dominant community members to be heard in identification is in Turkey where bearers and other individuals can fill in the

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69   As the Declaration of the Chengdu International Conference on Intangible Cultural Heritage in Celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2013) highlights.

70   See Periodic Report of Egypt: www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/download.php?versionID=18480

71   Since 2011, 21 countries have benefited from capacity-building in community-based inventorying, showing an average of 41 per cent women participants in the training sessions, emphasizing the recognition of diversity within communities.

inventory registration forms and send them to directly the relevant Ministry.[72] However, in many cases it is unclear how far women are really included in 'community-based' inventorying and this could be made explicit.

Transmission

In many cases, transmission of knowledge, skills and know-how relies on informal gender-based modes of transmission, frequently from father-to-son and mother-to-daughter. Many Parties, especially in Africa, Latin America and the Pacific region, view preservation of mother tongue languages, primarily transmitted by women, as essential to ICH transmission. In such cases, the relative roles of men and women need to be better understood. For example, Mexican festivities in which the whole community are involved tend to have a stronger transmission while, in Nigeria, women ensure the continuity of Gelede festival since they regard it as their own. Further questions we need to ask with regard to this are: How can the gender specificity of the element be described? What is the social significance of the gender specificity? How have the gender-specific aspects come about and how, if at all, have they changed over time and why? Is there any gender-specific discrimination involved and if so expressed by whom? Beyond these, it is important also to understand how, and in what contexts, gender-specific ICH transmission may affect an element's viability and whether this impact is negative or positive: would an element be 'better safeguarded' if the transmission is opened up to the other sex and thus increasing the number of people practising it?

Safeguarding/management plans

This is relevant primarily to plans developed for the safeguarding and management of nationally-recognized ICH elements although the existence of an effective safeguarding and management strategy is also a requirement for international listing. In addition, international assistance has been granted for developing such plans for elements listed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding as well as for identifying and inventorying ICH and projects/programmes that represent best practice. It

is important to examine how far gender issues have been taken into account in these plans and to suggest ways in which this can be done, making recommendations as to how gender can be more effectively mainstreamed into safeguarding plans.[73]

Community involvement – finding the gender balance

Several examples can be found in the Periodic Reports and Safeguarding Action Plans of serious attempts to involve communities in different aspects of safeguarding, including some initiated by communities themselves. In Mexico, a Council has been established by community representatives along with government authorities aimed at safeguarding the Parachicos element for collective benefit. The ASMT-CI Association in Cote d'Ivoire aims to create a local Management Committee for the Gbofe element comprising representatives of the public administration, businesses, different social and professional classes, associations, bearers, practitioners and local groups. Although greater local autonomy generally tends towards more participation of local women, this should not be assumed and the gender balance in these cases is worth examining. The same is true for cases where, as in Nigeria and Mali, traditional institutions take the lead in activities to safeguard intangible cultural heritage. The socio-cultural dynamics of women-only associations such as the female divers association for Jeju Chilmeoridang Yeongdeunggut (Republic of Korea) and the Lepoglava Lace Co-operative (Croatia) are also of interest here.

Potential for transformation of ICH elements

Examples of the potential for transformation of traditional cultural practices to bring them in line with international human rights and other norms abound. For example, the CEDAW Committee has recommended eliminating the Fijian traditional practice of *bulubulu* because of its use in rape cases:[74] this would appear to be an excellent example of an ICH element where the core content

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72   The high rate of female illiteracy in some countries, especially in rural communities, however, should be borne in mind and other means of communication between community members and central authorities may need to be found in some countries.

73   See, for example, van Stam and Mweetwa (2012) who describe the important role that community radio can play in providing public information on ICH in a rural community in Macha, Zambia. It responded to a strong community desire to amplify the voice of elderly people as cultural custodians, and respected gender balance with a panel of four people in the studio, two men and two women, who address a topic introduced by a senior headman.

74   CEDAW/C/FJI/CO/4.

Lacemaker, Pag, Croatia.
© 2008 by Ministry of Culture/Croatia

Traditional Mexican cuisine - ancestral, ongoing community culture, the Michoacán paradigm, Mexico.
©2006 A. Ríos/ Secretaria de Turismo del Estado de Michoacán

Bistritsa Babi, archaic polyphony, dances and rituals from the Shoplouk region, Bulgaria.
©Prof. M. Santova

could be retained and unacceptable aspects modified or eliminated. In the Dipo puberty rites in Ghana, traditionally, a pubescent girl would have been confined for between nine and 12 months but the confinement element of the ritual has now been dropped while its social significance for women and girls remains.[75] In Japan, women actors are usually prohibited in Kabuki theatre, but there is now a troupe of Kabuki actors who include women playing the female roles.[76]

International inscription

Although gender and ICH goes far beyond the international listing of the 2003 Convention, the question of how to approach gender when considering elements for inscription cannot be ignored since the Lists serve as such a high-profile symbol of the Convention as a whole. Criticism has been levelled at the lack of gender awareness demonstrated thus far in selecting ICH elements for international recognition (Moghadam and Bagheritari, 2005) and the selection criteria for both Lists of the 2003 Convention are silent on this issue. It is also

largely ignored by States Parties in reporting on elements inscribed in the Periodic Reporting process.[77]

Interesting cases that may merit further exploration include: elements that demonstrate clear gender-based divisions of labour as in making wooden children's toys (Croatia) and Taquile textile weaving (Peru); Traditional Mexican cuisine which, as a comprehensive cultural model encompassing the whole traditional food chain from planting to consumption, binds the whole community and expresses traditional gender roles; and single-sex elements such as the Kankurang (Senegal) which is related to the initiation of young boys and Bistritsa Babi (Bulgaria), an all-female singing tradition.

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75   See Aukowa-Asigbile IV, M. (1999).

76   Deacon, H. (personal communication, 2013).

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77   This issue, however, was discussed at the eighth session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2013), which took a number of decisions, notably to revise all relevant documents and forms (including the Operational Directives, the Periodic Reporting formats, and nomination files) to include gender-specific guidance and questions (Decision 8.COM 5c.1). It furthermore recalled the importance of gender and generational roles and responsibilities in the practice, safeguarding and transmission of intangible cultural heritage and invited States Parties to give them greater prominence in their reports (Decision 8.COM 6a.). (UNESCO, 2013b).

Gendered World Heritage?

A review of the implementation of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (1972)

Mechtild Rössler[78]

Olkhon Island, Lake Baikal, World Heritage property, Russian Federation
©Konstantin Shishkin/ Curioso/Shutterstock.com

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Introduction

The 1972 World Heritage Convention is a unique international legal instrument, protecting both natural and cultural sites of outstanding universal value. It links the safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage and protected areas with people. The World Heritage Convention currently covers, through its World Heritage List, over 1,000 properties in 161 countries forming part of the planet's cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value. Of these sites, 77 per cent are cultural, 20 per cent natural and 3 per cent mixed properties (of both natural and cultural value). To date, 191 States Parties have ratified the Convention, making it the most universally recognized international legal instrument in heritage conservation.

The interpretation of World Heritage has evolved considerably over the past 40 years: World Heritage is no longer limited to strict nature protection and the identification of monumental heritage. A great diversity of living cultural places, natural sacred sites and cultural landscapes are now included on the World Heritage List. This makes the question of 'gendered heritage' a crucial one, especially in light of the clear shift towards taking into account local communities, as reflected by the strategic orientation including 'communities' by the World Heritage Committee in 2007 and the theme of the 40th anniversary 'World Heritage and Sustainable Development: the Role of Local Communities' in 2012.

At the time of the drafting of the 1972 Convention, no consideration was given to the role of women and men in heritage preservation and hardly any references can be found in early nomination dossiers, state of conservation reports or World Heritage Committee discussions. However, a number of examples in this paper demonstrate that gender does play an apparent role in the 'identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage' as defined in Article 4 of the World Heritage Convention.[79]

Since the adoption of the Convention, theoretical debates on the divisions and use of space by men and women have occurred in different disciplines, such as geography, sociology and other fields. These reviewed gender inequality stemming from historical and socio-cultural contracts and roles societies attributed to men and women and their access to places, to economic, cultural or natural resources. Debates continue on how gender and culture should be analysed.[80] While this paper does not provide a review of these theories, it is evident that the complex ways of understanding gendered social and spatial relations substantially influences the creation of tangible heritage over time.

Nearly all heritage sites are 'gendered'. For example, many cultures have segregated entrances to buildings, and assign women and men different places in certain religious monuments. Similarly, in some sacred natural spaces of indigenous communities, women and men use different areas for their rituals. In general, the attribution of space to men and women is based on societal and other arrangement that form, produce and replicate gendered structures. In this regard, further development of theoretical perspectives to better understand gender relations and potentially the changing nature of gender relations would be useful.

In contrast to more recent UNESCO standard-setting instruments, such as the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the 1972 World Heritage Convention does not contain references to legal instruments on human rights. However, this does not prevent interpretation and implementation of the latter Convention to take into account the evolution of the human rights approach in its application.

Gendered World Heritage: review of case studies from different parts of the world

In the following section a number of case studies review examples of how World Heritage sites are 'gendered': that is, the extent to which gender plays a role in their historical concepts and is perpetuated in their inscription, demonstrating the recognition of certain values. There are many World Heritage sites that have been created, built, confined to, and used only by men or by women

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79   Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, available at: http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/.

80   See, for example, Oberhauser et al. (2014).

depending on the socio-historical context. If all World Heritage properties were reviewed, links to the attribution of roles, allocated spaces or relations between men and women could probably be found. A number of examples are provided by archaeological heritage, such as the Archaeological Site of Cyrene in Libya, inscribed in 1982 on the World Heritage List. The city flourished economically owing to silphium, a medicinal plant with abortive and contraceptive properties, critical for trade across the Mediterranean region. This plant was used so extensively that it became extinct and is known today through its depiction on antique coins. In Uganda, the Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi, on the World Heritage List since 2001, are managed exclusively by women custodians (Box 1). Many ceremonial places, such as the World Heritage site of the Historic Sanctuary of Machu Picchu (Peru), have been used by both women and men according to their roles in society at the time of construction. However, research on these roles and the different spaces is on-going and non-conclusive; therefore interpretation advances with scientific progress in archaeology and other disciplines. Natural sites on the World Heritage List, such as Lake Baikal (Russian Federation) contain areas used differently by men and women, such as Olkhon Island where male sacred spaces are not accessible to women. The selection of the cases below is based on regional distribution and on evidence of critical issues related to gender and is not intended to provide a global overview of all World Heritage sites.

Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range, Japan

The Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range, comprising three sacred sites: Yoshino/Omine, Kumano Sanzan, and Koyasan are connected by pilgrimage routes and reflect the fusion of Shinto, rooted in the ancient practice of nature worshipping, and Buddhism, which was introduced later. Covering some 500 ha and the surrounding wooded landscape, these sites bear witness to traditions of venerating sacred mountains over the centuries. At the same time, this is a living landscape and an active pilgrimage and ritual site visited by millions of worshippers and tourists annually.

Some citizens' groups protested against this inscription, because some areas of the property (around Mount Omine and Ominesanji Temple) cannot be accessed by women.

The article 'UNESCO heritage bid challenged over gender bias', published in *The Japan Times* by Wijers-Hasegawa (2004) noted

the government's bid to have a sacred area in western Japan registered as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site is being challenged by those who claim it reinforces gender discrimination… some citizens' groups oppose registering the Kii Mountain Range as a UNESCO site, because a 10 km × 24 km area of the 495.3 ha site that features Mount Omine and Ominesanji Temple is out of bounds to women. At each entrance to the four mountain paths that lead to Ominesanji Temple are gates that forbid women from passing. Adjacent bilingual signs reinforce this regulation, which is rooted in religious tradition.

Restricted access to women at one component of the World Heritage site of the Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range, World Heritage property, Japan.
© Edwin Bernbaum 2014

The article was written prior to the session of the World Heritage Committee that examined the nomination in 2004.

> *[Inscription of the property on the World Heritage List] may prove to be more of a headache than the potential status that accrues with being awarded the UNESCO designation. International spotlight on the mountain range will draw attention to one prickly fact: women are not allowed on Mount Omine, which lies in the designated area. During the Heian period (794-1185), the Shugendo pilgrimage trail from Yoshino to Kumano in Wakayama prefecture on the coast became popular and it is said pilgrims who broke the strict rules or were seen to lack sufficient faith were hung over a precipice by their ankles. Women were prohibited from the entire pilgrimage trail until the 1960s and are still barred from parts of the route today.*[81]

During this controversy, UNESCO received protest letters from different associations, NGOs and individuals raising the issue of human rights and access to heritage sites. Apparently a petition with thousands of signatures was submitted to the Prime Minister of Japan to request removal of the ban and to allow women to enter the restricted part of the site claiming that the ban violates certain UN conventions concerning discrimination.

> *Like the sumo ring, Mount Omine is for men only. It is considered a holy site and therefore pure. Because of menstruation and childbirth, women are considered impure in certain Buddhist sects—and they would thus sully the site if they were to enter it. Edith Hansen, who has lived in Japan for thirty-plus years and is a special Amnesty International Representative for Japan, stated that this is a clear violation of human rights.*[82]

The issue of access is one of the most noticeable questions raised concerning World Heritage sites: on the one hand, access to sites recognized as having outstanding universal value for all of humankind is a universal right; on the other hand, it is precisely the outstanding universal value recognized by the World Heritage Committee that enshrines the gendered traditions, history and rituals for which the site is listed.

Mount Athos, Greece

No access for women at the World Heritage property of Mount Athos, Greece.
© UNESCO

Mount Athos (Greece) has been an Eastern Orthodox spiritual centre since 1054. It has enjoyed a special autonomous status since Byzantine times and falls under the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This sacred site and holy mountain, is completely forbidden to women and children. The site is an artistic centre and greatly influenced Eastern Orthodox art. Approximately 1,400 monks live at Mount Athos in 20 different monasteries. Its inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1988 sparked discussions within the Committee on whether a site could be inscribed if access is restricted to half of humanity. However this discussion is not reflected in the Report of the Rapporteur of the 12th session of the World Heritage Committee held in Brasilia in 1988. The Committee, nevertheless made a reference to monastic life and traditions of this mixed cultural-natural property and

> *accepted the ICOMOS proposal to add natural criterion (iii) – outstanding universal value from the point of view of natural beauty – to cultural criteria, since this site involves a humanized landscape the characteristics of which are due to persistence of farming practices and traditional arts and crafts linked to the stringent observance of monastic rules.*[83]

This means that the Committee recognized the specific values related to the monastic practices of the monks and the uniqueness of the site created by this cultural tradition.

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81   Japanese City Guides: Mount Omine and Asukamura, available at: http://www.japanvisitor.com/japan-travel/travel-mount-omine
82   Ibid.

83   SC-88/CONF.001/13, available at: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repcom88.htm#454

Many critical voices have been raised concerning access to the site, such as in a recent article published by *The Guardian*.

All women were duly banished, from the peninsula, and with them all female animals. Sows, cows and ewes, even chickens were expelled. […] Nonetheless, women have managed to make it to the peninsula: the Orthodox monks harboured women and female children during the Greek civil war, in addition to men and boys. In 2008, Ukrainian smugglers dropped four Moldovan women on the coast of Athos, who were quickly apprehended by monks and police.[84]

This article also refers to pressure from the European Parliament to 'force Athos to admit women, having declared in 2003 that the monastic republic 'violates the universally recognized principle of gender equality'.[85]

Again the following question can be raised: how to protect the traditions, history and century-old daily life and rites of the monks' community, and therefore the authenticity and functional integrity of this World Heritage property, and at the same time comply with international treaties on human rights, which would require access for all people, men and women alike? The World Heritage Committee could also consider human rights-based approaches for future inscriptions. In this connection, it is worth noting that a working group on human rights and World Heritage has been constituted with the Committee's Advisory Bodies – ICCROM, ICOMOS and IUCN – to further explore these questions following a workshop in Oslo in 2011.[86]

Flemish Béguinages, Belgium

The Flemish Béguinages is one of the few World Heritage sites dedicated to the lives of women. They are architectural ensembles composed of different buildings, both secular and religious with open spaces. They commemorate the tradition of the Béguines, women who dedicated their lives to God, which developed in Europe in the Middle Ages. Beginning in the 13th century they founded the Béguinages, which are enclosed communities planned in

observance of specific spiritual and physical requirements. This was recognized in the decision of the World Heritage Committee in 1998, when the site was included on the World Heritage List on the basis of the following criteria:

Criterion (ii): The Flemish béguinages demonstrate outstanding physical characteristics of urban and rural planning and a combination of religious and traditional architecture in styles specific to the Flemish cultural region.

Criterion (iii): The béguinages bear exceptional witness to the cultural tradition of independent religious women in north-western Europe in the Middle Ages.

Criterion (iv): The béguinages constitute an outstanding example of an architectural ensemble associated with a religious movement characteristic of the Middle Ages associating both secular and conventional values.[87]

Stoner (1993) traces the evolution of the creation of the Béguinages and analyses it critically.

By around 1300, the Beguine way of life had become virtually indistinguishable from traditional monasticism. In many areas in northern Europe, Beguines lived communally in a convent-like setting called a beguinage, where they followed a strict group of statutes, and were usually not allowed to leave without permission from their superior. This greatly hampered their spontaneity. In the Church's efforts to institutionalize the Beguines, the fear of in-between women had taken its toll, and the movement no longer provided a broad range of opportunities for religiously inclined women seeking to live the vita apostolica.[88]

Stoner concludes her paper by stating:

Such a gender-focused look at the Beguines, as the first 'women's movement' in Christian history, may be used as a tool for scholars of all persuasions who wish to investigate the role of women in reformist or revolutionary movements--whether religious, social, or political. An analysis of attitudes towards 'femaleness' and its boundaries sheds a great deal of light on the conditions which enable or deny women the fullest opportunities for participation in their society.[89]

84   Foster, D. One small step for womankind in an all-male Greek state, *The Guardian*, 18 September 2012, available at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2012/sep/18/mount-athos-male-greek-state

85   Ibid.

86   'Our common dignity: Towards Rights-Based World Heritage Management', 9 to 11 March 2011. See http://www.icomos.org/en/what-we-do/focus/human-rights-and-world-heritage

87   WHC-98/CONF.203/18, available at: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repcom98.htm#855

88   Stoner, A. (1993).

89   Ibid.

Flemish Béguinages, World Heritage property, Belgium: interior displaying paintings of the women inhabitants.
© UNESCO

The places of the Beguines were not monastic, but semi-monastic institutions, where women influenced the religious life of the population of the city or village. While the Béguinages are certainly spaces confined to women, these sites are today in many cases open to visitors interested to learn about their history.

New Lanark, United Kingdom

New Lanark, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2001, is a small village in Scotland, where the idealist and utopist Robert Owen developed a model industrial community in the early 19th century. The property is composed of industrial buildings (cotton mills), the large and ingenious housing complex for workers, and schools and other communal institutions. It is a blueprint of Owen's humanism. It is noteworthy that Owen especially appealed to women, giving them rights to education and schooling, and providing appropriate housing for both men and women. By inscribing this site, the World Heritage Committee recognized these benefits, which were unusual at the time. Owen (1841) said '[w]omen will be no longer made the slaves of, or dependent upon men… They will be equal in education, rights, privileges and personal liberty'. The Committee further acknowledged the social innovation and humanism of the project, which included new social practices and innovations that influenced gender relations. It recognized the model for industrial communities created by Owen, the creation of well-designed public and private buildings and the values reflected by humane working practices.[90]

Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, Australia

The site of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park has a complex inscription history. It was first inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987 for its spectacular geological formations and desert ecosystem. However, the traditional owners of Uluru-Kata Tjuta, the Anangu Aboriginal people, wanted their cultural heritage to be recognized by the international community and prepared a nomination file for these values through the Australian Government. The re-nomination under cultural criteria was accepted by the World Heritage Committee in 1994, two years after the adoption of cultural landscape categories, which made the nomination of sites demonstrating the outstanding interaction between people and their environment possible. Thus the site was also recognized for the cultural expressions, values and traditional belief systems of one of the oldest human societies in the world.

Among the justifications for inscription are:

The evolution of the Anangu hunting and gathering culture took place in parallel with the evolution of farming but in a contrasting ecosystem: both are human cultural responses to the changing post-glacial global climate. A key feature of the Anangu adaptation was the mapping of social groups on the landscape in such a way that each local group held pre-eminent rights over a particular base camp adjacent to a semi-permanent water supply. The group was responsible for the management of food resources in the country (ngura) surrounding that camp, but did not assert exclusive rights to those resources: reciprocal rights were allowed to neighbouring groups. Both Uluru and Kata Tjuta are traditional base camps of this kind; around 20 per cent of Anangu living at any rime today in the Mutitjulu community are visitors from other communities in the region. The effectiveness of this system is demonstrated by the archaeological evidence of a substantial rise in population density in the region over the past 5,000 years.[91]

Uluru, an immense monolith, and Kata Tjuta, the rock domes, encompass separate sacred places for men and women. The documentation of some places has not been included in the nomination dossier due to their secrecy

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90   WHC-01/CONF.208/24, available at http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf

91   ICOMOS Advisory Body Evaluation of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in 1994, available at: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/447rev.pdf

Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, World Heritage property, Australia: a ranger explaining the site at a distance from the monolith and the different sacred sites of men and women.
© UNESCO

and transmission from one generation to the next through rituals.

Uluru-Kata Tjuta is one of the most representative examples of a 'gendered' sacred place, which exist in many cultures and belief systems. Women in different parts of the world have their own sacred spaces and related rituals. The publication *Sacred Sites, Spaces Places* provides abundant examples and notes in its introduction: 'Apart from gender specifications, sacred sites may also have specific functions, and within one culture, there may be a wide range of site types' (Carmichael et al., 1994). UNESCO and IUCN, which have worked together on the recognition of such traditions and their appropriate management, prepared a publication entitled *Natural*

Sacred Sites: Guidelines for Protected Area Managers. These guidelines encourage the recognition of customary law and traditional management for such sites by the communities and indigenous peoples themselves. Regarding Uluru, the guidelines point out:

Uluru has great spiritual significance to Anangu. There are many sensitive sites associated with Uluru itself. We ask that you respect these places and their significance to Anangu by following these guidelines... Most sites are clearly signposted, although some are not as they cannot be specifically identified or publicly discussed... Anangu form a majority on the park's Board of Management and are employed as rangers and cultural interpreters. They have established

management practices, based on their traditional cultural law, tjukurpa, to preserve the spiritual, cultural and ecological integrity of the park, and to ensure that their rights and knowledge are respected.

The UNESCO-IUCN guidelines (2008) also strongly recommend confidentiality in order to respect the secrecy of the places and the rituals performed there by women and men.

While the identification of sacred natural sites within protected areas is useful for protected area management, no pressure should be exerted on local communities to reveal the location of their sacred natural sites, nor the details of their cultural values, practices, history or use. In some instances, sacred natural sites are concealed or access is restricted to a specific gender or age group from within the custodian community and their existence cannot be revealed to the uninitiated. Likewise, the mere presence of outsiders at a sacred site can reduce or even terminate its sacred value and cause it to be abandoned.

Therefore within a cultural group there may be also secrecy along gender lines, that is men and women do not share their places and their rituals, which again confirm the argument brought forward, that heritage is 'gendered' and reproduced in this way.

Umm el-Jimal, Jordan: empowerment of rural women in Jordan through heritage conservation for sustainable development

Umm el Jimal, Jordan.
© UNESCO/Valentina Gamba

A new project 'Empowerment of rural women through the management and preservation of the archaeological site of Umm el-Jimal' (Jordan) launched jointly by UNESCO and UN Women in January 2014, should pave the way

for an integrated approach to heritage protection. It involves hands-on activities on the ground to generate income for local communities: 'Activities managed by women will generate income in line with the advocacy for strengthening the role of culture for sustainable development'.[92] As the site is included on Tentative List of Jordan, it may be nominated to the World Heritage List in the future.[93] The benefits to be derived from this site represent a great development opportunity for the local community. Women aged 20 to 50 years old, mostly unemployed, and with a low level of education, will participate in training and awareness-raising activities highlighting the site's cultural values and its environment. In this way Umm el-Jimal could be developed as a future sustainable cultural tourism destination. Through such a project, diverse aspects of heritage, including artisanal production and skills development, can be taken into account to ensure the participation of women to benefit from this heritage site. The expected results will demonstrate the women's ability to generate income through activities beneficial to both the community and the site. The project also foresees the sharing of these experiences with other women and stakeholders of similar projects in other regions. The initiative is expected to lead to the establishment of a community centre and the development of adapted sustainable tourism prior to the nomination of the site. The women's cooperative established at the Wadi Rum World Heritage site (Jordan) has already demonstrated an integrated approach to enhancing empowerment for women and benefits for local communities through sales revenues from their products at the main entry point to the World Heritage site: the visitor centre of the Wadi Rum Protected Area.

The examples and case studies in *World Heritage: Benefits Beyond Borders* (Galla, 2012) published on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention, demonstrated the advantages of sharing economic benefits from heritage in all its forms with the key partners in heritage conservation, namely local communities. In this regard, site managers, local, regional and national authorities are encouraged to take into account gender equality to ensure equal benefits.

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92   See: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/ news/empowerment_of_rural_women_in_jordan_through_ heritage_conservation_for_sustainable_development/back/9597/

93   A description of the site is available at: http://whc.unesco.org/en/ tentativelists/1548/

Niger River region, Mali: sustainability and heritage

The Niger River region hosts a rich shared heritage with a number of World Heritage sites, archaeological remains and diverse intangible heritage. Implemented in coordination with UNESCO Bamako Office and the World Heritage Centre as part of the 'Niger-Loire: Governance and Culture' 2008-2011 project, and co-financed by the Convention France-UNESCO and the European Union, a women's dyeing factory was established in Bamako, Mali, to address both heritage and environmental considerations. In recent decades women in Mali have developed specific skills in terms of textile dyeing. This activity provides many employment opportunities for women, and their production is being exported all throughout the sub-region. However, since chemical dyeing products are used and polluted waste water is released into water drainage canals or in the Niger River, this activity generates water pollution and raises serious health hazards for women. In that context, an eco-friendly dyeing factory was constructed in Bamako along the Niger River. The centre opened in November 2011 and provides employment for some 200 women. Waste water is filtered and work conditions have improved. Women have been trained to use the new equipment and operate the centre through a management committee. They also provided technical support to diminish the global volume of water and chemicals used in the production process so as to increase productivity and curb environmental impact. Some of the women also expressed their wish to explore other more eco-friendly techniques based on natural dyes.[94]

This example demonstrates that heritage can no longer be regarded as a specific isolated 'object', but as an integral part of the environment and daily life, providing a sense of meaning and cultural identity to the people concerned. It also underlines that heritage is what all human beings value. Such examples could be shared to encourage the full participation of local communities in other parts of the world and the development of green and sustainable economies in and around World Heritage sites with respect for gender equality.

Conclusions:
a way forward

A review of a number of case studies reveals that very few sites on the World Heritage List are directly related to the history and lives of women, such as the Flemish Béguinages. Many sites on the List are linked to famous architects, builders and planners, most of them men. A similar imbalance has been highlighted by the 'Global Strategy for a Balanced and Representative World Heritage List', adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 1994 in order to provide a comprehensive framework and operational methodology for implementing the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 1994b). The experts who produced the document noted that European heritage, cities, religious properties or elitist architecture on the World Heritage List was over-represented and recommended that this situation be redressed. More importantly, they reported that

> *in more general terms, all living cultures - and especially the 'traditional' ones -, with their depth, their wealth, their complexity, and their diverse relationships with their environment, figured very little on the List. Even traditional settlements were only included on the List in terms of their 'architectural' value, taking no account of their many economic, social, symbolic, and philosophical dimensions or of their many continuing interactions with their natural environment in all its diversity. This impoverishment of the cultural expression of human societies was also due to an over-simplified division between cultural and natural properties which took no account of the fact that in most human societies the landscape, which was created or at all events inhabited by human beings, was representative and an expression of the lives of the people who live i1n it and so was in this sense equally culturally meaningful.[95]*

This approach, which could be called the 'anthropological turn' in the interpretation of the World Heritage Convention, could have brought about advances in the recognition of the heritage of men and women, and of a more analytical approach to 'gendered heritage', as heritage is an expression of society and its evolution.

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94   See: http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/846

95   Expert Meeting on the 'Global Strategy' and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List, UNESCO, 20 to 22 June, 1994, available at: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/global94.htm#debut

From the examples in this paper one can draw a number of conclusions that can lead to recommendations for the promotion of gender equality in World Heritage. As illustrated in some of the case studies, most implicitly in the case of Mount Athos, the issue of places inaccessible to either men or women requires considering potentially conflicting provisions of the Convention when inscribing such sites on the World Heritage List. This demonstrates the need for a broader debate on how to examine these various aspects by involving all actors. By adopting the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, UNESCO Member States pledged their commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms and the defence of cultural diversity as an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. The Declaration states that '[n]o one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope'. The World Heritage Convention presents a salient example where these challenges can emerge, yet also the opportunity for its Member States and the World Heritage Committee to put such principles into practice. This implies that the recognition and preservation of the values, authenticity and integrity of these places and related traditions must also respect the provisions of legal instruments to protect human rights or combat against discrimination.

The issue of access is one of the topics on heritage and human rights currently examined by the World Heritage Centre, and the Advisory Bodies (ICOMOS, ICCROM and IUCN). These discussions could result in changes to the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

The strengthening, continued implementation and updating of the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List can also provide opportunities to reinforce the objective to truly reflect cultural diversity on the World Heritage List, including gender equality, when recognizing cultural heritage and landscape sites. In the preparation of nominations for World Heritage Listing: site managers, local communities, national agencies and all involved should be encouraged to document and analyse the experiences of women and men in relation to the sites. Inherent in this process should be the engagement on the part of national and local authorities as well as site managers to work together to identify and understand the appropriate issues related to gender equality.

Applying a gender perspective to heritage interpretation would ensure that gender relations are placed in a broader political, economic, historical, and cultural context. At the same time it could enrich the documentation of the complex history of many sites which in turn improves the 'telling of the story' at local visitor centres, museums and interpretation facilities. Likewise, heritage researchers and universities should work across disciplinary and organizational boundaries in support of collaborative research and applied projects that address complex gender dynamics. In this respect, academic research bridging human rights and heritage is crucial in identifying ways of integrating cultural diversity and human rights in heritage conservation and protection.

Lastly, the role of UNESCO and the UN system as a whole is fundamental in building capacities - to institutionalize efforts to empower women and promote gender equality worldwide. These institutions can lead the way in developing and pursuing a more systematic and stronger policy dialogue in continued support of an enabling environment for women's participation and gender equality. They can also provide valuable specific policy advice to States Parties, national agencies and site managers based on evidence and promote value-added gender equality approaches .

BOX 5. **MDG-F Joint Programmes**

The Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund (MDG-F) was launched in 2006 thanks to a generous contribution from the Government of Spain to the United Nations System, with the aim to implement programmes that help advance the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) worldwide, focused on eradicating poverty and inequalities. The MDG-F financed some 130 joint programmes in 50 countries around the world targeting eight thematic areas: nutrition, youth and employment, gender equality, environment, culture and development, conflict resolution and peacebuilding, water resources management and private sector development. All programmes were jointly implemented by several UN agencies, national and local governments, partnering with community organizations, NGOs, and the private sector. A gender perspective was taken into account in all processes.

The MDG-F thematic window on culture and development aims at showing the links between culture and human development. Even though culture is not explicitly referred to the MDGs, the last decade has witnessed an increasing recognition of culture as a powerful instrument for economic development and social inclusion as well as the promotion of quality education, health, the preservation of the environment and tackling inequalities and poverty, through strengthening creative industries and protecting cultural and natural heritage. The 18 MDG-F joint programmes (JPs) adopted a gender perspective, with the objective of advancing MDG-3 'Promote gender equality and empower women' namely by creating jobs, incomes, and new market opportunities for women in the culture sector, while also empowering them to participate in cultural life in various ways.

Some MDG-F success stories for gender equality and women's empowerment:

NICARAGUA, *Cultural Recovery and Creative Productive Development on the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua:* A Cultural Promotion Fund was initiated to boost areas such as handicrafts, visual arts, dance, traditional medicine, targeting people of African descent and indigenous peoples on Nicaragua Caribbean Coast. The programme was designed to meet the specific needs and demands of the women and men from those communities, which previously had no access to credit.

OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY, *Culture and Development in the Occupied Palestinian Territory:* In the Occupied Palestinian Territory, learning music became a reality for 92 students. The Joint Programme established music training and information sessions for parents and children, which resulted in the wider acceptance of the importance of teaching music and of mixed classes, including boys and girls.

MAURITANIA, *Heritage, Tradition and Creativity for the Sustainable Development of Mauritania:* This joint programme resulted in the creation of a festival in Mauritania to promote intangible heritage and the cultural industries, aimed to improve the living conditions of practitioners. The programme targeted especially women, youth and people from the poorest segments of society by involving these groups in the conception, design and implementation of the project, and by consulting cultural associations, groups of artisans, cooperatives, women's and youth associations.

CHINA, *A Systematic Communication Approach to Strengthen Results:* The programme was implemented in Chinese rural areas in order to strengthen local capacities in cultural heritage conservation by improving communication practices. The beneficiaries were able to and participate in community cultural mapping, community-based museum, and agricultural-heritage protection. Women were trained as community focal points, engaging them fully in project implementation and communication activities, and enabling them to participate in public life.

URUGUAY, *Accessibility and Production of Cultural Goods and Services: Cultural Factories and Production Plants:* This programme established cultural factories and production plants in urban and rural areas in Uruguay, offering facilities such as recording centres and photography and video studios as well as training to enhance opportunities for the participants and to develop creative skills. Young people and women excluded from the formal work and education system were targeted as primary beneficiaries. Another objective was the promotion of gender equality in terms of content and creative production.

NICARAGUA
Cultural Recovery and Creative Productive Development on the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua

CHINA
A Systematic Communication Approach to Strengthen Results

MAURITANIA
Heritage, Tradition and Creativity for the Sustainable Development of Mauritania Plants

URUGUAY
Accessibility and Production of Cultural Goods and Services: Cultural Factories and Production Plants

OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY
Culture and Development in the Occupied Palestinian Territory

IFCD project in Argentina.
© UNESCO

Chapter 3:
Creativity

Overview

Enter the Ruins #1
2012 Digital C-print.
Performance and concept by Anida Yoeu Ali, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.
Photo: Vinh Dao ©Anida Yoeu Ali

Introduction

Almost a century ago, in her seminal essay 'A Room of One's Own', British author Virginia Woolf decried the absence of 'literary mothers', the role models needed to inspire current and future generations of women writers. For Woolf, it was not want of talent that explained the dearth of female authors in the Western literary canon. Rather it was the lack of funding and learning opportunities, negative stereotypes and the domestic duties expected of women that held back the anonymous female authors of the past and present from becoming recognized and appreciated: 'A woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction' (Woolf, 1929).

The struggles of women in the early 20th century to break through a male-dominated creative field described in Woolf's essay expose some of the gender inequalities regarding women's opportunities to access, participate in and contribute to cultural life. One century later, the challenges remain despite the advances made in other areas of gender equality, such as political or labour market participation. Creativity is not gender neutral, nor is it immune from broader socio-economic and political contexts and concerns. Indeed, inequalities within the creative sector mirror the structural barriers found in other economic sectors and in society at large.

Creativity is an inherently dynamic process that draws together tradition, imagination and innovation. It offers individuals and communities multiple channels to explore questions and social norms, identities and expectations around gender roles and relations. As such, it has the potential to open an important space for social dialogue around gender equality issues in cultural life as well in other socio-economic and political spheres. Creative expression can also strongly support women's social, civic and political empowerment through a respect for their human rights, in particular cultural rights and freedom of expression, and economic empowerment through employment and entrepreneurial opportunities in the cultural and creative industries.

This overview will commence with an introduction to the international context for gender equality, creativity and development, including UNESCO's normative and programmatic action. Part 2 will then address the challenges for women in the creative sector, building on policies and programmes from Member States' responses

to the UNESCO questionnaire on gender equality and culture and periodic reporting to the 2005 Convention. Additional evidence is also drawn from research and the expert papers and policy insights included in this chapter, which presents views on challenges facing women in Africa in the fashion design and performing arts sectors (Yarri Kamara) and in filmmaking (Lizelle Bisschoff), in filmmaking in Brazil, Russian Federation, India, People's Republic of China and South Africa (BRICS) (Maria Luiza Gatto and Sarah Peters-Harrison), and gender gaps in the French cultural sector (Fleur Pellerin, Minister for Culture and Communication of France). Part 3 will provide an overview of successful national policies and measures that target gender equality in the creative sector. It is followed by a conclusion and suggestions for the way forward.

Part 1:
International context for gender and creativity

As noted in the Director-General's foreword to this report, recent decades have been marked by an increasingly explicit recognition of the role of culture in promoting sustainable development and alleviating poverty. Countries have begun to view culture as an asset in eradicating poverty, inequality and discrimination while seeking innovative development paths with full ownership of communities. At a time when leaders are looking for new strategies to foster transformative change, culture and cultural diversity are seen as catalysts for creativity, innovation, renewal of ideas and societies.

Not only do development policies responsive to cultural contexts yield stronger and more sustainable development outcomes, the cultural sector is also a driver of sustainable development which generates income, creates decent jobs and improves livelihoods.

Landmark documents and resolutions of the United Nations, including the outcome document of the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) have recognized the role of culture as both an *enabler* and *driver* of sustainable development. Ministers at the 2013 session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) affirmed that

culture is an essential component of sustainable development; represents a source of identity, innovation and creativity for the individual and community; and is an important factor in building social inclusion and eradicating poverty, providing for economic growth and ownership of development processes.[96]

The many aspects of culture's role and linkages with sustainable development have been captured in UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and its 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (hereinafter the 2005 Convention) that provide a solid foundation for the promotion of culture for sustainable development, and have been translated at national level in a number of strategies, policies and programmes to implement this vision on the ground. The 18 Joint United Nations Programmes funded under the Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund's (MDG-F) thematic window on Culture and Development stand as a substantial contribution here as do the projects and programmes supported through UNESCO's International Fund for Cultural Diversity (IFCD). These programmes underline the power of cultural programmes and culture-based approaches to provide innovative and effective solutions to cross-cutting issues, including gender equality, social inclusion, quality education and job creation.

A high priority for sustainable development should be to address the situation of women and girls and to seek the greatest potential for 'catch-up' progress. As key documents such as *Realizing the Future We Want for All* (UN, 2012*b*) and the agreed conclusions of the 2014 Commission on the Status of Women[97] have noted, this must include removing structural barriers in their access to services, decent jobs, land and other economic resources, entrepreneurship and technology. Such approaches should aim to transform the structural factors that underpin the widespread persistence of gender inequalities and unequal development progress between women and men, girls and boys.

This also applies to the creative economy, which is emerging globally as a powerful engine of sustainable and inclusive growth. For example, in 2011, world trade

of creative goods and services totalled a record US$ 624 billion, with an average annual growth rate of the sector of 9 per cent since 2002. That trend is even stronger in developing countries where exports of creative goods have increased by an average 12 per cent annually during that period (United Nations/UNDP/UNESCO, 2013). In its capacity to address both the economic and social aspects of poverty, culture can enhance the integration of the social, economic and environmental aspects of development, which is a precondition for sustainability.

As creators, producers, artisans and entrepreneurs, women have contributed greatly to strengthening creative sectors, especially in developing countries. In addition, the cultural and creative industries have helped to strengthen their economic opportunities and their active participation in public life. An examination of the challenges and assessment of the opportunities for women in the creative sector is therefore timely if the post-2015 development framework is to be truly inclusive, holistic and gender equal.

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96   E/2013/L.18. See also General Assembly resolution 68/223 on
        Culture and Sustainable Development (20 December 2013).
97   E/CN.6/2014/L.7.

Afghanistan National Institute of Music.
© Jennifer Taylor

BOX 6. Music as a vector for promoting respect and equality: Afghanistan National Institute of Music

The Afghanistan National Institute of Music (ANIM) in Kabul is one of the rare co-education schools operating in Afghanistan. It offers free tuition to all students, many of whom are from marginalized backgrounds. Close to one-third of its students are girls and through its music programme, both girls and boys are enjoying to learn music to rebuild and revitalize it after it was banned during decades of conflict. Ensuring equal access to music for Afghan girls and boys is a priority for the Director of the Institute, Ahmad Sarmast, who aims to have parity in the school by 2016. Sometimes girls are forced to drop out from the school due to social pressure. The chance to learn Afghan music and attend the school is a symbol of the aspirations for gender equality among Afghan youth.

The pursuit of excellence in music education has remained the focus of the Institute. All children must audition for admission to the school and are selected for their musical skill, potential and commitment. Both traditional Afghan and Western music are taught in the music curriculum, and students can choose the instrument they wish to specialize in. Central to the teaching methodology of the school is the participation of all students in an orchestra, to promote principles of respect and equality. The long-term objectives of the school include establishing the first national orchestra of Afghanistan, and for students to perform, teach and compose music in Afghanistan and abroad.

Music is more than entertainment or a type of art. It is a powerful force that can play a significant role in establishing a just and civil society, while contributing to the emotional healing and unification of Afghan children and youth.

Ahmad Sarmast

Part 2:
Challenges and assessment of the opportunities for women in the creative sector

Women are strongly represented in the creative sector, active across a range of occupations and activities. An initial look at the high percentage of women working in public cultural institutions, or studying for a related degree, could lead to the simple assumption that the creative sector offers equal opportunities for women and men. More closer examination, however, reveals that the playing field remains, as with other sectors, less than equal. A leitmotif of the experts' analysis included in this chapter is the presence of both 'glass ceilings' and 'glass walls' blocking women's ability to fully realize their talents and potential, and take advantage of the creative and artistic opportunities of the creative economy. From film direction to cultural management, women are still largely absent from the higher rungs of the creative ladder and face difficulties in entering some creative domains due to stigma, stereotypes, exclusion from male networks, and unequal share of domestic responsibilities.

The challenges identified below are based on an analysis of the structural barriers for gender equality in this sector, looking specifically at the sex-specific barriers that women face across different cultural disciplines, such as film, theatre or live performance. This is in recognition of the cultural and historical discrimination women face in fully engaging in creative processes and in the cultural sector, but without obfuscating or undermining the stereotypes men also face in entering certain creative fields.

Feminization of cultural professions

Looking horizontally across the creative economy highlights sex-segregated trends in cultural occupations. The gendered pattern of work identified in other economic sectors are also at play in the creative economy, where the concentration of women and men in certain occupations denote the influence of gender stereotypes, socialization and the concepts of 'male' and 'female' tasks. This appears to go against a common view that the creative economy is more easily accessible and open

to all individuals, but perhaps in particular to women due to (mis)perceptions on the lower skills threshold.[98]

General trends indicate that women are overrepresented in public cultural institutions and the informal sector. This replicates patterns found in other economic sectors and mirrors the challenges of women in achieving true economic empowerment.[99] Feminization and masculinization of cultural professions varies according to the sectors. Occupations in the audio visual, music production and new media and digital industries (e.g. special effects, post-production, web and games content) tend to be dominated by men (Wolfe, 2012): in the United Kingdom, men represent between 60 and 75 per cent of employees in these industries (Skillset, 2010). A similar pattern is noted in Finland's questionnaire response: while women in Finland in 2012 constitute the majority of employees in the cultural sector (53%), dominating the artistic and literary activities, they are in a clear minority in the film, audio and music industries. In the US, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) found that two-thirds of musicians, producers and photographers were men (NEA, 2008). In Australia, over 90 per cent of all sound technicians, camera operators and directors of photography are male (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Other male-dominated creative domains include architecture; in the US, 78 per cent of architects are men. Only two women have won the prestigious Pritzker Architecture Prize since its establishment in 1979: UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador, Zaha Hadid (2004) and Kazuyo Sejma (2010).

Secondly, women are strongly represented in public cultural institutions and large industries such as book publishing. Across Europe, women represent between 45 to 70 per cent of 'knowledge-intensive service industries'. In the UK, women are strongly represented in terrestrial television (48%), broadcast radio (47%), cinema exhibition (43%), and book publishing (61%) (Skillset, 2010). In Australia, women dominate arts education (73.8%) and newspaper and book retailing (64%) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006).

Finally, the type of jobs that women and men choose to pursue within the cultural sector are closely linked with social expectations on appropriate male and female tasks. The feminization of certain cultural professions is the outcome of both socialization/social expectations

as well as women's restricted access to skills training. Sex-based segregation of activities varies across cultural industries; for example, Bisschoff notes that in the African film industry, directing and cinematography are seen as male roles, and women struggle to enter these professions. Similarly, Kamara points out that in some countries of West Africa, girls are discouraged from learning musical instruments, since public instrument playing is deemed a 'male' cultural activity. As a result, it remains taboo for women to become musicians; at the same time, while they are allowed to use their voice, there exists a low perception of the talent of female vocalists. Social expectations also often restrict women to certain cultural activities. Crafts, a highly feminized industry, are seen as 'female-friendly' since they do not disturb the cultural and social balance of the home or community and, as predominantly home-based industries, have a lower skills, investment and infrastructure threshold (Richards, 2007). The flexible and informal nature of the sector accommodates women's domestic and care commitments within the family, and may not require formal skills training or large financial investments.

Glass ceilings

The 'glass ceiling' describes a phenomenon observed in other sectors, wherein women's career progression stalls before acceding to senior management and leadership levels. Under-representation of women at these levels is striking given the narrowing of gaps in post-secondary and tertiary education and the considerable increases in female labour force participation (UNESCO, 2012).

In a sector characterized by strong female participation, it could be assumed that it is easier for women to make it to the top and break through the glass ceiling of cultural professions. However, major gender gaps remain in key leadership and decision-making positions within both large public and private cultural institutions despite the higher overall number of women in the cultural sector (Eurostat, 2011). Successful career trajectories to leadership positions depends on the type of employment, the particular cultural industry and the type of institution in which women are active: public institutions (e.g. a publicly-funded museum), a large private company (e.g. a large publishing house), a small-medium enterprise, a cultural entrepreneur, etc.[100]

98   See Banks, M. and Milestone, K. (2011).
99   See Kucera, D. and Xenogiani, T. (2009).

100   For further information, see ERICarts publications on gender and culture: ARCult Media (2000;2003;2005).

A sex-disaggregated breakdown of the cultural sector lays bare the gender challenge. As the French Minister of Culture and Communication, Fleur Pellerin, highlights in this chapter, data published in 2013 by the Observatoire de l'égalité femmes-hommes (Observatory for Gender Equality) shows that in France women represent less than a quarter of film directors, theatre directors and choreographers employed in publicly-financed institutions, and less than 5 per cent of opera conductors less than 8 per cent of conductors of permanent orchestras. In a survey by Marcolin and Pélissier,[101] Stéphane Fiévet, Director of the Centre National du Théâtre (France) makes specific reference to the job 'market' of the theatre sector and that roles for female actors are far fewer than those for their male colleagues

> *Is it the job market that should be acted upon to further respect the investment in gender equality or is it the supply of training that should be adapted to be more in line with the supply of existing jobs in the cultural job market?*

Responses to the UNESCO questionnaire from Cyprus, Montenegro, Finland, Nigeria and Cambodia note similar glass ceilings. A gender analysis of the US film industry also exposes similar trends: in the top 250 grossing films of 2012 in the United States, 17 per cent of executive producers were women, 9 per cent were directors, 2 per cent were cinematographers and 15 per cent were writers (**Figure 1**). In emerging and developing economies, the same pattern can also be observed: as Kamara's survey of African cultural professionals highlights, when asked whether they could give examples of heads of their cultural professions that are women, few participants were able to do so.

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101   See the paper by Marcolin, V. and Pélissier, C. *Teaching equality and training professionals in diversity issues: Essential prerequisites in achieving gender equality in the arts and the cultural sector*, available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/gender-and-culture/gender-and-culture/

Figure 1. Gender inequality in film.

INDUSTRY INEQUALITY

There is a **5:1** ratio of men working on films to women

34.5% / **16.9%**

Females direct more **DOCUMENTARIES** than **NARRATIVE FILMS**
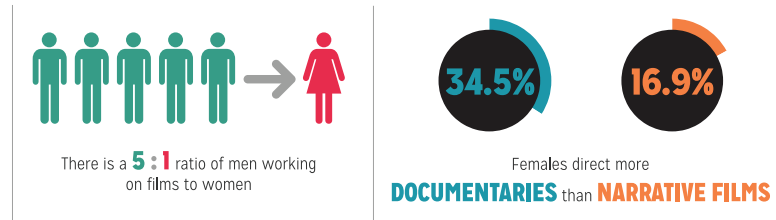
PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN EMPLOYED BEHIND THE SCENES ON TOP 250 FILMS BY ROLE

PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN AND MEN EMPLOYED BEHIND THE SCENES ON TOP 250 FILMS OF 2012

DIRECTORS — 9%, 5%, 7%, 9% | Women 9% / Men 91%
WRITERS — 15%, 14%, 10%, 13% | Women 15% / Men 85%
EXEC. PRODUCERS — 17%, 18%, 16%, 18% | Women 17% / Men 83%
PRODUCERS — 25%, 25%, 20%, 24% | Women 25% / Men 75%
EDITORS — 20%, 20%, 21%, 20% | Women 20% / Men 80%
CINEMATOGRAPHERS — 2%, 4%, 2%, 4% | Women 2% / Men 98%

Legend: 2012, 2011, 2006, 1998 | Men, Women

number of women employed in the roles considered above

38% employed **0-1 WOMEN** | 23% employed **2 WOMEN** | 28% employed **3-5 WOMEN** | 10% employed **6-9 WOMEN**

Source: New York Film Academy (2013)

The 'glass ceiling' genders the creative sector, largely to women's disadvantage. Fewer women in decision-making positions as cultural gatekeepers or in professional networks has a domino effect on the visibility and access potential of female cultural entrepreneurs, operators and professionals to share, create and gain credibility with their peers. Gatekeepers within creative sectors - ranging from critics, editors, agents, promoters, publishers, curators, festival directors, juries and producers - are responsible for judging and assessing creative talent (ERICarts, 2003). Theatre and art critics, for example, play a role in influencing public opinion through their assessment of a play or exhibition: negative reviews can determine its commercial and artistic success or failure. As the Guerrilla Girls' perspective argues (Box 19), works of female artists represent a small minority of museum collections and do not attract the same prices.

Access to resources and pay gaps

Difficulties in penetrating masculine networks of influence in the cultural sector also have financial consequences for gender equality. Securing investment for projects is a struggle for all cultural professionals and artists and often contingent on networking possibilities with funders and donors. Yet women often struggle more to access funding due to structural discrimination (Observatoire de l'égalité femmes-hommes, 2013). Women, whether artists and/ or leaders of institutions in all fields, arts, heritage, media, earn less and have less access to programming and funding. In 2012, the average salary of female filmmakers, actors and cinematographers was inferior by about 30 per cent compared to that of their male counterparts.[102] This gender gap in securing funding can act as a disincentive to remain in the sector or discourage new generations of women to enter.

Limited resources to finance their cultural projects can have the effect of limiting the scope of women's creativity. Female cultural entrepreneurs surveyed by Kamara expressed difficulties in securing funding at both the start-up and scale-up stages of their entrepreneurial activity. In their analysis of women filmmakers in the BRICS, Gatto and Peters-Harrison found that barriers to accessing professional networks impacts access to resources for female directors in South Africa, resulting in the creation of shorter documentary-style films rather than feature length fictions.

102 See Pellerin, F. *Towards equality between women and men in the cultural sector*, in this chapter.

Wapikoni Mobile, Canada.
© Wapikoni Mobile

BOX 7. Making the inaccessible accessible: Wapikoni Mobile, Canada

Wapikoni Mobile, a mobile studio for audiovisual and musical creation, is an NGO based in Canada. Working with First Nations communities in Québec, the studio offers equipment, as well as mentoring and training with film professionals. The NGO focuses on indigenous youth living in isolated communities, enabling them to develop technical and professional skills in filmmaking, and promote the recognition, distribution and preservation of their cultural heritage. Through the creation of short films and musical recordings and its inclusive approach, girls and boys from the communities are able to voice the issues they face; women and girls are given the opportunity to tell their own stories and promote women's knowledge in their communities, as well as express specific challenges. Wapikoni Mobile is based in Canada and is developing its model among indigenous communities in Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Panama.

Stereotypes, stigma and sexism: the invisible barriers

Barriers to women entering or pursuing a career in the creative sector often derive from discriminatory or sexist stereotypes on appropriate female behaviour or activities. This is a recurring theme in the contributions to this publication as well as in the policies enacted by governments to redress the uneven playing field.

Public performances by women or women entering a cultural space gendered male can provoke and incite strong negative societal reactions. Social taboos on women playing an instrument, as noted above, or performing in a public theatre can represent a strong handicap for female artists. As Kamara reveals, accusations of immorality have real spill-over effects for women artists: they are seen as undesirable for marriage, unfit mothers, and attract criticism from within their own families.

Juggling creativity with domestic and caring responsibilities

Domestic responsibilities, motherhood and caregiving represent a daunting challenge for women struggling to reconcile social expectations on 'women's tasks' with their creative ambitions. As in other fields, unpaid care features strongly among women artists and professionals as a cause for abandoning their creative pathway.

Lack of childcare, long and irregular work hours and low family support for their careers are commonly cited challenges for women. Motherhood represents a leading factor in slowing career progression in all sectors. The cost of childcare and time constraints means that part-time work for mothers is a more viable and attractive option: high childcare costs have been found to increase the chances of women working part-time (OECD, 2012). Women's care responsibilities are often perceived as in 'conflict' with their professional activities: this is also the case in the creative sector where, as Bisschoff's analysis of women filmmakers in Africa evokes, women's primary responsibility is seen to be within the private – domestic sphere. Long hours on a film set, participating in a festival or on a concert tour are seen as incompatible with family life, in particular if they receive low family support for pursuing their career.

Promoting gender equality and peace through film: Cameras of Diversity

Cameras of Diversity is a programme led by UNESCO Havana to promote the distribution of varied local content through the media, and to train local communities in using new technologies for audiovisual production.

The programme formed a core component of the conference Cameras of Diversity for a *Culture of Peace*, as part of the Trinidad and Tobago Film Festival in October 2013. Creative industry representatives from over a dozen countries in the Latin America and the Caribbean region adopted the Declaration on Developing the Caribbean Film Industry for a Culture of Peace, reaffirming the potential of the Caribbean creative industry to drive economic growth and promote cultural diversity. The Declaration calls on policy-makers and non-governmental entities to include the film industry in policies and investment plans, and to take into consideration gender equality when preparing and implementing sustainable development policies. Moreover, representatives prioritized women's economic empowerment, and their participation in all the stages of the film industry value chain and decision-making processes. Particular attention was given to gender equality in conjunction with the UN Secretary General's campaign 'Unite to End Violence Against Women'.

Part 3:
National policies and measures contributing to gender equality in the creative sector

In addressing the challenges outlined above, Member States have introduced a range of policies and measures to promote gender equality in the creative sector.[103] Specific measures have been implemented to ensure that women's and men's participation in cultural life are equally encouraged, and their contributions are equally valued and visible. These included legislation, policies and strategies, as well as various types of institutional and financial measures (grants, trainings, mentoring schemes, targeted funding, etc.).

The policy goals of these interventions can be derived from the analysis of the reports that Parties to the 2005 Convention have submitted to UNESCO on its

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103   The national policies and measures analysed in this section draw on quadrennial periodic reports on the implementation of the 2005 Convention submitted by its Parties in 2012 and 2013 (a total of 65 reports).

implementation. On the one hand, countries have strived to promote gender equality by supporting women as creators and producers of cultural expressions. On the other hand, governments have aimed at improving women's access to decision-making positions, including those directly related to the formulation and implementation of cultural policies such as targeted measures, capacity-building and training programmes.

In assessing the effectiveness of any gender-sensitive and gender-responsive policies and measures, the value chain approach has been usefully applied to unmask the ways in which the gender division of labour is reproduced, the value it is given, and other external factors that contribute to reinforcing inequalities. It provides insight into underlying power dynamics and social norms that shape the opportunities available to women and men, and their capacity to pursue them (Laven et al., 2009).

Adopting a value chain analysis of the cultural sector involves a study of the production of culture as a result of a series of interlinked processes or stages that together form the culture cycle, value chain or supply chain (UNESCO-UIS, 2009), namely, creation, production, distribution and participation/enjoyment of culture and cultural expressions. Applying a gender lens to the cultural value chain – i.e. a gendered cultural value chain analysis – is helpful in pinpointing the policy challenges and the responses that are required. It permits a more fine-grained analysis of the barriers that women face as creators, producers and citizens participating in cultural life, as well as of the apparent contradiction between women's visibility and invisibility within the creative economy. Furthermore, it helps analyse the solutions adopted by countries to address the special circumstances and needs of women along this chain.

Creation

Creation describes the concept, design or initial innovation, such as a melody, theatrical text, or drawing. At this stage of the value chain, the barriers addressed in various expert contributions to this report, range from negative stereotypes and discrimination to the cost of child care. These and many others prevent gifted women around the world from embarking on artistic careers.

A number of policy challenges result from these barriers. They include:

• Identifying and adequately addressing gender stereo-typing which may result, as shown by Kamara, in the perception of female performing artists as women of low moral standards, as well as in damaging attitudes and behaviours ranging from 'benevolent sexism' to overt sexual harassment;

• Identifying and adequately addressing gender-based discrimination, including the double discrimination faced by women and girls with disabilities or women from indigenous groups;

• Identifying and adequately addressing gender gaps in the artists' capacities to secure financial support, as well as time, space and opportunities to develop new ideas and artistic projects.

Putting the spotlight on women's achievements in the creative sector is important for both recognition of existing talent and encouraging future talent. As Minister Fleur Pellerin argues, it is necessary to 'make the invisible visible' by recognizing women's artistic achievements, revising educational and training tools and addressing negative stereotypes in the media. In Mexico, the government has established educational and cultural radio programming to raise visibility and awareness of female artists, producers, writers and announcers. In Portugal, the National Plan for Equality, Gender, Citizenship and Non-Discrimination (2011-2013) included measures to increase the visibility of women in culture through the 'Women as Producers of Culture' prize.[104] In the UK, the Cultural Leadership Programme (CLP), a government-funded programme that invests in leadership development across the creative and cultural sectors promoted lists of 'Women to Watch' featuring 50 female leaders, directors, producers and curators working in the creative industries.

Countries responding to the UNESCO questionnaire provided examples of policy solutions adopted to tackle the issues of gender stereotyping and double discrimination, including the provision of participation mechanisms and spaces for female indigenous artists to create and have access to training opportunities. In Cote d'Ivoire, the Groupe Ba Banga Nyeck programme trains women in the art of balafon playing, an area traditionally dominated by men.

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104   Response of Portugal to the UNESCO questionnaire.

BOX 9. Support for women with disabilities to participate in the cultural industries in Cameroon

Professional training was provided in the creative domains of design, arts and crafts for 30 young unemployed women with disabilities in the city of Yaoundé. It provided skills and strengthened the capacities of one of the most vulnerable groups of women (women with disabilities) and increased their earnings. This project demonstrates how offering equitable socio-economic opportunities to women in cultural professions can boost creative and economic opportunities and enhance the critical link between culture, gender and development. This project is supported by UNESCO's International Fund for Cultural Diversity (IFCD).

BOX 11. Mentoring female artists in Austria

The Mentoring Programme for Female Artists was introduced by the Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture in 2011. The programme was launched as a result of the consultation process with civil society representatives and artists during the inter-ministerial talks, which revealed the need for a special 'career exploration instrument' for female artists.

The objective is to support know-how transfer between established and emerging female artists through workshops, networking meetings and supervision. The evaluation of the pilot phase showed broad approval for the programme, and that most of the objectives individually defined by each tandem have been achieved.

IFCD project in Argentina.
© UNESCO

Other measures aim to improve the status and working conditions of female artists – especially those at the beginning of their career – through:

- facilitating women's access to funding sources and schemes;

- providing scholarships and mentoring programmes to nurture women's creative talents; and

- setting up spaces where women can create and develop new skills.

Many countries have introduced changes in their national cultural policies to incorporate a gender equality approach and contribute to improving the status of women artists and cultural professionals. In specific sectors such as broadcasting, councils and committees have been created (e.g. France, New Zealand) to ensure that gender issues are incorporated and a range of programmes are available to meet the interest of different groups including women.

BOX 10. Efforts to combat gender discrimination in Argentina

Since 2006, the Undersecretariat of Culture of the Province of Entre Ríos and the Entre Ríos Delegation of the National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism has run the 'Women Programme', which seeks to develop public activities to change gender stereotypes, educate about women's rights, promote good practices, recognize women's contributions in different fields, and promote artistic production featuring women and created by women. This is achieved through public debates, panels, film projections, conferences, meetings, exhibits, fairs and shows.

For example, the Ministry of Innovation and Culture of the Province of Santa Fe, in coordination with other government and non-government organizations, carries out an initiative 'Perfume de Mujer', which pays tribute to daughters, mothers, heroines, saints, teachers, empathic women, ghosts of history or passionate lovers that gave their name to cities, villages and colonies in this province.

Elsewhere, the Coordination of Libraries and Archives of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Province of Salta is establishing public libraries specialized in women, diversity and indigenous peoples.

Production

Production describes how different elements such as materials, professionals and other infrastructure are brought together to produce the materialization of a cultural expression, such as a book or television programme.

At this stage of the value chain, barriers are numerous and range from lower wages earned by women than by men for comparable jobs to women's lack of access to specialized technical and entrepreneurial training and financial aids. The infamous 'glass ceiling' preventing women's access to top managerial positions is another major barrier that affects all cultural sectors, even such female-dominated ones as designer fashion. In the publishing industry where women are very strongly represented, the majority of boards of directors, executive officers and editors-in-chief are still predominantly male in Europe (ERICarts, 2003).

The related policy challenges include, in addition to the ones listed under 'creation', the absence of favourable legislation and enabling environments for female cultural producers. The 'glass ceiling' hampering women's participation in decision-making processes is rarely addressed with regard to the cultural sector.

Among the solutions found by countries to address the production stage challenges, quotas and affirmative action to support female cultural professionals offer an effective response, as their impact extends beyond the women who benefit from them directly: research shows that women who reach decision-making positions in the cultural sector (e.g. film producers, orchestra conductors, publishers) tend to become 'gate-openers' for other women (ERICarts, 2003).

Institutional, technical and financial measures aimed at creating an enabling environment for female cultural producers have been taken in a number of countries. These include improving women's access to existing funding schemes, ensuring gender balance when allocating funds and provision of targeted funding for female cultural entrepreneurs. Improving access to training and skills development, as well as provisions of space and equipment are other noteworthy measures.

BOX 12. Mainstreaming gender equality in film funding in Sweden

Support to Swedish film production, distribution and screening is financed through a 2006 agreement between the state, the film industry and several television companies. The agreement states that the proportion of women in central functions in film production must increase during the period of agreement (2006-2012) and that funding shall be distributed to at least 40 per cent of the under-represented sex in central functions in film production.

Despite this measure, it was found that there is a clear imbalance between men and women with regard to access to film funding. To strengthen gender equality efforts, a special initiative was therefore introduced in 2010 to encourage young women's filmmaking. Sweden's 19 regional resource centres can apply for funds to create greenhouse projects aimed at girls and women from 15 to 26 years-of-age. The long-term goal of the initiative is to contribute to a better balance between men and women in the distribution of support to Swedish film production. In total, this concerns approximately US$ 1.17 million (SEK 8 million) until 2014.

At a more general level, measures such as diversifying and subsidizing child care options and giving higher visibility to female cultural producers are also very effective. The active participation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs is an asset in the design and implementation of this kind of measure, as is the case in Germany and Ireland. Some of these measures have taken into account the needs of female cultural professionals from ethnic minority groups (e.g. in Guatemala, Mexico, UK).

Distribution / dissemination

Dissemination refers to the means in which a cultural expression is brought to a general public, such as through the commercialization of a song or a live performance. At this stage of the cultural value chain, the unequal opportunities that exist for women's works to access national and international markets are a major barrier.

The policy challenge is to create such opportunities through a set of targeted and interconnected measures in all cultural industry sectors. These include the need for appropriate legal and policy frameworks as well as for direct support incentives, funding and market access measures.

The solutions adopted by countries have included positive discrimination, promotion of women artists' international mobility and exchanges, as well as increasing their visibility domestically and internationally. For instance, the Austrian Government has taken measures to make women artists more visible through the publication of the reference book *Frauen/Musik/Österreich* (Women/Music Austria), and research and studies conducted by Burkina Faso and Cuba have contributed to the visibility of women in the field of culture.

BOX 13. Supporting indigenous female creators in Guatemala

The Government of Guatemala has taken different measures to promote gender equality and women's empowerment in culture, mainly targeting indigenous women. They include strengthening the links in the production chain for partnerships, initiatives, programmes and projects.

Training and technical assistance was provided to 120 members of handicraft organizations in different municipalities of the country, mainly women's groups in Chinautla and San Juan Sacatepequez (Guatemala) and El Jicaro, El Progreso, and Patzun (Chimaltenango), to develop organizational and business development skills, helping them to better market and sell their works.

Participation / enjoyment

The participation/ enjoyment link of the cultural value chain refers to the audience or general public using cultural products and participating in cultural experiences, such as reading, visiting an art gallery, etc. At this stage, access to cultural expressions can be restricted to certain social groups. Women and girls in developing countries and in poor neighbourhoods in developed countries often face complex barriers to participating in the cultural life of their societies.

The solutions adopted by governments to address these challenges have included free admission to cultural institutions, and educational and partnership initiatives. The Bulgarian Government took steps to reduce entry fees to events at community cultural centres (*chitalishta*). This has provided significant benefits for certain vulnerable groups, including women but also, children, ethnic groups, elderly people and people with disabilities.

Specific support programmes aim to increase women's media and information and communication technology ICT literacy. Training in ICTs is especially useful for

Aszure Barton and Andrew Murdock in rehearsal for *Awáa*, 2013.
Photo: Tobin Del Cuore © Aszure Barton & Artists

accessing information and content, establishing and developing contacts as well as expressing oneself. For example in Uruguay, digital literacy workshops were conducted with an investment of 19,968 teaching staff hours for 36,370 students. 80 per cent of participants were women aged 40 and more.

In Portugal, several major projects have been developed in underprivileged neighbourhoods to encourage the participation of women in cultural life. For example, an initiative organized by the Moinho da Juventude Cultural Association, the Finka Pé Batuque group promotes the practice of Cape Verdian batuque music that is solely performed by women who create their own music and dance routines. In 2009, the Gulbenkian Human Development Programme supported a social intervention project in partnership with the Dialogue and Action Association, that uses various aspects of hip hop culture (song, dance, DJ-ing or graffiti), in order to provide a voice for women, foster gender equality and reduce violence.

Women basket makers of Bhadohi, India.
© Dastkari Haat Samiti. Courtesy of Jaya Jaitly

BOX 14. **'Women Reading' programme in Côte d'Ivoire**

On the occasion of the Year of the Book (2013), the Ministry of Culture of Côte d'Ivoire, the Organisation International de la Francophonie and the National Library of Côte d'Ivoire initiated a programme 'Women Reading' to broaden the reception of literature by engaging female audiences. The programme consists in establishing itinerant 'no walls libraries' to bring books to women in their places of work or frequented social spaces, including hair salons.

This initiative is based on the realities of the country, where it was found that it is not customary for women to dedicate time for reading at home. However, regardless of their social status and occupation, Ivorian women spend on average an hour and a half per week in a hair salon. Therefore, seven hair salons (four in Abengourou and three in Abidjan) were engaged to participate in the programme. The mini libraries installed wooden cabinets with glass doors containing fifty books, of which ten are children's books. As of December 2013, a total of 34,600 home loans were registered in Abidjan and Abengourou. No statistics are available for the number of books read on site, but the general tendency for the salon clients was to read as many books as they could before the replacement of the library collection. In addition, some of the illiterate salon clients registered for evening literacy classes in order to be able to benefit from the libraries. The salon managers took care of the books, kept accurate records, conveyed their clients' preferences to the National Library and undertook to organize signings with the authors. The programme is currently being expanded.

BOX 15. **Women working in Zimbabwe's cultural industries**

The Zimbabwean Cultural Statistics Survey Report 2012 produced by the NGO Culture Fund of Zimbabwe reveals the professional engagement of men and women in the creative sector and its impact on national economy. Data collected shows that close to 30 per cent of those employed in the cultural sector (30.7% male and 28.2% female) work in the performing arts industries followed by those in the book industry at 28 per cent (29.8 % male and 23.3% female). It found that there were more women than men working in the creative fields of visual arts, crafts and design. The majority of professionals interviewed were employed full time. Following up on some of the recommendations of the survey, a new investigation on the status of women in the creative sector is underway. This report was supported by UNESCO's International Fund for Cultural Diversity (IFCD).

Conclusion

This review of policies and programme measures to support women at different stages of the cultural value chain reveals some noteworthy initiatives. It also sends an important message: although many countries prioritize leveraging women's contributions to the creative economy, ensuring gender equality in the cultural sector has not yet been adequately addressed in the vast majority of countries and this progress continues to be hampered by insufficient knowledge and data required to inform legislative, regulatory and institutional measures.

Indeed, one of the key messages emanating from Member States' questionnaire responses is the need for gendered information, data and analysis. Collecting and analysing information in the form of policy examples and good practices within specific sectors is a first step towards a process of informed indicator building to monitor gender equality in the creative economy. The periodic reporting activities of UNESCO to monitor the state of implementation of its culture conventions on the national level can contribute to a global exercise that compiles such qualitative data.

A larger and more complex issue that was expressed in a majority of of country responses indicate that countries do not systematically collect sex-disaggregated cultural data; their databases for informed policy-making in this area is incomplete or non-existent. As a result, policies aiming to strengthen the cultural sector are often gender blind and fail to adequately address the existence of gender inequalities that make the sector unequal. For example, sex-disaggregated cultural employment data in specific sectors making up the creative economy is a critical policy tool for capturing and analysing gender trends in cultural occupations. It helps to put the spotlight on the glass ceilings as well as job segregation. Moreover, sex-disaggregated data is another useful tool enabling civil society organizations to track and monitor public commitments to gender equality and enables benchmarking and monitoring progress on effective policy-making. The benefits for the cultural sector of disaggregating data by sex can be seen in countries where it is available; where public interventions have drawn on this data to identify and remove barriers to women's participation.

In recognition of the lack of cultural data, UNESCO has invested in recent years in statistical initiatives in the field of culture. Annex I describes the work of the UNESCO Institute for Statistics in collecting cultural data, including the launch of a pilot global study on cultural employment in 20 participating countries.[105] Other sex-disaggregated data include cultural participation. In order to strengthen the evidence base on culture's contribution to development processes and outcomes, the UNESCO Culture for Development Indicators launched 11 country studies across Africa, the Asia-Pacific and Latin America. All indicators are disaggregated by sex and a specific dimension of the CDIS measures the relationship between gender equality in culture and development.

Revealing the challenges and barriers that women face at different stages of the cultural value chain through the collection and exchange of information is clearly important for future progress. But such activities cannot be carried out in isolation from the work that is required to enhance the capacities of women as creators, to recognize and remunerate them for their works and to engage women as active citizens participating in cultural life. Without such integrated efforts, the goals for achieving gender equality in the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda will not be met.

BOX 16. Women participate in developing an audiovisual micro-industry on Siberut Island, Indonesia

Perkumpulan Hijau Siberut (PASIH) is an NGO working to promote sustainable development through creative audiovisual communication. Since the project was launched in 2012, PASIH has been developing a creative workshop space to function as a platform for training 150 young cultural professionals from indigenous communities in filmmaking and business management, while ensuring equal participation of men and women. The project demonstrates how gender equality can be mainstreamed in training activities. Participatory gender-sensitive multimedia communication training modules and pedagogical guidelines were elaborated and applied throughout the capacity-building workshops, addressing negative stereotypes and recognizing the role of women cultural entrepreneurs in the audiovisual sector. This project is supported by UNESCO's International Fund for Cultural Diversity (IFCD).

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105 For UIS' work on cultural employment, see www.uis.unesco.org; For more information and results from the UNESCO Culture for Development Indicator Suite, see www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/cultural-diversity/diversity-of-cultural-expressions/programmes/culture-for-development-indicators/

BOX 17. Perspective[106]

My work is about capturing an image and being able to tell a story through the elements of an artwork. I question the stories that are being written and the visual representations. I worry about what is being documented today and how it will be used tomorrow. I constantly ask, what is the true image of the Saudi woman: Who is she? And who is telling her story? Are media images that are fed into the world's imagination going to eventually be the historical reference of who I am? Will I ever be represented in my natural state, rather than through images that are constantly filtered through different agencies and cultural rules?

Being one of the early participants in the contemporary art scene in my country puts me in a position to explore different mediums and formats that may not have been shown in Saudi Arabia, such as neon and installation art. Creating platforms for expression is an exercise that I have explored in several of my projects. It is intensely rewarding to see a large gathering of women of different ages and backgrounds coming together for the purpose of artistic expression, and making a collective social statement using culture as their medium of exchange. In the participatory art works Suspended Together and Esmi (My Name), I was searching for the group voice within my community, while creating a platform for women to voice their opinion alongside my own. I have always found strength in the collective voice. The participants were also using social media to proudly share their contributions, eventually encouraging women from around the world to participate virtually.

Being a woman in the Middle East requires a passionate drive to continue the pursuit of a dream. The crafts that I incorporate in my research and eventually in my artworks attract me because they are examples of work done exclusively by women. These crafts were not deemed as suitable for a woman's nature, yet the social fabric once allowed for a balance of duties that saw women as equal contributors to the livelihood of the family or the larger tribe. Sadu weaving, for example, was the domain of Bedouin women while men were herding camels or sheep. These women wove the tents, floor coverings, riding gear for the animals, even earning some money for the family by selling these items to other tribal members. Nagsh, on the other hand, developed in the mountainous South West of Saudi Arabia where tribes were not constantly mobile, as they were farming communities with an agricultural heritage. The tribes decorated the interiors of their homes with designs drawn by women who could move between homes without compromising the homeowner's privacy. Both examples illustrate social structures that existed in the past that allowed women to earn money and have financial independence or at least contribute to the family's livelihood alongside the men.

When I started out in my art career there were no galleries, museums or art schools in Saudi Arabia. A career in the arts was non-existent. This only changed very recently thanks to artists, private patrons, non-profit foundations, and national cultural initiatives. Today, the region is transforming from one generation to the next. This environment gives me, as an artist, a wealth of inspirational subjects to work with. The inclusion of creatives in the larger global debate is essential at a time when walls are higher, movement within geographic boundaries is complex, and the media generates stereotypes. Artists, many of whom are also activists for their chosen causes, can negotiate through barriers and initiate dialogue where other discussions have ended or failed. An increasingly interconnected global community allows for an objective understanding of equality, human rights, cultural diversity, and social awareness – if conveyed through the right avenues. I am a firm believer in the lasting impact of cultural leadership and creative diplomacy. The arts can play an unparalleled role in wider social issues, economic regeneration, social conflict and inclusion, and a society that embraces its artists is a healthy one.

Manal AlDowayan, artist, Saudi Arabia

106   Excerpt of an interview between Manal AlDowayan and Alaa Al-Shroogi (Cuadro Gallery, UAE). Full interview available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/gender-and-culture/gender-and-culture/

Suspended Together,
Edge of Arabia Terminal,
Manal AlDowayan, 2011.
© Manal AlDowayan.
Image Courtesy of
Cuadro Gallery

Towards equality between women and men in the cultural sector

Fleur Pellerin[107]

107   Minister of Culture and Communication of France

© Nicolas Reitzaum

My ambition, as Minister of Culture and Communication, is to honour the French Republican promise of equality between women and men, which has been designated a priority by our government. Numerous laws have been passed in France on this issue: equality is in place in our laws but it is not yet fully in practice. It is an issue of democracy and for everyone's benefit, women and men alike. Therefore, this is a matter of concern for all segments of society.

The role of the Ministry of Culture and Communication in advancing equality between men and women is decisive because of its specific area of intervention: the field of creation and of collective representation. Different forms of artistic and cultural expression – the performing arts, cinema, literature, etc. and of course, the media – convey sexist representations and stereotypes that are all the more powerful as they are often invisible, and the intellectual authority of creation, the power of the written word and more so of images, fix them in the public unconsciousness. But this same power can also help to change these reductive or erroneous representations that undermine justice and the respect for others, men or women, as well as the wealth of creation.

The assessment of inequality between women and men in the cultural field is cause for serious concern. The evidence is still fairly recent,[108] and for many people, unexpected because they believe that the world of art, and more generally the world of culture, is fundamentally based on a spirit of freedom, an opposition to prejudices, and even by a certain taste for contravention. Yet women who work in this field encounter the same obstacles as in other professions, such as the glass ceiling, also a form of 'invisibility'. They also encountered other barriers more specific to the world of culture that call for an anthropological reflection on the symbolic weight of creation – and of knowledge – and its link to domination and power.

In the field of culture and communication our objective is twofold. We must fight against stereotypes and, at the same time, give women their rightful place in the various forms of creation and expression as well as in positions of responsibility. We must challenge accepted notions, sexist representations and unequal stereotypes. And we must, without further delay, work to give women free and full access to the means to create, to produce, and to act.

To this end, as a result of the priority given by the Government since 2012, concrete measures have been put in place, and the very first results are already being felt.

Understanding the situation:
making the invisible visible

This proactive equality policy is based on an objective knowledge of the situation: to 'make the invisible visible', with the dual objective to combat ignorance of these issues and thus mobilize society, and to measure its development and, if possible, its progress. As such in 2013 the Ministry created an Observatory for Gender Equality in Culture and Communication, culminating the results of the statistical work of the Ministry, cultural institutions and public media. This study, updated every year, (the second edition was published on 25 March 2014), addresses

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108   We can only stress the 'trigger' effect that Reine Prat's reports had, in charge of a mission on gender equality for the Ministry of Culture and Communication (2006 to 2009), that revealed for the first time astonishing figures, as well as the report from the Committee of the Reflection on Women's Image in the Media (Reiser, M. and Grésy, B. 2008).

women's access to decision-making positions, pay gaps, resources and programming in: performing arts, film, publishing, media, visual arts, heritage, radio and television, administration and management.

The initial results in 2013 clearly confirmed the findings highlighted by previous studies[109] in certain sectors (performing arts and broadcast media), and which subsequently generated increased awareness and the first proactive actions, particularly at the initiative of artists who united together in collective groups in several regions. More broadly, however, the Observatory shows that inequalities concern the entire culture and communication sectors.

The figures are remarkably consistent. The main conclusion that can be broadly stated is: women, whether artists or heads of institutions, in all artistic, heritage and media fields earn less and have less access to programming and funding. I will highlight here four particularly dominant examples.

The first example is the performing arts: women make up less than one quarter of all directors or choreographers in public organizations during the 2012/2013 season. The music sector is particularly difficult for women: during the same period, while women directed almost 20 per cent of operas, they conducted less than 5 per cent of them and less than 8 per cent of permanent orchestras.

The second example is the visual arts: within public organizations, a third of the works acquired by the National Contemporary Art Fund (FNAC) were by female artists.[110] This accounts for approximately 20 per cent of the organization's budget, an average price inferior to that of works by men. Only a quarter of purchases by the Regional Contemporary Art Fund (FRAC) were by women, constituting a proportional budget in this case. Yet at the same time, female students in visual arts schools represent two thirds of all enrolled students.

The third example is film: in 2012, 23 per cent of accredited film directors were women, and the films they directed were generally made with smaller budgets. The average salaries of female directors, performers and camerawomen are about 30 per cent lower than that of their male counterparts.

The fourth example is the distribution of administrative management positions, across all sectors and including heritage. Here women hold 25 per cent of jobs but there is an exception with music where the percentage falls to between 10 and 15 per cent for orchestras, operas and contemporary music. On the other hand, for administrative jobs, or second-level jobs, it is near parity. This confirms, if confirmation were needed, that there is a glass ceiling.

In the media, the Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel (Audiovisual Council) (CSA) provides numerous data from different statistical studies on the presence of women (such as journalists, experts, specialists and portscasters), or the dissemination of works made by female creators. In 2011 and 2012, less than 10 per cent of films broadcasted on terrestrial TV channels were made by female filmmakers, all nationalities considered.[111] Concerning women's presence on screen, if there has been an increase (for example, women newscasters), the reality of the figures continue to show that women are outnumbered in all media[112] (journalists, guests, etc.). Women's speaking time in the programmes analysed represents less than a third of all speaking time. Furthermore, when women do appear, they often have a secondary status or diminished social role. They are often anonymous, frequently presented in terms of their familial relationships and rarely by virtue of their profession. In television, women barely constitute 20 per cent of experts called upon to provide knowledge and analysis, rather than a testimony. Legitimate knowledge remains masculine. How can female audiences, especially younger ones, find points of reference to identify with and gain confidence?

Regardless of the sector, it is vital that young people have role models, as this opens up a field of possibilities. All things considered, I am basically optimistic. Every time a woman is successful it has a ripple effect on others, and this rate is accelerating due to increased awareness of more people, artists, directors, cultural enterprises, the media, non-profit organizations, and so on. However, it is still necessary to conduct a proactive policy.

111   See study conducted by the CSA 'Analytical study of television broadcasting of films made by women in 2011 and 2012'. Available (in French) at: http://www.csa.fr/Etudes-et-publications/Les-etudes/Les-etudes-du-CSA/Analyse-de-la-diffusion-a-la-television-en-2011-et-2012-de-films-realises-par-des-femmes

112   See above-mentioned report by the Committee on The Image of Women in the Media (2008) and the study by the CSA 'How much speaking time do women in magazines and on stage have?' (2013). Available (in French) at: http://www.csa.fr/csa/Etudes-et-publications/Les-etudes/Les-etudes-du-CSA/Le-temps-de-parole-des-femmes-dans-les-magazines-de-plateau

109   Reports by Reine Prat and the Committee's report on Report on the image of women in the media, 2008.
110   See http://www.cnap.fr/commission-arts-plastiques-3

What strategy should
public authorities adopt?

Public authorities have a genuine political responsibility. Even if power does not entirely rest in their hands in culture, they can nevertheless encourage, establish rules and monitor. We can therefore only welcome the law for gender equality which calls for equality in policy to include 'actions to ensure equal access of women and men to cultural and artistic creation and production, as well as the dissemination of works (art.1)'.

Fully convinced of this great responsibility, I aim to continue to develop the initiatives undertaken at the 1st Ministerial Committee on Gender Equality in Culture and Communication, which met on 1 March 2013.

The approach relies heavily on incentives. As the different contracts in all the areas of action of my Ministry have been renewed they have increasingly incorporated clauses promoting equality. These include agreements between the Ministry, cultural institutions and the public media. The clauses set objectives for appointing women to leadership positions, and for access to production resources and distribution networks. Directors are encouraged to include more women creators in programmes. This approach has been applied throughout the country and the Regional Directorates of Cultural Affairs (DRAC) pay particular attention to these issues. The results are assessed, analysed, and contribute to the policy evaluation of the Directorates.

These objectives must, of course, be discussed proactively with those in charge of these institutions, who are legitimately concerned with preserving the freedom to choose creators and artists. The logic of audience ratings in the media or the principles of freedom in programming, which I greatly respect, should not be used as an excuse for reticence when faced with developments justified by the above-mentioned findings, which are now well known. I am confident that this appeal has been heard and that we will see improvement in future programming.

The second priority area concerns appointments for which a number of rules have been set A circular of February 2013 asked prefects and the DRAC to promote equality in the composition of selection committees for future

We must challenge accepted notions, sexist representations and unequal stereotypes. And we must, without further delay, work to give women free and full access to the means to create, to produce, and to act.

leaders of performing arts and visual arts establishments, and in drawing up shortlists. The principle of equality has thus become part of the appointment process. The application of this rule has had immediate effects. Half of appointed leaders of performing arts institutions have been women. Moreover, there has been a substantial increase in the number of woman applying for vacancies, which defies the argument sometimes heard that 'women with the required capacities do not exist'. As soon as it was made clear that women had the opportunities to access positions of responsibility on an equal footing with men, women responded, and the evaluation of the selection committees allowed them to be recognized based on the sole criteria of competence. Similarly, within the Ministry's administration, half of all regional directors appointed in the past year have been women.

I am also pleased to note that the working group 'Women's rights' of the CSA, established gender equality for all appointments of media managers among their main lines of action.

The third priority for action concerns the fight against stereotypes. in the mass media, where they are largely developed by virtue of the great amount of time the public spends watching and listening to them. Some of

the above-mentioned figures clearly demonstrate that the way in which women are presented on TV, as well as in radio, introduces a bias inconsistent to the reality – a bias even more powerful as it is often barely perceptible. These stereotypes build and present a certain state of society, which regressively feeds back its reality.

For this reason, it is a positive sign that the law for gender equality includes provisions that strengthen the CSA's prerogatives. The CSA is now tasked with ensuring the respect of women's rights, the protection of their image, and the fair representation of women in programmes in the audiovisual industry. This legislative basis will afford the CSA the freedom to engage in formal processes with the public media, in order to set specific goals and monitor results.

To conclude, I would like to recall that in the cultural sector, as in all areas of society, including modern democratic societies, women's fight for equality is longstanding but remains unsuccessful. In culture, this observation is particularly astonishing. But this is also why it raises awareness and strongly mobilizes those who discover it, and provides the impetus for action.

This action relies on an array of instruments ranging from efforts to convince and encourage to more restrictive legislative or regulatory measures. In this area, the role of civil society initiatives, whether by artists, companies, associations, etc. is decisive. Only when culture and media professionals freely reach agreement in compliance with a number of equality principles, through formal provisions or through personal commitment, can we observe a fundamental shift for the benefit of the whole of society. And society can only be enriched by this new potential for expression without restrictions.

Cultural management in relation to gender equality must become exemplary. It must unfailingly enshrine the values of justice and equality in its organization and action, for its own benefit.

Less female muses, and more female creators and directors. We will definitely benefit from the change, both individually and collectively.

Less female muses, and more female creators and directors. We will definitely benefit from the change, both individually and collectively.

Gender equality, women and African film

Lizelle Bisschoff[113]
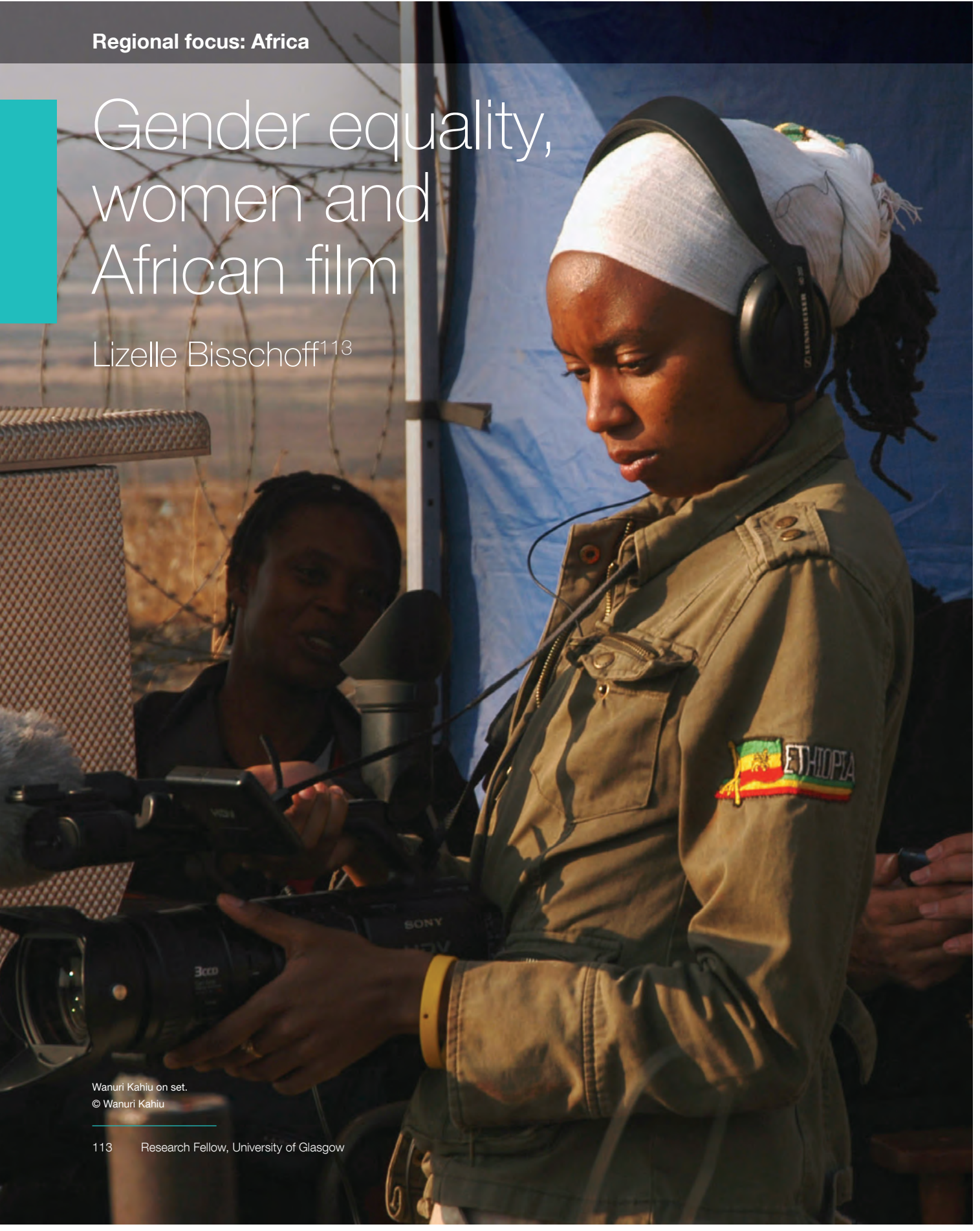
Wanuri Kahiu on set.
© Wanuri Kahiu

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Introduction

Female African filmmakers, like female directors all over the world, are hugely underrepresented in comparison to their male counterparts. Statistics show that women make up less than 10 per cent of film directors and less than 15 per cent of screenwriters internationally (Dovey, 2012). This also means that female directors are much less visible than male directors in the film industry, and the small handful of award-winning or internationally – renowned female filmmakers are regarded as an unusual oddity. Despite the underrepresentation of women in the African film industries, film in Africa has huge potential to enable consciousness-raising, storytelling and creative expression, perhaps even more so than other creative industries due to the prevailing economic, social and political barriers to literacy in many African countries, especially for young girls. The social and political currents in contemporary African societies involve new levels of critical awareness. Film, when used as a tool in this process of awareness-raising, becomes a terrain in which conventional and stereotypical representations are challenged.

This paper addresses the presence of female filmmakers in sub-Saharan Africa, and explores the types of films they make and the themes explored in their work. It also examines the barriers and challenges women face in accessing training, funding and certain professions within the film industry. The emerging African women's film discussed in this paper aims to revise stereotypical representations of women (and African cultures more broadly) and critiques persisting traditional patriarchal structures by creating alternative representations of African womanhood – personal storytelling, advocacy, education and awareness-raising.

Thematic choices of
African women filmmakers

In many cases gender informs the films of African women directors. Grounded in their own experiences, female themes are often the focus of their films, with female characters at the centre of the narrative. These thematic choices reflect a commitment to personal expression and the articulation of identity, as well as raising awareness,

critiquing oppressive societal structures, and offering alternative views.

According to Ellerson (1997), African women are drawn to film through a desire to: transmit knowledge to other women and to their societies more broadly; contribute to the development of women and Africa in general; communicate and reveal problems and issues in African societies; materialize their thoughts, express their identities and tell their stories; and address the negative self-image prevalent among some Africans (and which has been perpetuated by cinematic representations of Africa outside the continent).

They explore the seeming discrepancy between the ways in which women are often depicted in film and invoked in official African nationalist discourse and rhetoric – as leaders and strong, emancipated figures – and the lived realities of the majority of African women, who are still subjected to patriarchal systems of oppression and control. This is approached through representing the micro-politics of women's lives and focusing on the everyday lives of ordinary women. Commonly their main goal is to offer alternative representations of African women, as well as create progressive representations for future change. Their work depicts the diversity of African womanhood, and regularly challenges stereotyped representations of African women such: as silent victims of oppression or abuse, or the bearers of hardship; 'mother of the nation', 'backbone of their society', or maternal nurturer; or deceitful seductress.

African women filmmakers address a multitude of themes related to their livelihood, including:

- identity;

- male-female, female-female and mother-child relationships;

- tension between modernity and tradition in African cultures;

- immigration and diaspora;

- African nationhood, including nationalism and neo-colonialism in post-colonial Africa;

- female leadership, socio-economic and socio-political emancipation; and

- female body issues, such as health and beauty.

Despite the fact that many female directors often deal with issues of femininity and womanhood in their work, this is not to claim that women's filmmaking is limited to women's issues, but merely to indicate the main prerogatives, objectives, and stylistic and thematic choices of female filmmakers. There is a danger in categorizing the work of African women filmmakers as unified and suggesting that gender and race always dictate the content of women's films. Women should be able to freely express themselves in areas of particular individual interest. These interests may vary according to their region, background and influences as women's stories are diverse and multi-faceted and represent a plurality of perspectives. However, African women's stories also share common experiences, with many female African filmmakers regarding their work as creating repositories of history, and their roles as storytellers and 'keepers of culture'. What remains indisputable is the importance of creating opportunities for African women to tell their stories through film, as a heterogeneous view of the African continent can not emerge if 50 per cent of its population does not have a cinematic voice.

Presence
of African women in film

In an article written in 1983, Farida Ayari (in Bakari and Cham, 1996) claims that cinema is still men's business, with the technical matters of filmmaking as well as directing regarded as a male preserve. She refers to Sarah Maldoror (born in Guadeloupe and thus generally regarded as part of the African diaspora, but the first woman to direct a fiction feature film in sub-Saharan Africa in 1972) and Safi Faye from Senegal, who also started making films in the early 1970s, as two of the few exceptions.

Film directories, which often exclude television and video work, usually list a very small number of female filmmakers in comparison to men. Of the 259 filmmakers listed in Shiri's (1992) *Directory of African Filmmakers and Films*, for example, only eight are women. Directories focusing specifically on women show that there are indeed many more female directors working in Africa. Ngo-Nguidjol (1999) lists 100 women in her filmography of sub-Saharan African women filmmakers, and Ellerson's (2000) study *Sisters of the Screen* lists 123 African female directors of film, television and video, some from the African diaspora. Ellerson's virtual centre for studying women in African film (http://africanwomenincinema.blogspot.com) notes that many more African women have entered the film industries since the early 2000s and currently lists some 260 female directors working in the African film industries.

What becomes clear from the figures cited here is that female African directors who have directed fiction feature films and are represented at international film festivals do not provide a full picture of female participation in the film industry, since African women produce more work in documentary, video and television than in film. Indeed, the celluloid film industry worldwide is diminishing as more and more filmmakers turn to digital technology, which is far more accessible and affordable than film. For African directors, the 'digital revolution' is of particular significance, as it enables access to filmmaking that was unthinkable and unprecedented a decade or so ago, when filmmaking was still a perilous career choice with only a small privileged educated elite gaining access to training and technology. In the era of celluloid filmmaking even the most celebrated of African directors, such as Ousmane Sembene from Senegal and Souleymane Cissé from Mali, made as few as one feature film per decade.

Despite the underrepresentation of women in African film industries, African women are actively taking part in the film and television industries, and more and more female directors have emerged in the last two decades.

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Barriers
for African women filmmakers

Societal norms

It is indisputable that both male and female African filmmakers generally face immense challenges in their attempts to make films, often working against massive odds in their attempts to gain access to training, funding, distribution and presentation. However, it would appear that female filmmakers often face additional barriers when making films. There are various structural, institutional and cultural barriers preventing African women from entering the film industries as directors. The reasons for women's underrepresentation in the African audio visual industries are complex, and women filmmakers often face manifold challenges. African women who desire to establish independent careers regularly have to face up to the challenges posed by societal and traditional norms, which perpetuate and maintain women's confinement to the domestic sphere.

Industry working hours

Film requires a flexible lifestyle with an erratic working schedule. As many African women have multiple roles and commitments with little support, it is challenging to maintain a career in filmmaking. It is easier for male filmmakers to regularly attend industry events and film festivals, and thus they have greater access to networking. Film financing is to a large extent a direct outcome of networking and multiple face-to-face encounters. It is often difficult for women to leave their other responsibilities, such as childcare, to travel to film markets and festivals on a regular basis.

Social stigma

Even if female directors reach industry events, there are often attempts to undermine women's professional credibility. Markets and festivals are always a mixture of work and entertainment, and it is often during social events that personal friendships with commissioning editors, for example, are consolidated. This is easier for male filmmakers to achieve as female directors have to be extremely vigilant when treading the line between social and professional spheres, and this issue if perhaps even more pronounced in an African context, where traditional norms often require that women maintain spotless reputations. This makes access to financial decision-makers much more restricted for women. Cronyism and nepotism can also contribute to locking women out of the film industries to the extent that access to funding, distribution or exhibition is controlled by an elite few.

There are also prevailing misconceptions about the abilities of women, which in the film industries mean that the potential of African women to succeed are often undermined. It should be pointed out as well that women themselves could also undermine their own abilities, through a lack of self-confidence and education. Filmmaking is often not regarded as an honourable career for an African woman.

Stereotypes limiting creative expression

Many female African filmmakers have ended up directing projects that are sponsored by international bodies such as NGOs and aid agencies, where they do not have much control over the films. Often female directors receive specific funding or are encouraged to make films addressing specific 'female themes' such as polygamy, domestic abuse or female genital mutilation. This could result, on the one hand in women being cornered into making development films on 'women's issues', but on the other hand it should be kept in mind that many women filmmakers specifically choose to address issues affecting African women.

Access and mobility within the industry

The majority of women who work in the African film industry – and this is certainly also true internationally – remain confined within stereotypically female roles and safe spaces such as production managers, wardrobe and make-up assistants, editors and continuity assistants.

Filmmaking spaces could be closed and particular and very male-driven with directing and technical roles, such as camerawork conventionally regarded as a male preserve. Where women have managed to gain access to the film industry, their presence and participation typically follow familiar patterns of gender relations in African societies and elsewhere – women often work behind the scenes, while it is the (mostly male) directors who are publicly acclaimed. To direct a film would mean in most cases to direct a mostly male crew, which could be problematic in some societies where the authority of women is often

undermined. Some African societies could be regarded as predominantly patriarchal, which means that decision-making and leadership roles, in a mixed-gender scenario, are often regarded as a male preserve. Once a female director has proven her skill, established a clear vision and productive and democratic working practice with her crew and cast, she could then command respect and gender no longer plays a role. There is thus a general feeling among female African filmmakers that women need to work much harder to reach the same point as their male counterparts.

Women typically enter the industry through one of the conventional female roles, and the handful of women who do eventually direct feature films start off with directing short fiction films and documentaries, often for television and video. Short films and audio visual development work for television and video are commonly considered as stepping stones towards directing fiction feature films, the ultimate career ambition for most filmmakers. In addition, many African women filmmakers do not start their careers in the film industry, but end up in the industry via other career paths, often juggling their filmmaking with another career, as well as with motherhood.

Representation of women in African films:
sub-regional specificities

Western Africa

Francophone West Africa, with its historical legacy of political and socially conscious filmmaking in the post-colonial era, which is in part due to France's support of the cultural industries in its ex-colonies post-independence, has given rise to a number of prominent filmmakers from countries such as Senegal, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Cameroon.

Many of these social realist and politically committed films from Francophone West Africa explore the role of women in African societies and represent women in strong, progressive and visionary roles. Dovey (2012) has termed these types of films as a male-authored, feminist cinema. Senegalese director Ousmane Sembene, who is popularly known as the 'father of African cinema', regularly placed

women at the centre of his fictional narratives and stated that women are central to political, social, cultural and economic progress in African societies. In Sembene's final two films, *Faat Kine* (2000) and *Moolaade* (2004), he dealt with female economic emancipation and female genital mutilation respectively, and are part of an intended trilogy on the 'everyday heroism of African women'. Malian director Cheick Oumar Sissoko's film *Finzan* (1989) depicts a group of village women's revolt against female genital mutilation. Also from Mali, Adama Drabo's *Taafe Fanga* (1997) – translated as *Skirt Power*- tells the story of a village woman who uses the powers of a magical mask to reverse gender roles in her community. In his film *Visages de Femmes* (*Faces of Women*, 1985) Ivorian director Desire Ecare was considered controversial at the time for the film's daring representation of female sexuality.

The well-known male directors of Francophone West Africa are increasingly joined by female directors who are making fiction feature, documentary and short films, spearheaded by Senegalese director Safi Faye, who was the first woman from sub-Saharan Africa to direct a fiction short film in the early 1970s. Faye's ethnographic documentary films, such as *Selbe: One Among Many* (1983) deal with the day-to-day realities of African women's lives, which often involve struggling against poverty and hardship under demanding conditions.

In the 2000s, three female filmmakers from Burkina Faso gained international recognition with their feature films – Fanta Regina Nacro, Apolline Traoré and Sarah Bouyain. The work of these women follows the legacy created by the celebrated male directors from Francophone West Africa, who created a socio-politically conscious and artistically sophisticated cinema which, with financial support from France and later from the European Union, often resembles an 'arthouse' aesthetic and is celebrated at European film festivals. Their work also follows the thematic emphasis of their male predecessors on centralizing female characters and experiences in narratives, such as in Nacro's *La Nuit de la Vérité* (*The Night of Truth*, 2004), which deals with a truce between two ethnic groups facilitated by two main female protagonists, Other examples are Traoré's *Sous la Clarté de la Lune* (*In the Moonlight*, 2004) that tells the story of a mother being reunited with her mixed-race daughter after a long separation, and Bouyain's *Notre étrangère* (*The Place in Between*, 2010), which follows the story of a young mixed-race woman who returns to Burkina Faso after growing up in France in a quest to reunite with her estranged mother. Despite the rich legacy of fiction filmmaking that exists in Francophone West

Africa, these women directors are part of a small handful of women from this region who have directed fiction feature films, mainly due to the huge financial barriers that exist in gaining access to funding.

In Nigeria and Ghana, with their hugely prolific and popular digital video-filmmaking industries (popularly dubbed 'Nollywood') more female filmmakers are emerging to challenge the stereotypical and patriarchal gender representations in the majority of Nollywood films. The video-film industries, which have embraced affordable and accessible digital technologies to create a popular African cinema, represent a hugely important shift in African film production, with Nollywood being the first economically self-sustainable film industry in Africa. As Jedlowski notes (in Röschenthaler and Schulz, forthcoming), while the producers of the Nigerian video-film industry are generally perceived to be males, a significant number of women have successfully established themselves as entrepreneurs in Nollywood and have created spaces for male and female economic and social mobility. While Nollywood films are generally viewed as propagating the worst sexist and patriarchal stereotypes about women and their place in society, closer analysis reveals that some Nollywood films also depict the complexity and variety of gender discourse in Nigera, making new forms of female social mobility visible. through the representation of social injustices, they have opened up a space for the elaboration of critical discourses about gender issues and the structure of Nigerian society in general (Jedlowski, forthcoming). The industry has also, as a form of business, opened new spaces for women's economic and social mobility. Three of the most prominent female figures in the Nollywood industry in this regard are Emem Isong, Stephanie Okereke and Peace Anyiam-Osigwe. Isong is a scriptwriter, video producer and distributor active in the industry since the mid-1990s and considered one of the most successful producers in Nollywood. Okereke started her career as an actress and then transitioned to becoming a director. Anyiam-Osigwe became involved in the Nollywood industry as a producer and television programmer and created the African Movie Academy Awards in 2005, a platform providing the best of African productions (in both digital and celluloid format) with the chance to compete for different categories of prizes.

There are also prominent female filmmakers from Ghana and Nigeria who work independently and outside of the Nollywood industry, including Branwen Okpakwo (Nigeria/Germany), Zina Saro-Wiwa (Nigeria/UK) and Akosua Adoma Owusu (Ghana/US). Their films have dealt with mixed-race female identity and black female beauty. In particular, Saro-Wiwa and Owusu have each made a film critiquing the aspirations of black African women to conform to norms of white female beauty.

Many more West African women work in documentary filmmaking, including Anne-Laure Folly (Togo); Katy Léna N'diaye (Senegal/Belgium); Dyana Gaye (Senegal); Angèle Diabang (Senegal); Osvalde Lewat (Cameroon/France); and Valerie Kaboré, Franceline Oubda, Aminata Ouedraogo and Florentine Yaméogo (Burkina Faso). Fanta Nacro, mentioned above, has also produced a number of short documentaries before she directed her first fiction feature film, including films that deal with domestic abuse, female economic emancipation, and female sexuality. West African women's documentaries are mostly made for educational and awareness-raising purposes, and often deal with female themes, issues and subjects such as female emancipation at grassroots level (in Anne-Laure Folly's *Femmes aux yeux ouverts*, 1993); women's traditional art (in Katy Léna N'diaye's *Empreintes de Femmes*, 2003, and *En Attendant les Hommes*, 2007); and female griots/praise-singers in Senegal (in Angèle Diabang's *Yande Codou: The Griot of Senghor*, 2008). A remarkable aspect of these documentaries is the level of intimacy and closeness to their subjects that the filmmakers often achieve, which is certainly due to the fact that the filmmakers are women telling women's stories and that they often tell stories from their own communities, achieving an insight and gaining a level of access to their subjects that would be almost impossible for an outsider.

Southern Africa

In South Africa the film industry has a complex history due to the legacy of apartheid, with black South Africans having been excluded from the film industry during that era. Historically, three white female pioneering directors can be identified: Afrikaans director Katinka Heyns, English director Elaine Proctor and Portuguese-born director Helena Noguiera, who all created films in a feminist vein with progressive female protagonists and a resistance to patriarchal norms. Although it is often felt that the South African film industry is still unfairly dominated by white directors, more and more black directors have been emerging post-1994, and in 2005 the first feature fiction film by a black female director saw the light: Maganthrie Pillay's *34 South*, a road movie dealing with rural-urban migration, race and identity.

While more female South African directors, such as Sara Blecher, are directing fiction feature films, as elsewhere on the continent female directors in South Africa are far more prominent in television and documentary filmmaking than in fiction feature filmmaking, with dozens of female directors working in short film, documentary and television production. Some of these include Zulfah Otto-Sallies, Khetiwe Ngcobo, Omelga Mthiyane, Lodi Matsetela, Kali van der Merwe and Jane Kennedy. They have made films dealing with female Muslim identity (Otto-Sallies' *Through the Eyes of My Daughter*, 2004); return from exile and single motherhood (Ngcobo's *Belonging*, 2004); female intergenerational knowledge and histories (Mthiyane's *Ikhaya*, 2004); black lesbianism (Matsetela's *BFF*, 2008); female mixed-race identity (Van der Merwe's *Brown*, 2004); and beauty contests, female beauty and health (Kennedy's *Cinderella of the Cape Flats*, 2004 and Mthiyane's *Body Beautiful*, 2004).

As opposed to the tradition of fiction filmmaking established in Francophone West Africa after independence, documentary filmmaking is prevalent in Anglophone Africa, which is a legacy left by British colonization that did not aid the development of the film industries in its ex-colonies in the way that France did, and furthermore established a tradition of documentary filmmaking during colonization, such as through the didactic and patronizing instructional films of the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment. This legacy of documentary filmmaking still exists today, with many donor-funded issue-based documentaries that are usually commissioned by NGOs with the intention of raising awareness and educating communities about certain issues such as HIV/AIDS, women's empowerment, female genital mutilation, social justice and law, education and democracy. These projects sometimes involve local aspiring filmmakers and even though filmmakers do not have much freedom of choice over the subject matters of the films, these types of projects could be a good training ground, and many African women have taken part in such projects.

Eastern Africa

Internationally acclaimed films are also being produced in Anglophone East Africa, many of them by female African filmmakers, in particular in Kenya and Uganda. Interestingly, Kenya has a substantial number of female directors, notably young female directors, whose strong works are increasingly being screened internationally. Anne Mungai became the pioneering female Kenyan

director in the 1980s. Alongside Mungai, directors such as Jane Lusabe, Dommie Yambo Odotte and Wanjiru Kinyanjui form part of the first wave of Kenyan filmmaking. In the contemporary era, one would include the work of Wanuri Kahiu, Judy Kibinge, Wanjiru Kairu, Hawa Essuman, Zipporah Nyaruri and Zippy Kimundu, who produce feature fiction, documentary and short films. Wanuri Kahiu in particular has gained international recognition with her short film *Pumzi* (2009), a futuristic science fiction short film with a main female protagonist, and the feature film *From a Whisper* (2008), which retells the tragedy of the 1998 bombing of the US embassy in Nairobi through the eyes of a young woman who lost her mother in the incident. The sisters Agnes and Caroline Kamya have emerged as a strong scriptwriting and directing team, producing internationally acclaimed work such as *Imani* (2008), a film which tells three simultaneous stories set in contemporary Uganda.

Zimbabwe has a number of prominent female filmmakers as well, including Tsitsi Dangarembga, Prudence Uriri and Rumbi Katedza. Dangarembga in particular has dedicated most of her career as novelist, filmmaker and film festival organizer to the empowerment, education and emancipation of African women, through films such as *Kare Kare Zvako*, which retells a popular Shona folktale of a mother's courage and determination to look after her children, and through the women's film festival she established in Zimbabwe (described below). Rungano Nyoni from Zambia has won awards internationally for her short films.

African diaspora

It should be taken into consideration that many African directors have trained or studied abroad, and some still live and work outside of Africa. Experiences of exile and immigration, and identifying as being part of the African diaspora, certainly influence the work of female African directors too. As with some of the examples mentioned above, these experiences often result in films that reflect on themes such as belonging, mixed-race identity, exile, homecoming and return, and are sometimes also more individualist in nature when compared to African women's films that deal with collective cultural experiences and social issues that affect groups of women. What becomes clear from this wide range of themes and preoccupations represented in women's films is that African identity in the contemporary era cannot be narrowly defined, as Africa is part and parcel of the modern, globalized world.

Caroline Kamya filming IMANI, 2010.
© IMANI movie

Opening up access for female African filmmakers:
lessons-learned and good practices

Increasing the participation of women in the African film industries, in particular as directors, can be harnessed through different pathways, including developing women's affiliations and networks, public and private funding, training and mentorship opportunities, and distribution and exhibition.

Women's affiliations and networks

Affiliations and networking between women is an important aspect of addressing gender inequalities, to strengthen capacity and share skills, information and expertise. The development of women's organizations, structures and networks to support funding, training, production, distribution and exhibition seems to be a positive step forward, and has been carried out successfully in a few different scenarios.

Internationally, some examples of structures that exist specifically to promote the work of female filmmakers are the New York-based non-profit media arts organization Women Make Movies,[114] which distributes films by female directors, as well as the London-based film festival Bird's Eye View,[115] which screens only films by female directors.

In East Africa, filmmaker Judy Kibinge has recently launched DocuBox[116] with funding from the Ford Foundation, to develop the skills of documentary filmmaking in East Africa and provide training, funding, production and distribution support for talented

114   See http://www.wmm.com/
115   See http://www.birds-eye-view.co.uk/
116   See http://www.mydocubox.org/

emerging documentary filmmakers (male and female). In Zimbabwe, Tsitsi Dangarembga founded the support organization Women Filmmakers of Zimbabwe (WFoZ). In the early 2000s, Dangarembga also established the annual International Images Film Festival of Women (IIFF), the only African film festival solely dedicated to the work of female directors, with a committed focus on increasing the participation of women in the Zimbabwean film industry and promoting progressive and positive audio-visual representations of women.

Regarding South African women filmmakers, two organizations – Women of the Sun (WoS) and Women in Film and Television South Africa (WIFTSA) in particular – address the issue of under-representation of women in the film industry and provide infrastructures for national, continental and international networking. Women of the Sun, based in Johannesburg, is a non-profit media organization and resource network for African women filmmakers. It was established nationally and continentally as a resource exchange network for African women filmmakers via commercial distribution networks, local and international industry organizations, NGOs and local and international student programmes.

The second African Women in Film Forum (AWIFF),[117] organized by the African Women Development Fund, took place in September 2013 in Accra, Ghana. The purpose of the forum was to discuss strategies for maintaining connections between female African filmmakers, nurturing imaginative projects and developing the capacity of African women filmmakers to tell their stories. An AWIFF manifesto was established as a result of the forum, which includes a declaration of action that encourages persistent engagements with African women filmmakers. The main objectives of the declaration are to establish a Pan-African organization of African Women Filmmakers that is action- and product-oriented and committed to:

- alleviate the funding challenges experienced by African women filmmakers;

- develop the capacity of African women filmmakers to write for the big screen or television in order to tell their stories;

- encourage the collaboration between African women in order to produce successful and competitive products;

- enhance capacity-building and skills transfer in the area of production;

- harmonize diversity in the field of cultural production with respect to language and other factors in order to enhance production capacity for the big screen and television; and

- enhance distribution and exhibition opportunities for African women's filmmaking projects.

This forum is certainly a step in the right direction, but there should be follow-up and continuation. It is not the first time that African women filmmakers attempt to form an organization to support their work, but previous attempts have not led to sustained change. African women professionals of cinema, television and video came together for a workshop at the 1991 FESPACO film festival in Burkina Faso in an attempt to address the silences and omissions left by their virtual invisibility in the audio visual industries. A working group and a programme of action were set up in order to increase the number of women working in the professions of cinema and television. These bodies no longer exist, and the 1991 gathering has not resulted in any long-lasting institutional or regulatory changes. More than 20 years later, the situation has certainly improved, but much work remains in order to increase accessibility to the film industries for African women as directors.

Funding

Given the lack of dedicated government-awarded film funds in most African countries (with South Africa being one of the exceptions), the answer to problems with regard to funding and distribution might lie in the private sector. The media and telecommunication industries in Africa are certainly growing in many regions, and funding for audio visual production could be allocated from these channels. There is a greater need for production support for women's films, in particular for mid-career directors who are often locked out of viable funding options. Funding and alternative distribution should be put in place to support independent filmmaking in particular, and this could be done through a Pan-African circuit for developing and distributing film projects. While support for independent filmmaking is crucial to developing unique creative voices, NGO and donor-funded projects also play an important role in helping filmmakers to gain skills and as a platform for female filmmakers to gain experience.

117   See http://www.awdf.org

Training

Access to film schools should be increased for women, and commissioning bodies should prioritize the work of female directors. The southern African documentary project Steps for the Future is exemplary in this regard. The project made use of highly skilled international directors, producers and editors to act as mentors to train emerging local filmmakers, and has left a strong legacy with many of the African filmmakers, including a substantial number of female directors, trained through the programme still being active in the film industries. The mentorship model could thus be a successful way to nurture the talents of female African filmmakers and provide them with safe spaces to learn and experiment. Importantly, space should be allocated for women in training, funding, production and distribution projects, to ensure their participation in a highly male-dominated environment.

Digital technologies

Finally, digital technologies should be interfaced with filmmaking. Digital technologies could increase the participation of women in the African film industries by making more information available online, participating actively in digital forums, innovating digital projects, seminars and open Skype sessions, and launching crowd-sourcing platforms and digital distribution for women's films.

Challenges for African women entrepreneurs in the performing arts and designer fashion sectors

Yarri Kamara

Fatoumata Diawara.
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Introduction

The cultural and creative industries in sub-Saharan Africa in recent years have captured the attention of policy-makers who are increasingly aware of their real and potential contribution to economic growth and employment. These industries provide a conduit for creating employment and generating income for women, as well as giving women the space for creative expression; space that is not always afforded to women in sub-Saharan African societies. While there have been numerous women's economic empowerment initiatives established in recent decades in Africa and, more recently, studies and initiatives in support of African cultural entrepreneurship, few have specifically addressed women cultural entrepreneurs in Africa.

This paper focuses on the challenges that African women cultural entrepreneurs face in the performing arts sector – notably theatre, dance and music – and in the designer fashion sector. The rationale for focusing on the performing arts sector is double. Firstly, the participation of African women in the performing arts sector is relatively low. This is doubly problematic as it means that the cultural economies of these arts are missing out on the potential contribution of women, but also importantly that cultural and creative expression in these arts is excluding a significant part of humanity. It is therefore important to understand what factors are hindering women's participation in the performing arts. Secondly, the performing arts sectors are notoriously time-intensive and participation in these arts is often very public, exposing one more acutely to any existing social stigma. These sectors may thus present some special challenges that women in other sectors do not face. The designer fashion sector, on the other hand, tends to be dominated by women in most African countries. It was chosen as a focus for this study because there has been a recent explosion in the African designer fashion sector[118] which is fast-growing and gaining world-wide renown to the extent that African designers have now dressed the First Lady of the United States, Michelle Obama (Ouédraogo, 2012). Unlike the crafts sector, which is another cultural sector with strong feminine participation and in which there are several initiatives targeting specifically craftswomen, few studies

have focused yet on African fashion, nor have there been many support initiatives for this sector.

A cultural entrepreneur, for the purposes of this paper, is defined as a cultural operator who through his/her activities creates direct employment opportunities for others through a for-profit or non-profit entity. As such, a choreographer who establishes a dance company is an entrepreneur. An actor who creates a non-profit association to use theatre to educate and sensitize rural populations on various social issues is an entrepreneur. A solo artist who recruits and pays musicians is an entrepreneur. And of course, a designer who establishes a fashion house is clearly a cultural entrepreneur. Beyond the entrepreneurs who have created entities, women in leadership positions – choreographers, theatre directors and creative directors who have not created their own companies or fashion houses - have special significance in the cultural sector as they help shape the artistic and creative gender-balance in their respective areas. Female directors may create more challenging roles for women, female choreographers may feature more female dancers, female music promoters may work with more female musicians, and so on.

The cultural industries in Africa are for the most part at an early stage of development and are characterized by low specialization of tasks, that is, the same cultural actor is involved in several if not all parts of the value chain, from creation to dissemination and promotion. In this context, cultural entrepreneurs and those in leadership positions often start out as creators (songwriters, playwrights, etc.) or performers. Therefore, if there are general obstacles blocking women's participation in a particular art, then by extension there are going to be fewer women cultural entrepreneurs in that area. It is thus important to undertake an analysis on two levels in order to understand first, what are the factors preventing greater participation of women in the cultural sector in question, and secondly what are the challenges faced by women cultural entrepreneurs.

This paper seeks to examine these two levels in order to provide guidance to policy-makers and agencies interested in supporting women in the theatre, dance, music and designer fashion sectors in sub-Saharan Africa. There is little existing literature on African women in the arts, therefore this paper relies primarily on feedback received from 61 cultural operators through an email survey and interviews carried out in October 2013. The survey primarily aimed at collecting 'voices from the field', so as to better understand some of the

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118   Although the designer fashion sector is strictly speaking a creative industry sector rather than a cultural industry sector, the term 'cultural' will be used in reference to this sector, in order to employ one all-encompassing term for the sectors that are the focus of this paper.

issues and concerns in the sectors. It was not designed to be a representative statistical survey, and the data reported here should not be taken to be representative of the African cultural sectors covered. The first section of the paper briefly presents the characteristics of the survey respondents. An examination of the participation of women in the performing arts and designer fashion sectors follows. The obstacles to women's participation are then reviewed before moving on to an analysis of women's entrepreneurship in the performing arts and designer fashion.

The survey characteristics

Respondents to the survey included 35 women and 26 men, totalling 61 respondents. The men were probed only on their perception of the participation of women in their sector – numbers, performance, obstacles to their participation and potential support measures that could be taken to improve the situation. Women were questioned on the above as well as on their education and training, successful or unsuccessful attempts at cultural enterprise creation and the obstacles they faced in running their enterprises. All respondents had the option of remaining anonymous.

Responses were received from over 20 African countries, and the distribution between English-speaking Africa and French-speaking Africa was quite even. In terms of activity, there was a strong representation of theatre practitioners among respondents. 30 respondents hailed from this sector, 10 from the dance sector, 10 from the fashion sector, seven from the music sector and a further four were involved in two or all three areas of the performing arts. The respondents had a high level of professionalism in the arts, with the cultural activity being the sole professional activity and source of income for more than 75 per cent of the women and only three women received less than 50 per cent of their income from their art. This level of professionalism is certainly much higher than that which actually prevails in the sector, especially if practitioners from rural areas are also considered. However, the perceptions of this subset of professionals is of particular interest because they represent in a sense what the cultural sector wants to achieve – cultural practitioners who can earn a living from their art. Several

respondents also had international careers, with some based in France, the US and the Netherlands.

Respondents intervened in all main functions of the cultural value chain, with the most common functions exerted by women being (in order of importance) direction, performance, administrative support and creation. There were fewer women in festival coordination and teaching, functions much more frequently exerted by the male respondents. Women also did not frequently intervene in the finance, production or distribution functions, nor technical support. Most respondents were creative workers, albeit also occupying support functions, and there were few purely finance and production, administrative or technical workers among respondents.

Women's participation in the performing arts and designer fashion

Performing arts

Respondents were asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 5 the relative number of women present in their cultural sector, 1 being a lot fewer women than men and 5 being a lot more women than men. More than 75 per cent of performing arts practitioners felt that there were fewer or a lot fewer women than men, with roughly 25 per cent of performing arts practitioners choosing the response 'a lot fewer women'. Only 14 per cent of respondents felt that there were as many women as men and only 8 per cent (or 4 respondents) felt there were more or a lot more women than men.

These results are not surprising and corroborate findings in other studies, such as the report entitled 'Women's Voices and African Theatre', published in 2003 by the non-profit organization Article 19, which notes that there are several social barriers to the participation of African women in theatre. Professional dance in Africa, in contrast to dance in the West, is largely dominated by men, with very few female dancers – indeed sometimes female dance roles in African contemporary dance performances are given to Western dancers. Paradoxically, however, several of the pioneers of African contemporary dance are women – Germaine Acogny, Irène Tassembedo, Robin

Orlyn, the late Beatrice Kombe-Gnapa, Kettly Noël, and so on – however their influence has not yet been able to reverse the imbalance between male and female dancers. In music, while most respondents feel that there are as many women performers as male performers, they also highlight the absence of women solo artists and women in the other functions of the music sector – tour agents, promoters, producers, and so on. Music Crossroads, a programme in several Southern African countries to promote youth interest in music and support young musicians in launching professional music careers, has had difficulties attracting young women to the programme (Chua, 2011).

In terms of women in leadership positions – directors, choreographers, band leaders or solo artists, music promoters and agency owners – about 15 per cent of performing arts practitioners feel that there are several women leaders in their field, 30 per cent that there are some, and slightly more than 50 per cent that there are only very few. Only one respondent, from Malawi felt that there are no women leaders in his field. One observer from Burkina Faso notes:

> Women are often in the background with respect to men. In music bands, they are often back-up singers; there are few who play instruments. In theatre and dance companies, there are very few directors or choreographers. Women often occupy secondary roles, even though recently they are becoming more and more active in [cultural] administration…. In festival organization, women are rarely involved in decision-making, they just execute decisions taken.
> – David, cultural administrator, Burkina Faso

Some women are optimistic about the advancement of women as leaders in their sector.

> They are now women who dare, and for some it is working out.
> – Lauryathe, theatre practitioner, Republic of Congo/France

> Things are going well in Cameroon, women are taking their place – festival directors, company directors, choreographers – despite the lack of funds.
> – Massan, theatre practitioner, Cameroon

In terms of the quality of women's participation in the various cultural sectors, men practitioners were asked how they judged the work of women in their sector with respect to that of their male counterparts. Sixty per cent considered the work of women as good as or better than the work of most men. Only 8 per cent felt that women's work was poor, that is, definitely not as good as men's work in the sector. Some of the obstacles to better quality work by women mentioned by men included less time for rehearsals and less access to training than male counterparts. Despite their generally positive evaluation of women's performance, about half the men in the survey declare working only 50 per cent or less of their time with women in their field. Of course the fact there are fewer women in the field explains some or all of this. But it could also be indicative of some underlying discrimination.

Designer fashion

Most respondents from the fashion sector were women, which is in line with the dominant view that there are at least as many women as men, if not more than men, in this sector. Practitioners remark that in the sector, tailors tend to be men but the designers are mostly women. Furthermore, there are also several marginalized or rural women involved in the production chain doing, for example, specialized bead work. Eight out of the ten respondents from this sector also felt that there were several or some women in leadership positions in the industry. Only two felt that there were just a few women leaders.

Some in the industry remark that it is men who face the greater social barriers to enter a sector considered feminine by several Africans. The strong presence of openly homosexual designers in the industry in Europe and North America further creates negative connotations for African men involved in fashion, due to existing punitive laws on homosexuality in some African countries.

Some observers of the highly developed fashion industry in Europe and North America note that even though the sector there is predominantly female, women occupy only a third of the top positions in the industry and the club of artistic directors of the world's top fashion houses is a surprisingly male club (Shields, 2009). Therefore, as the fashion industry grows in Africa, attention may need to be given to preserving an equitable representation of women in the leadership of the sector to ensure that the trend observed elsewhere does not occur in Africa.

Obstacles to women's participation

Performing arts

Women and men respondents were asked what they consider to be obstacles to women's participation in their sector and, among these, which obstacle they judged as being the key one. In the performing arts, the most frequently cited obstacles by all respondents were the difficulty of combining domestic responsibilities with the long or irregular working hours of their profession (71% of all respondents), social stigma associated with the

cultural activity (67% of respondents), lack of skills or training (55% of respondents) and lack of funding (53% of respondents) – see **Figure 2**. Women respondents also gave considerable importance to discrimination from men and sexual harassment as obstacles.

When asked which of the different obstacles was the main obstacle, overall most respondents indicated social stigma (**Figure 3**). However, women respondents indicated domestic responsibilities more often as the main obstacle – 32 per cent of women said this was the key obstacle as opposed to only 14 per cent of men. Lack of funding was indicated as the main obstacle by 16 per cent of all respondents and 21 per cent of women respondents respectively.

Figure 2. Obstacles to women's participation in the performing arts sector in Africa
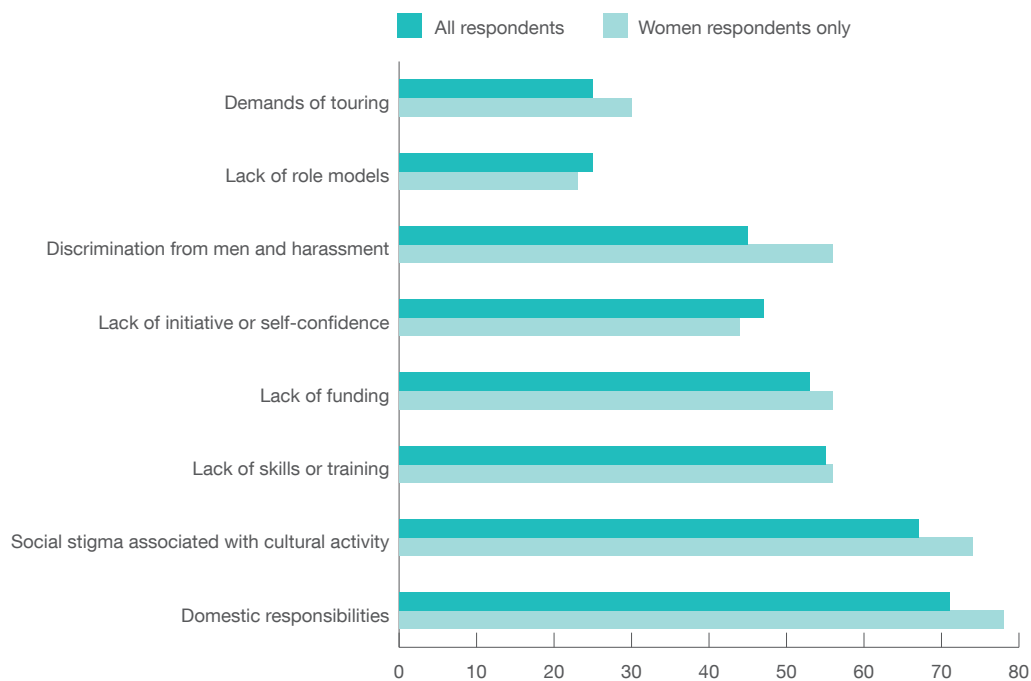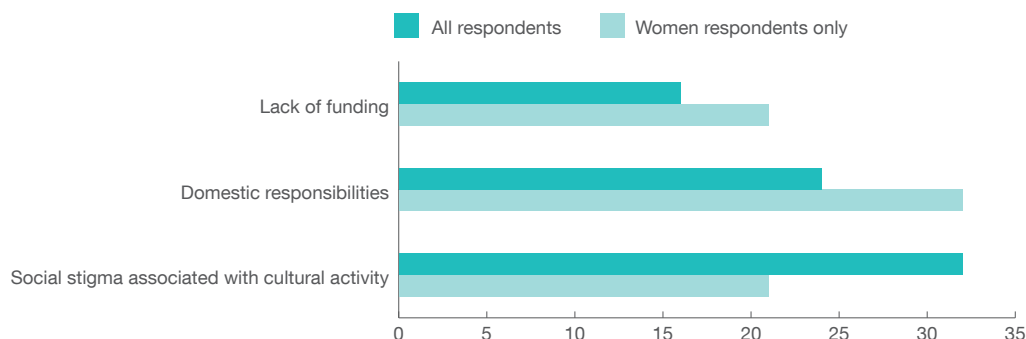
Figure 3. Key obstacle to women's participation in the performing arts sector in Africa

Some of the main obstacles cited are examined in further detail below.

Domestic responsibilities and childcare

Studies on women's economic empowerment have highlighted the relative lack of time that women have to dedicate to economic activity due to the disproportionate burden they assume for domestic tasks and childcare.[119] The term 'double work-day' has been coined to express the implication of this constraint for women. The performing arts sectors are notoriously time-intensive – albeit sometimes in sporadic spurts interspersed with periods of unemployment for the underemployed – and a lot of work takes place at night or even in the early morning hours.[120] The difficulties of reconciling domestic and childcare responsibilities are therefore all the greater for women in the performing arts. And because of traditional patriarchal division of tasks, African women performing arts practitioners generally have an even greater burden of domestic responsibilities than their colleagues in the developed world. To give a vivid illustration the implications of this situation: a professional dancer in training may have to wash by hand all the laundry of a large household before heading to six hours of physically gruelling dance training.

In a survey carried out in Zimbabwe as part of the 'Women's Voices and African Theatre' study (Article 19, 2003) almost all survey respondents highlighted the difficulties that women in the theatre face due to their domestic workload,

leading many women to abandon their work in theatre once married. The study noted that those that continue often have less time to dedicate to rehearsal, training and so on, and so may not attain the same level of professionalism as their male counterparts.

As regards specifically childcare, for African working mothers this burden is often mitigated by extended family networks as well as by relatively easy access to nannies as compared to developed regions of the world. However, female artists do not always have access to such support. Firstly, because artists with low pay may not be able to afford even the relatively inexpensive childcare options available. Secondly, because families who may not approve of the artist's choice of profession may withhold support with childcare as one survey respondent noted:

> At the beginning [when my child was born] it was very difficult seeing as my family had told me to make a choice. And for me it was art that won.
> – Annie, dance and theatre practitioner, Cameroon

Of the 27 women in performing arts surveyed, almost two-thirds were mothers, half of whom have at least two children. All women, including those without children, were asked how difficult they thought it was combining work in their field with childcare. 14 per cent declared it 'very difficult', 62 per cent 'difficult' and 24 per cent 'not difficult'.

Women respondents from the dance sector did not tend to find having children particularly difficult compared with women from other sectors despite the special challenges that pregnancy and parenthood can pose to a dancer. The study 'Pregnancy and Parenthood – the Dancer's Perspective' (Vincent Dance Theatre, 2009) undertaken

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119   See for instance OECD (2004) and CIPE (2011).
120   In an extreme example from the theatre sector, one male director in Burkina Faso reportedly set rehearsal hours from 10pm to 2am in order to minimize distractions from competing activities for himself and his performers, who included women.

in the UK, reported that dancers there felt that combining their career with motherhood represented an enormous challenge, describing feelings of insecurity resulting from physical changes caused by pregnancy and birth and concern as to how their career would affect their children. Dance, like athletics, is dependent on the physical form of the performer, and unlike other art forms it is difficult for a dancer to attain professional proficiency at a later age. Continuing to dance during one's 20s and 30s is thus essential to the career of a dancer, and to a large extent, to that of a choreographer as the latter tend to become professionally established only after several years of experience as dancers. African women dancers responding to this study thus tended to highlight the importance of dancers making motherhood a conscious choice with judicious timing: either very early on in their career when they are still at their physical peak and can catch up or later on once their career becomes more established. Both women and men survey respondents bemoaned frequent unplanned pregnancies among dancers that lead women to abandon the career.

Some of the reflections that women shared on motherhood and their profession in the arts are presented below.

I was lucky as I started work in the arts when my children were already a bit big and they could bathe themselves in my absence. I just took care to prepare their meals and I did not [hand]wash clothes everyday, so it was not so difficult to reconcile the two.
– Massan, theatre practitioner, Cameroon

As a musician, your music project is already your child. And like a child, it grows. If your project has had time to grow and mature before having a child then it should not be too difficult to combine the two. In fact as a band leader, you will be well prepared for motherhood, as several aspects of that work prepare you to manage family life. If however you try to launch your music career at the same time as having children it can be extremely complicated. Fatou, musician, Mali/France

It is not the children that are the problem. It's the husbands. If you have a supportive husband, it's fine. – Kettly, choreographer, Haiti/Mali

Social stigma

The performing arts are tainted by very strong social stigma in Africa. While the stigma applies to both sexes

it is particularly strong for women. Survey respondents complain that women dancers, actresses and musicians are often labelled by society as sexually immoral and assimilated to prostitutes and therefore undesirable for marriage (see also for instance Article 19, 2003). At the same time, survey respondents note that in African societies there is strong pressure on women to get married and have children, and a lot of women themselves desire strongly this outcome. The weight of the stigma means therefore that few women dare to enter the arts and among those who do, several abandon the performing arts once they decide to settle down and have a family. Practitioners report that even male artists exert social pressures on their companions to abandon their art: 'no [male] dancer wants to marry a [female] dancer,' observes a choreographer. It is perhaps telling that more male respondents than female respondents in the survey considered social stigma as the number one obstacle: 45 per cent of men as opposed to 21 per cent of women.

Getting married and having children is very important for young women as it allows them to be respected and considered by society. Yet people in the culture sector, on the basis of stereotypes, are considered as not being serious and sentimentally instable. This social stigma blocks women's participation.
– David, cultural administrator, Burkina Faso

Tradition and religion are factors that have a very strong influence on women here.
– Léonard, theatre practitioner, Togo

A report on theatre in Mali (Article 19, 2003) noted also that audiences tend to confuse the character on stage with the character of the performer and as women are frequently cast in the roles of sex objects in plays predominantly written by men, the negative connotations burdened on female actresses become even stronger. In some countries traditional art forms that preceded the modern performing arts may also have had restrictions on the participation of women. For example, the above-mentioned report explains that in the traditional drama satire, Koteba, in Mali, only men could be actors, and women's roles were played by men dressed as women. It was only with the reinstatement of the Institute of Arts in 1974 that women were allowed to perform on stage.

Women thus have to face even greater social pressure than men in choosing to make the performing arts their career choice. Unfortunately those that do take the leap

are often confronted with problems of discrimination and sexual harassment as we will see below.

Sexual discrimination and harassment

More than half of the women surveyed considered discrimination or sexual harassment by men an obstacle to women's participation in their sector. On a day-to-day level, discrimination may consist in men expecting women colleagues to clean up their dishes after common meals during rehearsals. On a more problematic level, survey respondents speak of the reluctance or outright refusal of some men to be directed by a woman. Another study on theatre in Zimbabwe (Article 19, 2003) notes that fear that women colleagues will become pregnant and abandon the profession can lead to them being passed up for training opportunities overseas:

If a person is to be chosen for overseas training, it always has to be a man, because women easily fall pregnant [and] there will be no continuity and the capacity acquired will not be used.
– Theatre practitioner, Zimbabwe

The phenomenon of sexual harassment is decried, sometimes in veiled language, by the survey respondents and appears to be a great source of frustration for women in the sector.

There are a lot of unhealthy situations that women artists sometimes face, and that discourages a lot in the sector.

There are few women because the woman artist is badly regarded by society. She is considered debauched and frivolous. Even worse, the men in the sector who are supposed to offer support to women artists do nothing but abuse them by dangling fallacious promises, such as trips, programming and dissemination of their work.

As a woman, it is difficult to deal with the whims of some men who blackmail you before helping you or giving you honest responses. It's complicated!

We men, we don't make things easy for women in our sector. They are always considered by us as cakes to be shared out.

Besides outright sexual harassment and abuse of power by men, sector insiders warn that a woman also has to arm herself against a more subtle risk. Given the low presence of women in the performing arts and the intensity involved in the work, particularly while on tour, some survey respondents note that it can be tempting to start romantic relations with work colleagues. Women in the profession, as well as some men themselves, warn particularly against this as they feel that it causes women, especially those in leadership positions, to lose credibility in of the eyes of their male colleagues.

While touring you are often the only woman among a bunch of men and you can be touring for long periods… Women must absolutely keep themselves apart. Relationships within a band are extremely difficult to manage. That is why some bands prefer to be all male. – Fatou, musician, Mali/France

Lack of funding

Lack of funding is a notorious constraint in the arts, as it is in entrepreneurship. Women respondents in the survey tended to give greater importance to the funding constraint than their male counterparts, indicating that there are several women in the sector who would like to launch initiatives and feel inhibited by lack of funds. The desire to have greater access to funding is also a desire to gain independence from men who tend to hold the purse strings in the sector.

Better access to grants would help reduce the manipulation of women that is very present. It is humiliating and frustrating! It is mostly men who are in the good positions, and so that's where the money comes from. We should not be at the mercy of macho, incompetent and unprofessional men.
– Laury, theatre practitioner, Republic of Congo

Lack of skills and role models and low self-confidence

Women in the survey felt that it was common for African women to lack self-confidence as a result of the low status that is accorded to them in society. One established choreographer laments that she sees women come through her school who, simply in their way of carrying themselves, apologize for existing. Another male choreographer notes that there are many excellent women traditional dancers, but because they do not believe in themselves they do not dare make dance a career.

Lanre da Silva in her studio.
© Lanre da-silva Ajayi

Aside from the general societal context in Africa that may lower some women's confidence, there are also some specific sector issues that can have a negative effect. As we have seen above, women have less time to dedicate to their art than men and must also in several cases go against societal norms and pressures to exert their art, which can result in a loss of support from their families. They may as a consequence have less access to training in their field and therefore lack the confidence of their better trained male or female counterparts. As there are fewer women in the performing arts, women have fewer role models who could inspire belief in their own capabilities.

Survey respondents from the music sector note that one particular skill that African women often lack and that may sap their confidence is the ability to play instruments. This places obstacles to their becoming successful solo artists or bandleaders as will be examined below later in the section `Gender restrictions within industry`.

In theatre, one practitioner highlighted a specific issue concerning theatrical texts. These texts, written predominantly by male playwrights, have fewer roles for women than for men, and the roles tend to be for young women, whereas male roles cover all age groups. There are thus fewer work opportunities for female actors; this can push some women to give up on the profession faster than their male colleagues would.

Designer fashion

Women in the fashion sector tend to face few gender-specific obstacles. Though it also an intensive profession, particularly for those running fashion houses, it can be easier to keep regular work hours in this sector than in the performing arts.

Domestic responsibilities and childcare

Some in the industry feel it is difficult to combine domestic and childcare responsibilities with their profession, citing the frequency of evening events that one has to attend to as being particularly problematic.

Social stigma

While some stigma exists around the sector, it is based on the perception of the sector as being one for school drop-outs, and designers remark that in some African countries, until recent years, they were often referred to as 'tailors' rather than as designers. Gender-based stigma in this sector, as previously mentioned, weighs against men's participation rather than women's.

Lack of funding

The main obstacle to women's participation highlighted by practitioners is one that is sector-wide affecting both men and women more or less equally: lack of funding.

It is the perception of most women respondents that lack of self-confidence is not a problem for women in the sector. As one designer in Kenya puts it, 'They are confident, assertive and skilled.' Situations, however, may differ according to country contexts,and one male designer and fashion award founder in South Africa feels that women in the sector are lacking in confidence.

> It all starts with self-belief and the ingrained perceptions discouraging women to not just design but start their own labels still persist. As such, in my opinion this is the constraint stopping them having as robust an attitude as they could have regarding starting their own businesses.
> – Fashion designer, South Africa

Women's entrepreneurship in the performing arts and designer fashion

Three-quarters of women surveyed were currently running cultural enterprises (according to the large definition given in the introduction). Roughly another 20 per cent had attempted to launch an enterprise in the past, and only 10 per cent had never taken any entrepreneurial initiative. The survey sample is thus a good source of information for identifying additional obstacles that women face when they want to go a step further and set up enterprises in their sector. Due to the smaller number of relevant respondents, this section will deal with the performing arts and fashion sectors together.

Eighteen entrepreneurs hailed from the performing arts sector and seven from the fashion sector. About two-thirds of the entrepreneurs had at least some post-secondary education or a university level diploma. 70 per cent of the entrepreneurs in the survey had taken short-term workshops lasting less than one year in their cultural field, but only 39 per cent had undertaken long-term professional training in their field (i.e. diploma or certificate courses lasting more than one year). Often the long-term professional training had taken place outside of Africa. More than half had benefitted from either apprenticeship or mentoring in informal or formal settings. Most entrepreneurs seem to feel that their training has prepared them as well as, or even better, than most male peers in their field (this is also true for the non entrepreneurs in the sample). Only two reported feeling unprepared.

Types of enterprises

The enterprises run by the women in the sample have existed on average for eight years.[121] The enterprises in the performing arts range from outright businesses – a music management business – to performing arts companies, bands, festivals and to non-profit associations with social or artistic objectives. Almost 70 per cent of the entrepreneurs in the sample have launched more than one enterprise. Often the first enterprise is a performing arts company or a fashion house and then after some years the entrepreneur launches an endeavour that serves the wider sector – a festival, a professional training school or an industry association to defend the interests of the sector or specifically of women in the sector. In some cases, entrepreneurs have launched a profit-making entity to generate income for their less profitable artistic endeavour. A lot of the established artists in their sector have launched three or even four enterprises.[122] Irène Tassembédo, a world renowned choreographer in Burkina Faso for example established her dance company in 1987, her dance school École Internationale

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121   It should be noted, however, that the survey did not collect any information on the vitality of the existing enterprises. Some of them might be inactive and therefore the average number of years of existence is not necessarily an indicator of the sustainability and the health of the cultural enterprises.

122   This calls to mind findings on African entrepreneurship that indicate that African entrepreneurs on average run six businesses. A phenomenon that some business analysts say is not necessarily negative. See http://blogs.hbr.org/2012/03/what-africas-entrepreneurs-can/

From a young age I was always creating performances. At the age of 11, I wanted to put together a dance show, and to do that you needed a company. So I created a company.
– Kettly, choreographer, Haiti/Mali
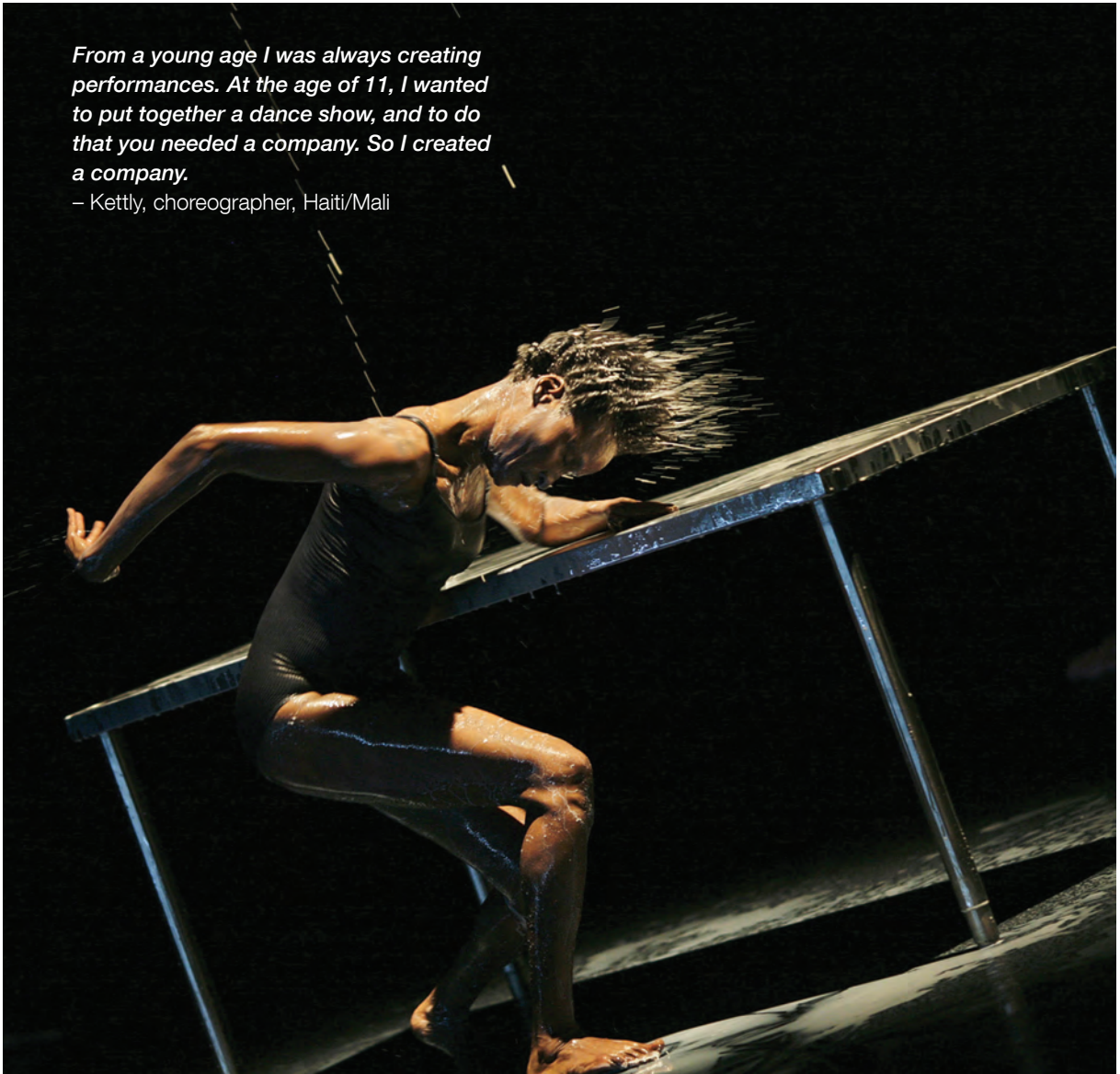
Kettly Noël, Correspondences, 2009.
© Eric Boudet

de Danse Irène Tassembedo in 2009, a restaurant with live performance in 2009 to raise money for the school but which subsequently had to close, and in 2012 launched the Festival International de Danse de Ouagadougou.

Motivation for starting an enterprise

Women cultural entrepreneurs are strongly driven by a desire to contribute to the development their sector. 88 per cent of entrepreneurs cited this among the two key reasons for launching their enterprises. About half of the entrepreneurs were also motivated by the desire to realize their potential or create work opportunities not available to them by investing in their own endeavour. In the performing arts, this sometimes can be understood as women seeking to make their own space in a scene dominated by men. In the fashion sector, the nascent state of the sector pushed some fashion workers to

Figure 4. Reason(s) for establishing a cultural enterprise(s) in Africa
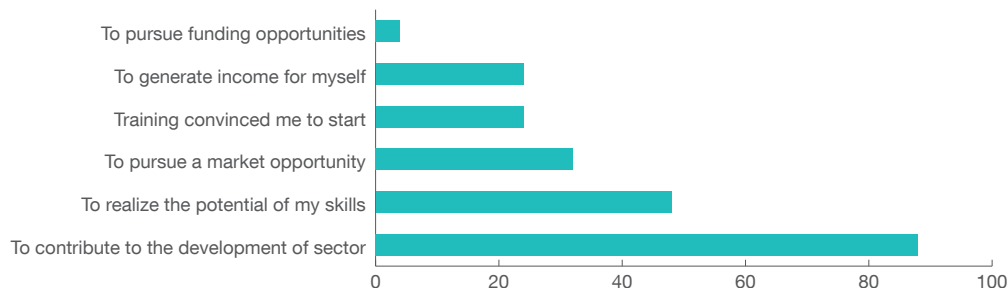
launch their own business after their studies in fashion as there were no other work opportunities for them in their country. Of those in the performing arts, often a very high level of creative energy pushed the women to seek leadership positions (choreographer, bandleader and so on) and in some cases launch an enterprise.

> *I worked in theatre groups and bands led by others before. But I was not at ease. I felt I was only using 20 per cent of my energy. So in the end I decided to put all my energy into an endeavour of my own.*
> – Fatou, musician, Mali/France

About a quarter of the entrepreneurs reported the desire to pursue a market opportunity as a main motivation, and this was a stronger motivator among fashion entrepreneurs than performing arts entrepreneurs, the market for performing arts being less visible and not subject to normal market rules.[123] Slightly less than a quarter also cited as a key motivator the desire to generate income for themselves. The acquisition of skills and competencies through training also gave some entrepreneurs the confidence to launch an enterprise.

Obstacles faced by entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurs were questioned about the main obstacles they had to overcome to launch their enterprise and the main challenges they face for the survival and the development of their enterprise.

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123   In performing arts demand is often not expressed and supply creates its own demand through audience education and development. See, for example, Towse (2010) or Kamara (2004) for discussions on the market specificities of the cultural industries.

Lack of funding

For both start-up and development, finding funds is the most frequently cited obstacle (**Figure 5**) and funding becomes an even greater constraint once the enterprise is launched. While some types of enterprises (e.g. associations and performing arts companies) have minimal start-up costs, others such as professional schools and festivals need to pay for space and meet personnel costs to get started. And of course the associations and companies with low start-up costs will need funds to implement projects and create productions once they are established.

Fashion house founders need to be able to make at least a minimal investment in equipment and fabric to get started, though some are able to finance these costs themselves or with help of their family networks. Funding becomes more critical for business development, as acquiring visibility through prime commercial space and a top-quality website is a key prerequisite for growth, and this requires significant funds. Survey respondents also note that good quality fabric and clothing finishings are difficult to find on the African continent and when available can be extremely expensive.

Start-up or development costs could be met with loan funding, however, a 2000 *Banking on Culture* report (Hackett et al., 2000) on cultural enterprises in the European Union notes access to loans for cultural enterprises is limited, for reasons related both to supply and demand. Demand for loans can be expected to be higher in the fashion sector than in the performing arts, and indeed survey respondents from the fashion sector expressed a strong interest in loan financing unlike that of their counterparts in the performing arts. Accessing loans

for the designer fashion sector, however, remains difficult, in part because the financial sector knows little about the sector according to some survey respondents.

Generating revenue

An obstacle linked to funding is finding enough customers or an audience to generate revenue. This was cited by a quarter of the entrepreneurs as an obstacle for the survival of their enterprise.

The need to ensure enough revenue to pay regular salaries is a pressure that weighs heavily on several performing arts entrepreneurs. And given the project-based funding common in the sector, this is not always achieved, leading to high turnover of staff.

> I feel under constant pressure to perform in order to be able to pay my musicians to be sure that they stay with me. I also have to perform, to continue to be creative and write great songs, to keep the whole machine turning – my agent, my producer, and so on. So I never let myself rest.
> – Fatou, musician, Mali/France

Lack of skilled workers and skills development

The entrepreneurs from the survey also struggle to find collaborators with the appropriate skills. In the performing arts, it is above all a lack of skilled cultural administrators that is decried as this greatly affects the capacity to raise funds. As the enterprise grows, a vicious cycle can arise: the enterprise raises less funds because it does not have a good fundraiser, and it therefore has less money to recruit and retain a good fundraiser. As several cultural enterprises are increasingly responding to complex call for projects, the need for solid fundraising skills becomes ever more crucial. And artist entrepreneurs complain that it is too much to expect them to have both artistic skills and administrative skills, so they need to be able to find these skills elsewhere. In some countries, university courses in cultural administration exist, but survey respondents feel that these do not always provide students with enough practical skills and knowledge.

Figure 5. Key obstacles in starting an enterprise, and key challenges for the survival and development of an enterprise in Africa
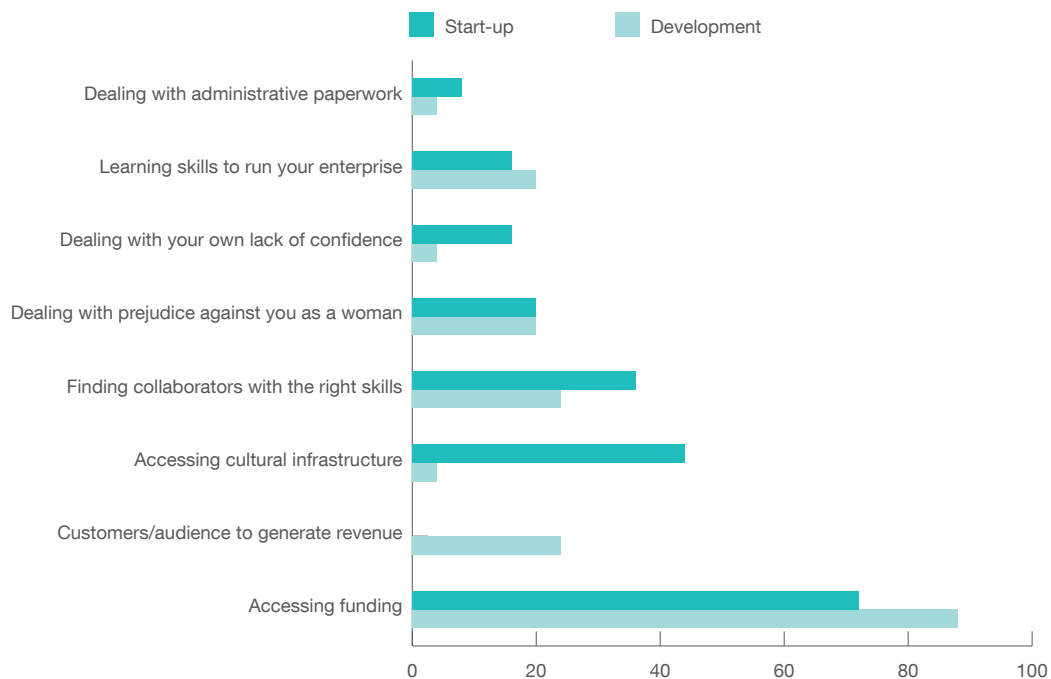
The way things are now, I would be ready to take a loan, if it were possible, to pay a good administrator. – Irene, founder of a professional international dance school, Burkina Faso

In the fashion industry, the lack of good tailors can be a problem, but most feel that the situation is improving as the fashion industry grows.

Women cultural entrepreneurs also struggle to learn the necessary management skills they need to run their enterprises. Several of the fashion industry entrepreneurs in the survey had university level training in business or finance and so did not indicate this as a constraint, though business skills are definitely crucial in the fashion industry.

Access to resources

Access to infrastructure such as rehearsal spaces, recording studios, workshops for clothing production tends to be more of an obstacle at start up than for survival and development. However, designers in the survey point out that the inability to access space in prime commercial areas to gain visibility with a target elite clientele can limit the prospects for growth of fashion houses. Businesses established at home, at a certain point in their development also need to access office space in order to gain in credibility and better be able to employ personnel as highlighted by one music promoter in the survey.[124]

Gender discrimination and self-confidence

Several women entrepreneurs also had to struggle with lack of self-confidence and discrimination from men. Self-belief of course has been widely highlighted in business literature as one of the most important qualities for an entrepreneur to possess. Survey respondents note that women entrepreneurs in the music industry, which is described by music industry insiders as particularly

'macho', have to be especially strong and confident, or at least give the impression that they are.[125]

You are a woman more than a musician. The fact that you are a woman affects everything.
– Myriam, rapper, Senegal[126]

It's very difficult as a woman for the musicians in your own band to have faith in you, even more so if you are young. I was abandoned by several musicians, and sometimes at the last moment – two days before a big concert. This is what forced me to learn to play guitar. And that is when male musicians started respecting me… When I get up on stage with my guitar, I am fearless.
– Fatou, musician, Mali/France

Gender restrictions within industry

The last testimony highlights an important obstacle for African female musicians who want a successful solo career. Survey respondents point out that few African women musicians play instruments. In several African countries, many local music instruments were traditionally reserved for men, and women generally used only their voices. Learning to play Western instruments is not yet a common practice across Africa. There results a situation whereby men can use their voice and play instruments, whereas women can often only use their voice. The music industry, however, according to survey respondents does not accord much respect to vocalists, no matter how talented they may be. African female musicians who are just vocalists thus have great difficulties to become entrepreneurs, that is, solo artists employing a supporting band, because the members of their band continuously abandon if not outright sabotage them. Women vocalists can also easily make a career in backup singing where there is enough work to ensure a constant if modest revenue stream; this can be a tempting alternative to struggling to launch a solo career in what may be a hostile environment.

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124 Women entrepreneurs across the world are more likely than men to operate businesses from their home, and some studies suggest this may be a constraint on the prospects for growth – see, for example, World Bank, n.d.

125 This does not seem to be restricted only to the African music context but applies elsewhere too. One successful American female sound engineer notes that women who enter the music field face a boys' club. 'You have to have a lot of swagger. A lot of swagger. If you don't, you won't be successful,' she says (Savage, 2012)

126 From an article by Kristina Funkeson, see: http://freemuse.org/archives/475

Women's empowerment and cultural production across the BRICS

(Brazil, Russian Federation, India, People's Republic of China, and South Africa)

Maria Luiza Gatto and Sarah Peters-Harrison[127]

Creative works produce and reinforce cultural norms such as the conceptualization of gender (Devine, 1989). Thus, an assessment of the level of women's participation in cultural production, as well as the barriers that they face, is important to our understanding of the level of women's descriptive representation in a given country's cultural life and to providing insights as to the actors who are actually shaping this representation (Ferguson, 2012).

In this paper, we assess women in leadership roles in the film industry. We examine: (i) women's representation behind the camera in the BRICS; (ii) female representation, in terms of characters and themes, in films by BRICS directors; and (iii) the challenges faced by female directors in these countries.

Women as film directors in the BRICS

A comprehensive analysis of the roots of women's underrepresentation in filmmaking is lacking. In an attempt to contribute to this exploration, we analysed existing data on the participation of women from the BRICS in the largest international film festivals over the last 30 years, as well as the latest data from the largest domestic film festivals in each country (**Figures 6 to 10**).[128]

During the early stages of rapid GDP per capita increases, there seems to be a temporary decrease in women-directed films,[129] until GDP per capita stabilizes at a given level. Cumulative economic growth within these countries, however, seems to be associated with a slow increase in women's appearance behind the camera. Overall levels of GDP growth within the BRICS seems to be associated with a slow increase in the numbers of female directors. This relationship, however, is not clear-cut. As illustrated by the graphs pertaining to the participation of individual countries in international festivals, we can see that fluctuations in GDP growth have not been clearly followed by accompanying levels of women's participation in the film industry; nonetheless, throughout the years, the participation of BRICS directors in the international film festivals analysed became consistently more prominent.[130] Such an increase has also been reflected in a slightly more stable presence of BRICS female directors presenting at these festivals, particularly those form Brazil and India. Fluctuations in postmaterialist values also seem to accompany levels of growth and decay in women's participation in the festivals analysed, but a more developed analysis of this aspect is unfeasible due to lack of time series data.[131] The fact that four out of five of the BRICS[132] are amongst the top eight box office markets globally, and have been touted by experts in the film industry as the driving force behind its international expansion, has also likely played a big part in these emerging trends,[133] and may explain how economic growth is associated with higher female representation in directorial roles.

128   Given that concrete figures are unavailable, this study relies on data proxy gathered from information available on participation in international and domestic film festivals. Representing international film festivals are the Berlin International Film Festival (Berlinale), the Melbourne International Film Festival (MIFF), and the Cannes Film Festival (Festival de Cannes). Data for the aforementioned international festivals has been collected from 1981 to 2013. In the domestic realm, we have gathered data from the Gramado Film Festival (Brazil), the Kivotavr Film Festival (Russia), the Mumbai Film Festival (India), the Beijing Film Festival (China), and the Durban Film Festival (South Africa). For domestic film festivals, only the most recent data is available and thus what we cite here pertains to 2013. Economic and social measures have been retrieved from the following: to measure economic growth, we use two variables, one that pertains to annual GDP per capita (http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP. CD), which we divide by 1,000 to match the scale of other variables), and annual percentage GDP growth. Both variables have been retrieved from the World Bank's database (http://data.worldbank.org/ indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG). To measure human development, we use the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) (http://hdr. undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/). To make this variable compatible to the scale of our graphs, we multiplied HDI by one hundred. To measure postmaterialist values we use the 4-point postmaterialism scale found in the World Values Survey's (WVS) Integrated Values Surveys. The WVS collects individual-level data. To analyse the data at country-level, we took the proportion of respondents considered 'postmaterialist' by the scale. See: (http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/ WVSAnalize.jsp). .

129   In 2003 in Brazil, such relationship is not observed.
130   This pattern holds for all countries analysed, except the Russian Federation.
131   China seems to be the outlier in this regard, and lack of data on South Africa prevents any conclusions here.
132   South Africa is the only country from the BRICS not currently in the top eight box office markets.
133   Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA). (2012). Theatrical Market Statistics. See: http://www.mpaa.org/ resources/3037b7a4-58a2-4109-8012-58fca3abdf1b.pdf

Films directed by women in international festivals (1981-2013)
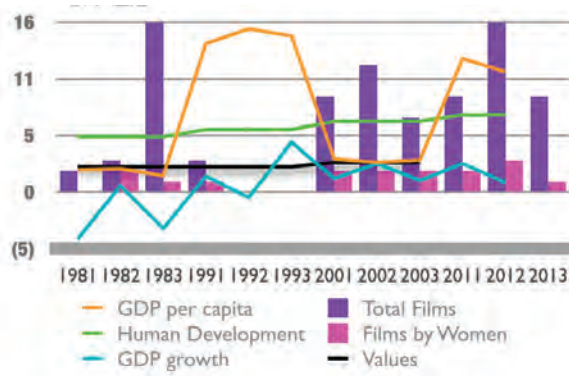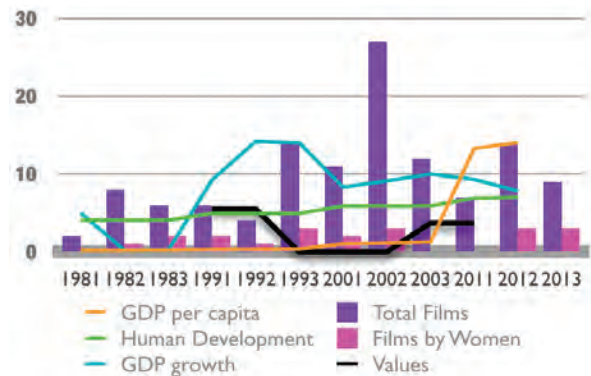
Figure 6. Brazil

Figure 9. People's Republic of China
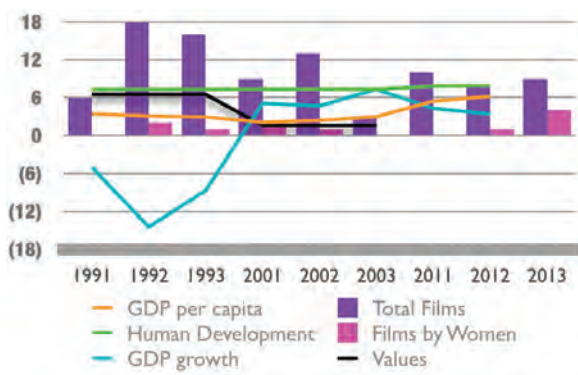

Figure 7. Russian Federation
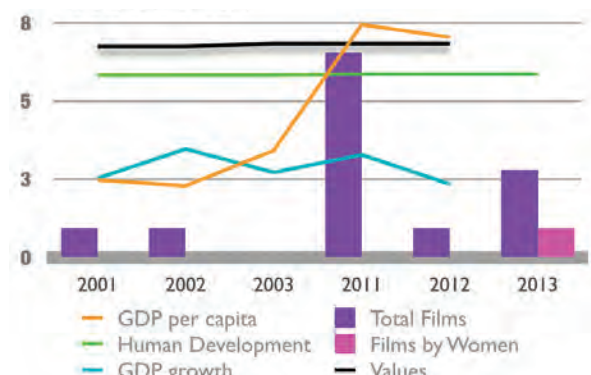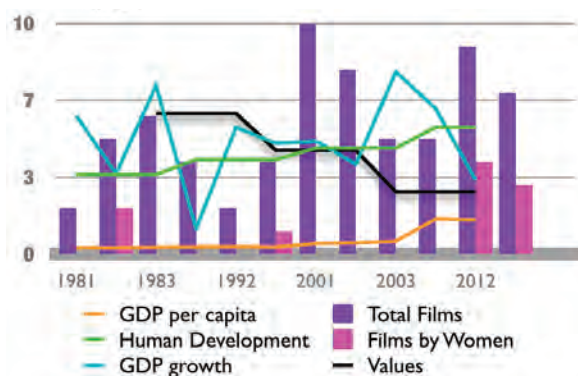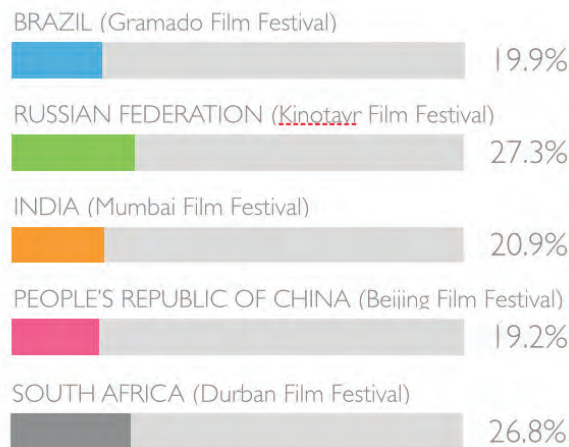

Figure 10. South Africa

Figure 8. India

Although the data on women's participation in international film festivals does not provide a large number of observations that allow for reliability checks,[134] their participation in domestic film festivals seems to confirm these early but optimistic signs of a growth in their substantive engagement in the BRICS film industries (**Figures 11 and 12**).[135]

In fact, works directed by women represented over 20 per cent of the total films at domestic film festivals across the BRICS countries, reaching nearly thirty per cent at both the Kinotavr Film Festival in Russia and the Durban Film Festival in South Africa. Further, and quite unexpectedly, the average number of short films entered into these festivals by female directors (25%), has not been substantially higher than the average number of feature films (22%), despite the fact that female directors have traditionally been associated with the production of short and low-cost works.
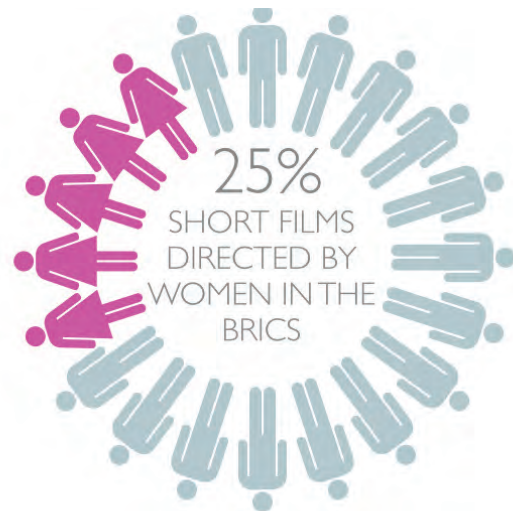
Figure 11. Films directed by women in domestic festivals (2013)

Figure 12. Short and feature-length films directed by women in the BRICS (2013)

This positive image regarding women's recent prominence in the industry is supported by domestic and international reports and media coverage. For example, reports from Brazil show that between 2001 and 2010, 162 women debuted as directors of feature films. This period also accounted for the highest rise in female film producers, with a 10 per cent increase on the previous decade (23.7% up from 13.5%).[136]

Female filmmakers are also becoming more prominent in Russian media, as exemplified by reports on the diverse range of international prizes won by Russian women directors, such as Taisia Igumentseva, Natasha Merkulova and Vera Krichevskaya.[137] Natalia Meshchaninova's new release is also expected by industry experts and media critics to be one of the best Russian films of 2014.[138]

In India, various women, who previously participated in the industry as actresses, caught the attention of society recently by taking up the camera and expanding the space and recognition of female film directors in the country's century old industry.[139] The media has especially covered

134   This is mainly due to the fact that some BRICS countries, particularly South Africa, have not played a prominent part in the international festivals analysed.

135   This scene is particularly optimistic when compared to recent findings on the United States film industry. In 2013, the Sundance Institute published the most comprehensive study to date on the topic, which included interviews/surveys with 11,197 directors, writers, producers, cinematographers and editors. Although it only covers American independent film productions that were screened at the Festival between the years 2002 and 2012, the report sheds light on gender disparity in the film industry that may be transferrable to other contexts. Among other findings, the report found that, of the films surveyed, only 29.8 per cent of filmmakers (including directors, producers, cinematographers and editors) were women, with women being the most likely to be producers and the least likely to be cinematographers. Source: Smith, S.L. et al. (2013).

136   Alves, P. (2011).

137   See 7th Russian Film Festival London, 2013. http://filmfestival. russkylondon.com/

138   Sazanov, A. (2013).

139   Vats, R. (2013).

Priya Belliappa's first film as a director, and her symbolic choice to employ an all-female crew.[140]

Similarly, in China, fashion magazines titled the period between March and April of 2013 the 'season of Chinese women directors', given that eight female filmmakers released their work in China and Hong Kong during this time.[141]

Although women in South Africa have traditionally been encouraged to become editors, actresses and administrators,[142] the recent tide of female film students winning awards suggests that the world will soon be contemplating the work of South African women directors too.[143]

Women's substantive representation in BRICS film

Female directors in Brazil have attempted to increase women's substantive representation in film by promoting female protagonists. This is an important aim considering only 18.18 per cent of films released in the country between 2001 and 2010 had a female in the lead role,[144] despite rising levels of women in directorial roles.

Chinese female directors have engaged in similar efforts over the last decade. Hui, one of China's most prominent female filmmakers, points out that although women had to be 'less feminine' to succeed in the film industry of her generation,[145] the expression of their femininity has been less of an issue for current Chinese directors.[146] Female filmmakers now see their gender as a source of

empowerment in dealing with controversial and salient issues within Chinese culture that are important to them.

The rise of female directors in India has taken film in an opposite, but similarly empowering, direction. While female directors used to focus almost exclusively on women's social issues, Farah Khan's defeat of the 'all-male stranglehold at the box office' in 2004 has meant that they now 'think in a more expansive way'[147] and express this through tackling themes and topics that were once the sole preserve of men.

This movement away from woman as the object of the camera is also present in the modern South African film industry. For example, in the 2011 Film Africa festival, one third of films selected were written/directed by women, but very few of these focused directly on 'women's issues'.[148]

Similarly, the real aim of contemporary women filmmakers in Russia is to interrogate themes beyond gender and to express their view first and foremost as an observer and shaper of modern society, rather than to draw attention to the female gaze. The roles of men and women and their relationships are very often explored within the fabric of their plots, but issues far beyond this usually take central thematic position.[149]

Recurrent challenges faced by female filmmakers in the BRICS

Although their participation in the industry has been on the increase, women in the BRICS still face various challenges regarding attaining positions behind the camera including:

- *Challenges in attaining positions as directors, screenwriters and cinematographers*. For example, between 2001 and 2010, only 15.37 per cent of films were directed and 13.78 per cent written by women in Brazil.

- *Lack of connections.* Film sets around the world are still largely male dominated and thus the links estab-

140   Prassad, S. (2013).
141   'Move over chaps: A new wave of female film directors has suddenly emerged in China', April 5, 2013. *Week in China*. http://www.weekinchina.com/2013/04/move-over-chaps/
142   'Female African Directors Look to the Sun', 2011. *The Africa Report.* http://www.gautengfilm.org.za/news/news-archive/2011/january-2011/770-african-female-directors-look-to-the-sun
143   'Female Directors Scoop Top Honors at AFDA', 2013. *Film Contact.* http://www.filmcontact.com/africa/south-africa/female-directors-scoop-top-honours-afda
144   Alves, P. Ibid.
145   Da Silva, M. (2011).
146   Ibid.

147   Chopra, A. (2011).
148   Dovey, L. (2012).
149   For example, Igumentseva's *Bite the Dust*, Merkulova's *Intimate Parts*, and Goldovskaya's multiple documentaries.

lished here, and the opportunities that these afford, are still almost exclusively made between men by virtue of context. Commentators on the Indian and South African film industry have heavily cited this issue.[150]

- *Lack of funding*. The issue of connections inevitably leads to problems with funding, as female filmmakers are often not able to prevail upon the 'right' people to provide them with investment. Due to this, in South Africa, female directors usually only have the resources to create shorter documentary-style films rather than feature-length fiction.[151]

- *Trivialization of women in the industry*. Categorizing women into groups based on physical appearance is often a way of undervaluing their work.[152] For example, in China, 'if they're beautiful, then they're called "beautiful women directors," so they're completely slotted into this trivial and condescending gender-specific kind of term'.[153]

- *Discrimination against 'gender issues'*. Scholars and film industry insiders have also pointed to the normalization of patriarchal values as an obstacle for women's incorporation into the film industries in Russia and China.[154]

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150 Pugsley, B. (2012).
151 Eve Rantseli of *Women of the Sun*, see: http://www.gautengfilm. org.za/news/news-archive/2011/january-2011/770-african-female-directors-look-to-the-sun
152 Frederickson, B.L. and Roberts, T. (1997).
153 See 'China's Emerging Young Women Directors', *The Chinese Mirror: A Journal of Chinese Film History,* available at: http://www.chinesemirror.com/index/2009/11/chinas-emerging-young-women-directors.html
154 Posadskaya, A. (ed.) (1994).

The identified challenges mentioned in the context of the BRICS have also been noted in the Sundance's research on the American film industry. Among other findings, the report provided the following as reasons for women's underrepresentation in filmmaking: 1) Money. 43.1 per cent of the women interviewed said lack of funding to pursue their film ideas resulted in their lack of production; 2) Networking. 40 per cent of women mentioned 'male-dominated industry networking' as a problem; 3) 20 per cent believed managing the work-family balance was a challenge to their insertion on the field; 4) Over 15 per cent viewed others' labeling and categorizing them as 'women directors' was detrimental to their careers; and, 5) Almost 14 per cent thought sex discrimination had been the most important factor that prevented them from getting one or more jobs. The study also found that females in the American film industry view mentoring, improved access to finance, and problem-awareness as measures to close the gender gap.

Conclusion

Fluctuations in GDP per capita show that periods of rapid growth may temporarily negatively impact women's opportunities as directors – although women's presence behind the cameras reemerges and increase once higher levels of GDP per capita stabilize. Cumulative levels of GDP growth in the BRICS, however, do seem to be associated with the promotion of film industries and specifically the participation of women in these industries. This has meant a change in the gender-composition of the film director cohort across these countries as well as a shift in the themes of films produced, with female filmmakers working to further promote the greater representation of women as protagonists and complex characters in their films. The higher presence and salience of women behind the cameras have thus pushed for gender equality both descriptively and substantively. Nonetheless, women directors no longer want to be perceived as producing a specific genre. Instead, they are focusing on wider issues and themes and thus becoming more competitive in the film market. Many challenges remain, however, and these continue to be obstacles to women's full incorporation into the industry. Yet, both empirics and the media across the BRICS are optimistic in the ability of female directors to overcome these barriers.

The data is yet rudimentary and more rigorous statistical examinations are needed as a means of establishing correlations. Thus, more than concrete answers, the data collected and the analyses presented pose challenges and questions. For instance, if not economic growth and advances in human development, what has been the main force in driving women to positions behind the cameras? If female directors have been gaining so much prominence in domestic festivals, why has there not been a proportional growth of women's participation in international film festivals? Will the 'normalization' of women in directorial positions lead female directors to overcome issues of funding and connections? These are questions that are now beginning to be asked by the wider academic and industry specific communities.

JR. 'Women are Heroes', Favela Morro da Providencia, Rio de Janeiro, 2009, Brazil.
© JR-ART.NET. Courtesy Galerie Perrotin

BOX 18. Making the invisible visible: Women are Heroes, JR

In 2008, the artist JR embarked on a global participatory art project, *Women are Heroes*, stretching artistic and geographic boundaries to include seven locations in four continents. Women and their stories were the focus, and the cities and towns where they live were the exhibition spaces. JR sought to unite people and place, where each artwork is infused with its own specific story and meaning. The finished work was a series of whole or fragmented large-scale portraits of the local women in these communities to raise civic and global consciousness of the dignity of the often unsung and unseen 'heroes'.

Favela Morro da Providencia, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

In order to pay tribute to those who play an essential role in society, but who are the primary victims of war, crime, rape and political or religious fanaticism, JR pasted huge photos of the faces and eyes of local women all over the outside of the favela, suddenly giving a female gaze to both the hill and the favela.[155]

BOX 19. Perspective

Women and artists of colour have never received the same opportunities as their white male counterparts. This is true today and it was even worse when we started 29 years ago. Then, most art galleries showed fewer than 10 per cent women or none at all. This discrimination has a trickle-down effect: women and artists of color don't get their fair share of exhibitions, don't get equal prices for their work, and aren't collected by museums the way they should be. Art history classes rarely mention women, even though, over the centuries, many did important work and led successful creative lives.

Is it possible to tell the story of a culture without including all the voices within the culture? How does the art system discriminate, consciously and unconsciously? We found a new way to talk about these issues, especially with people who don't agree with us. We put up in-your-face posters, billboards and other projects that get everyone's attention, provoke discussion and, we hope, change people's minds.

While things are slowly improving, there is still so much resistance. Tokenism -choosing one artist from a marginalized group to avoid a charge of discrimination - is not so much a solution as a continuation of the problem of exclusion. Women and artists of color still don't get enough museum shows and monographs about their work, or receive the same high prices as white male artists for their work. There's a crushing glass ceiling. For example, the highest amount ever paid for an artwork by a woman was only 7 per cent of the highest paid for the work of a white male.
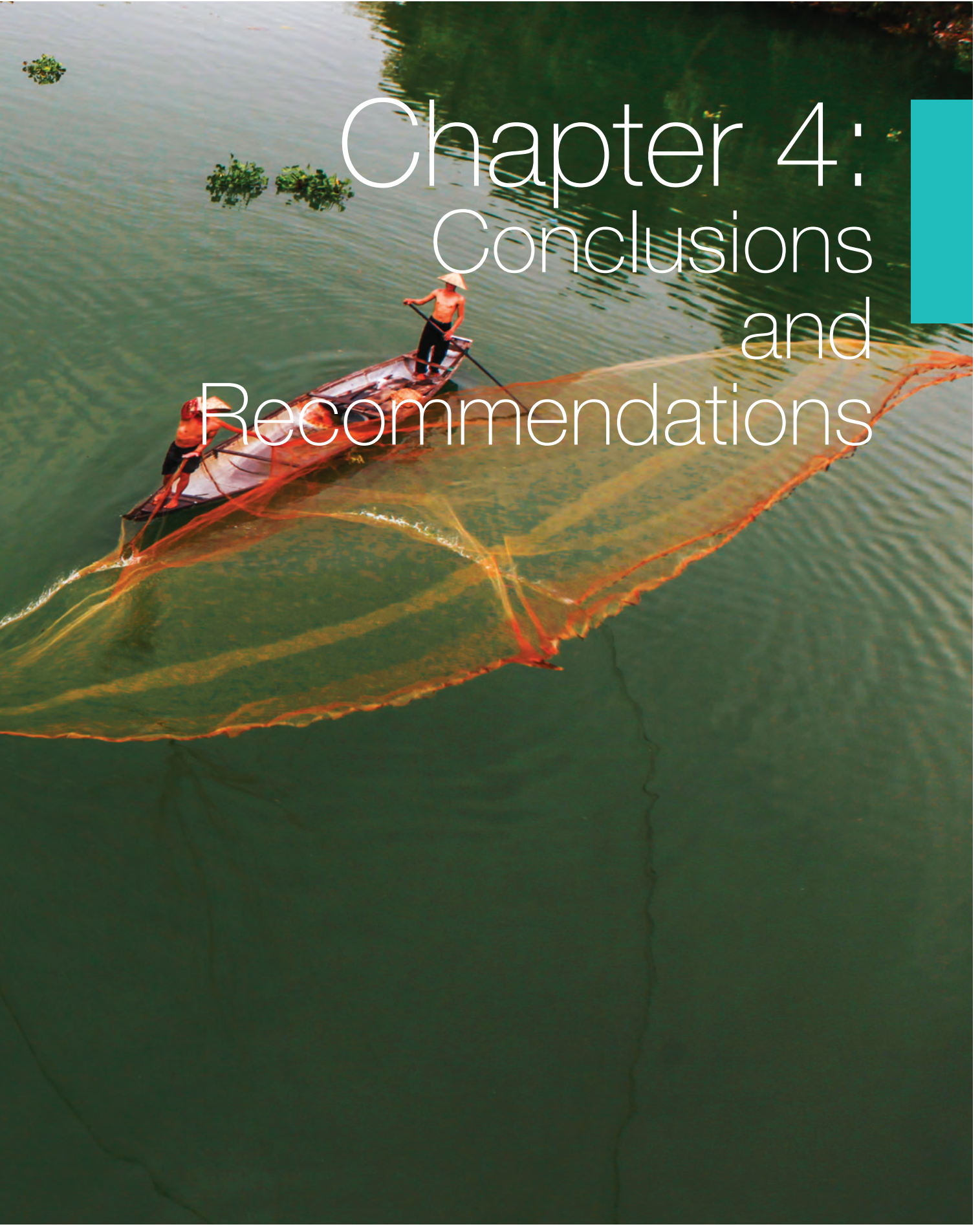
Guerrilla Girls

155   JR. and Berrebin, M. (2009).

Guerrilla Girls, Mexico City, 2006.
© Guerrilla Girls. Courtesy of guerrillagirls.com

Hue, Viet Nam.
© ThangCao/Shutterstock.com

Chapter 4: Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

This report provides evidence and suggestions for further action on how gender equality and culture can be mutually reinforcing and serve to achieve positive social transformations with benefits for everyone. As a driver and an enabler of sustainable development, culture determines the way in which individuals and communities understand the world, and envisage and shape their future. Building a better future, in particular concerning the post-2015 development framework, requires strategies that ensure that both women and men have equal rights and opportunities to fully and actively participate in all spheres of cultural life.

As such, this report sought to contribute to the growing body of evidence of the importance of culture for inclusive, sustainable and human-rights based development. Adding a gender lens to this evidence is critical at a time when the international community debates the new development architecture that will replace the existing Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and that gender equality will likely be a stand-alone goal in the post-2015 development framework. This report is a reminder that the human rights normative framework in place, including UNESCO's culture conventions, offer a strong platform, based on international consensus, for governments, the international community and civil society to work together to ensure that cultural practices are in harmony with human rights, including women's rights.

This represents the first global stock take and reflection by UNESCO of the rich albeit complex relationship between culture and gender equality through a focus on the two pillars of creativity and heritage. Gender issues permeate all areas of cultural life: as the DNA of communities, culture provides a unique space where gender roles and social norms are constantly questioned, challenged as well as reinforced and reimagined.

Cultural diversity reflects the aspirations and interests of society. Denying the cultural rights of women and specific gender groups in a community undercuts and misunderstands this basic dynamic characteristic of culture. Throughout this report, examples from the creative industries and from diverse heritage practices throughout the world offer insights and suggestions into how greater equality between women and men can transform gender roles and open more spaces for expression and empowerment through heritage and creativity. There are

no doubt more examples not included here: UNESCO hopes that this Report will be the first of a series of investigations into gender and culture in recognition of the potential and opportunities of culture for gender equality, and vice versa.

Putting the spotlight on the gender gaps in cultural life exposes the sex-specific challenges confronting women to be seen, heard, recognized and remunerated. The challenges for women feature strongly in this report but this should not be relegated or oversimplified as a 'women's issue', rather as a socio-cultural issue that impacts entire communities. Broader societal factors influencing women and men's positions in their societies also determine the degree of gender inequalities in cultural life. The intersection of gender with other social factors such as class, race and ethnicity, among others, can manifest and compound disadvantages in different contexts, impacting upon the opportunities and limits to cultural freedom and engagement to realize creative, economic or social aspirations. Any policy action related to gender equality and culture must therefore be part of a comprehensive gender equality strategy that takes into consideration broader factors and tackles the root causes of gender inequalities.

The gender diagnosis of heritage and creativity identifies symptoms that are familiar in other areas of socio-economic life: limited participation of women in decision-making positions (the 'glass ceiling'); segregation into certain activities ('glass walls'); restricted opportunities for ongoing training, capacity-building and networking; women's unequal share of unpaid care work; poor employment conditions (part-time, contractual work, informality, etc.) as well as gender stereotypes and fixed ideas about culturally appropriate roles for women and men, not necessarily based on the consent of those concerned. Lack of sex-disaggregated cultural data is a factor concealing the gender gaps and challenges from policy-makers and decision-makers.

No society in the world enjoys gender equality. Yet, as we have seen in education or employment, sustained commitments to and investments in equality can reduce persistent gender gaps and bring about real benefits for all. Social expectations can (and should) evolve in recognition of the added value of women in the transmission, creation and protection of culture. In reporting on their experiences of promoting gender equality and women's empowerment through culture, UNESCO Member States have demonstrated the advantages of applying a gender

lens to cultural policies in order to foster female talent and skills in heritage and creativity, and to catalyze greater dynamism and inclusion in the cultural life of communities at the local, regional and national levels. Moving forward, greater knowledge-sharing between Member States and civil society on innovative initiatives (e.g. promoting female artist schemes), effective cross-sectoral policies (e.g. fiscal policies, childcare infrastructure, education and training programmes) and awareness-raising programmes (e.g. tackling gender stereotypes through popular and social media, working with men and boys) can help to tackle and break the cycle of inequality in heritage and creativity, which affects all countries and regions of the world.

To conclude, the report calls for culture and gender equality to be seen as partners for inclusive, sustainable and human rights-based development. It raises the challenge for the international community of ensuring that policies and measures aim to reinforce and strengthen the mutually reinforcing nexus between gender equality and culture. Gender-responsive and transformative approaches can better support international cooperation efforts to safeguard heritage and foster creativity for future generations. This requires recognizing the full potential of women and girls as agents of change and for societies everywhere to support the empowerment of all their citizens as wellsprings for innovative, dynamic and sustainable development.

For UNESCO and its governing bodies, mainstreaming gender equality in the operation and implementation of the Organization's culture conventions can offer opportunities to better pilot increased access, participation in and contribution to cultural life.

However, the work does not stop here. Ensuring that all members of society can participate in, contribute to and benefit from culture relies on multiple partnerships and alliances at all levels of society. The report therefore concludes with eight mutually reinforcing recommendations offered as appropriate to Member States, intergovernmental and non-governmental international and regional bodies, national institutions, civil society and private sector entities.

Recommendations

1. Ensure full implementation of international conventions and declarations in the field of culture in line with other human rights instruments and in respect of gender equality and diversity in order to broaden the creative horizons of women and men, boys and girls, and to ensure equal access to and participation in cultural life.

2. Strengthen the evidence base through regular and systematic collection and dissemination by national statistical offices of sex-disaggregated data in all areas of the cultural sector: including employment, education, capacity-building, participation and consumption.

3. Develop and apply gender-responsive policies and strategies in culture that empower all members of society, taking into consideration the diversity of different groups and individuals, and the intersection of broader social factors and inequalities that may compound disadvantages.

4. Reinforce national institutional capacities to promote equal access for women and men to decision-making processes, financial resources and education in cultural fields.

5. Establish leadership and mentoring initiatives for female creators and heritage professionals and ensure gender balance at senior leadership levels in the cultural and creative sector.

6. Support international, national and local awareness-raising and advocacy campaigns that tackle gender stereotypes and discrimination in all aspects of cultural life.

7. Encourage and involve all members of society in strategies promoting gender equality in culture. This includes working in partnership with all groups and communities concerned to promote sustainable solutions for gender-equal access, participation in and contribution to culture.

8. Support interdisciplinary research on gender equality in heritage and the creative industries that involve groups and communities concerned, and consider the complexity and diversity of gender relations and the underlying power structures.

Annexes

Gender and culture: the statistical perspective

Lydia Deloumeaux[156]

Introduction

Culture is often regarded as an impediment to women's empowerment or a driver of inequality between men and women. Although these assumptions are not evidence based, cultural statistics can play a strategic role in evaluating the status of gender equality in cultural and social life and the extent to which the gender gap and/or inequality increases or declines over time.

When attempting to capture and measure gender dimensions of heritage and creativity, we are confronted with data gaps and difficulties in applying standard methodological measures. In recognition of these limitations, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) launched the '2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS) Handbook No. 2: Measuring Cultural Participation' (UNESCO-UIS, 2012) with a view to providing Member States with a guide for developing surveys of cultural participation. The handbook presents best practices and recent trends on cultural participation surveys with examples from a wide range of countries around the world.

UIS' culture programme data can be used to analyse gender issues in the areas of cultural participation, cultural employment and gender mainstreaming. Through its global mandate, the UIS works with statistical agencies at the national level on methodological development and capacity-building through workshops and training activities aimed at supporting Member States in developing informed and targeted policies.

Measuring gender
in cultural participation

Cultural participation is defined as 'cultural practices that may involve consumption as well as activities that are undertaken within the community, reflecting quality of life, traditions and beliefs' (UNESCO-UIS, 2009). Gender patterns in cultural practices can be studied through cultural participation surveys. Common cultural activities listed in participation surveys range from mass audience activities occurring inside the home (e.g. reading or watching television) to practices outside the household (e.g. going to the cinema, attending a play or musical performance).

Ensuring equal access to cultural activities requires understanding the barriers to access and participation. To this end, the above-mentioned UNESCO FCS Handbook identifies barriers to participation in cultural activities or practices. These can be physical, economic, social or psychological in nature. For example, economic barriers can be the ticket entrance price (e.g. in some countries, a price of a ticket to movie can represent a significant percentage of an individual's monthly income).

Methodology and survey design are also critical for studying gender patterns in cultural participation. Household surveys, such as Time-Use Surveys (TUS) or cultural participation surveys, are conducted through face-to-face interviews. To capture women's cultural activities within the household, interviews should ideally be conducted with women as well as the 'head of the household', who is often a male. In order to collect comparable data on time-use activities, the 2009 UNESCO FCS recommends using the International Classification of Activities for Time-Use Statistics (ICATUS), which offers a comprehensive list of cultural practices, including community practices (UIS-UNESCO, 2012). Moreover, ICATUS measures women's productive activities (UNSD, 2005).

Women in
cultural employment

Cultural employment statistics encompass all persons who have a cultural or non-cultural occupation in the cultural sector and all persons who have a cultural occupation in the non-cultural sector. Accordingly, non-artistic jobs, such as administrative work in the cultural sector, are included in the definition of cultural employment. The universe of cultural employment is defined by the seven 2009 UNESCO FCS domains:

- A (Cultural and Natural Heritage)
- B (Performance and Celebration)
- C (Visual Arts and Crafts)
- D (Books and Press)
- E (Audiovisual and Multimedia)
- F (Design and Creative Services)
- ICH (Intangible Cultural Heritage)

UIS is currently developing a survey on cultural employment that aims to collect data capturing the economic and social contribution of culture and to assess the living conditions of a particular economically active population engaged in artistic, creative and cultural activities. UIS plans to collect and disseminate internationally comparable data on cultural employment in order to make available to countries, policy makers and other stakeholders the first global database of cultural employment data and indicators and related analysis.

The survey will collect sex-disaggregated data that will serve to assess the scope of cultural employment, including the percentage of women in cultural occupations and to respond to a number of questions: Are certain cultural occupations particular to women? Is there gender parity regarding the status of cultural occupations? Is the employment status of women more precarious than that of men or the general population? Do women occupy more part-time jobs than men?

There are two main sources of employment data: labour force surveys and censuses. Both sources usually include a wide range of socio-economic variables, such as the age and level of education. These data will be used to draw a comprehensive picture of cultural employment and provide useful information on the working economic and social conditions of those engaged in cultural activities.

UIS will develop various indicators, which will be adapted to the different statistical capacities and data availability of countries. A short list of indicators used for comparability purposes shall be available for a wide range of countries. UIS will design more sophisticated indicators specially adapted for a limited number of countries.

Status of women
in USA cultural employment

Examples from the Current Population Survey[157] of the USA for 2012 is used here to present some examples of best practice on assessing gender equality in cultural employment.

Assessing cultural employment and gender equality is challenging. There is a risk of overestimating or underestimating the total cultural employment due to factors such as seasonality of some artistic jobs, multi-jobs holders and the scope of cultural employment (Throsby, 2001). In this case study, the cultural employment approach according to the 2009 UNESCO FCS guidelines following the Creative Trident Approach (UIS, 2009)[158] is used.

In 2012, cultural employment represented 5.7 per cent of the total workforce in the USA. Women represented 44.6 per cent of all cultural occupations: this is slightly less than the share of women in the total labour force (47%). In 2012, 2.7 per cent of the employed population held a cultural occupation.

Level of
education

Understanding inequality requires examining the state of opportunities for men and women in accessing any job. One aspect involves looking at the impact of level of education on employment and noting any differences between men and women. To this end, the indicator on the education level of education of persons holding a cultural occupation is essential. **Figure 13** show that women with cultural occupations have higher levels of education compared with men as well with women in non-cultural occupations. The majority of these women (63.5%) had completed a tertiary level of education compared with only 34 per cent for women not in cultural occupations in 2012.

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157   Carried out by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics and US Census Bureau.

158   For more information, see: http://www.uis.unesco.org/culture/Pages/cultural-employment.aspx

Figure 13. Cultural employment in the USA disaggregated by sex and education level (2012)

Type of occupation	Primary education or lower		Secondary and post-secondary education		Tertiary education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Cultural	4.3%	2.6%	39.3%	33.9%	56.4%	63.5%
Non cultural	10.7%	7.5%	57.2%	57.6%	32.0%	34.9%

Source: UIS, Cultural Employment Database (2013)

Self-employment and cultural occupations

Labour and economic characteristics of cultural occupations are also effective indicators for measuring gender equality. Several studies have pointed out that artists and cultural workers are more flexible, meaning that their working conditions are precarious, for example, working part time, holding a second job, holding temporary contracts or being self-employed (Benhamou, 2003; Throsby, 1992). There are large gender gaps in this regard. **Figure 14** shows that the proportion of self-employed people was significantly higher in the culture field compared with non-cultural field in 2012 for both sexes. The contrast was even more striking for women, where self-employed women in cultural occupations (24.49%) were three times more numerous compared with women holding non-cultural occupations (7.36%).

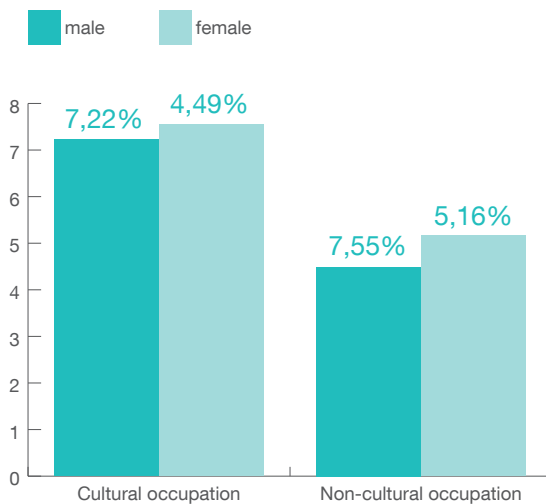**Figure 14.** Self-employed cultural occupations in the USA disaggregated by sex (2012)
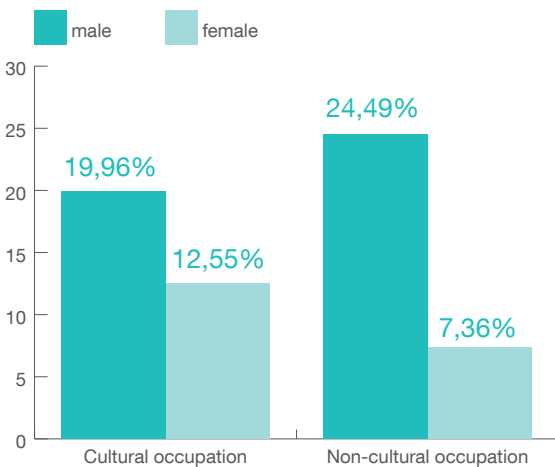
Source: UIS, Cultural Employment Database 2013 from USA Current Population Survey (2012)

Living conditions and employment quality

Level of income or the existence of a second job can be a useful in understanding living conditions. In many countries, revenues generated by an artistic activity may not be sufficient. This is illustrated by **Figure 15**, which shows that people with cultural occupations more often had a second job compared with other people in the workforce. In both cultural and non-cultural occupations, women more frequently held a second job compared with men.

Figure 15. People holding more than one job disaggregated by sex in USA (2011)

Source: UIS, Cultural Employment Database 2013 from USA Current Population Survey (2012)

Gender gaps can also be discerned in an examination of full- or part-time employment. In **Figure 16** women from both cultural and non-cultural sectors clearly had a more precarious job status than men. In 2012, more than one third (34.8%) of women holding a cultural job worked part time. This figure was still significantly higher from women holding

a non-cultural job (27.3%). By contrast, men in cultural occupation also had also less stable employment compared with men in the non-culture sector (16.5% vs. 14%).

Figure 16. **People with a cultural occupation disaggregated by full-time/part-time status and sex in USA (2012)**
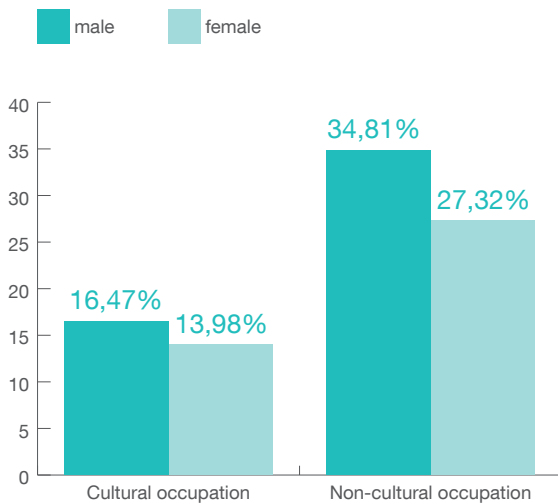
Source: UIS, Cultural Employment Database 2013 from USA Current Population Survey (2012)

Gender disparity in cultural occupations is measured with the index of dissimilarity.[159] This index was 18.1 per cent in 2012, indicating that in order to reach an equal distribution in employment by gender in the cultural occupations, 18.1 per cent of one sex (male or female) would need to switch artist occupations to match the percentage distribution by occupation of the other sex. In other words, some men are more numerous in some cultural domains while women are more numerous in others.

These differences are highlighted in **Figures 17a and 17b**. Figure 17a illustrates the distribution of men and women by domains while Figure 17b shows the weight of each domain by sex. Figure 17a reveals that there was almost an equal distribution of males and females in domains A (Cultural and Natural Heritage), C (Visual Arts and Crafts) and E (Audiovisual and Multimedia). In contrast, women were underrepresented in two FCS domains: F (Design and Creative Services) (56% men) and ICH (Intangible Cultural Heritage) (73% men). The occupations for these domains in the USA are mainly designers (which accounted for 64% of domain F) and religious professionals in ICH. In domain D (Books and Press), women were dominant with a 63 per cent share in total cultural occupations.
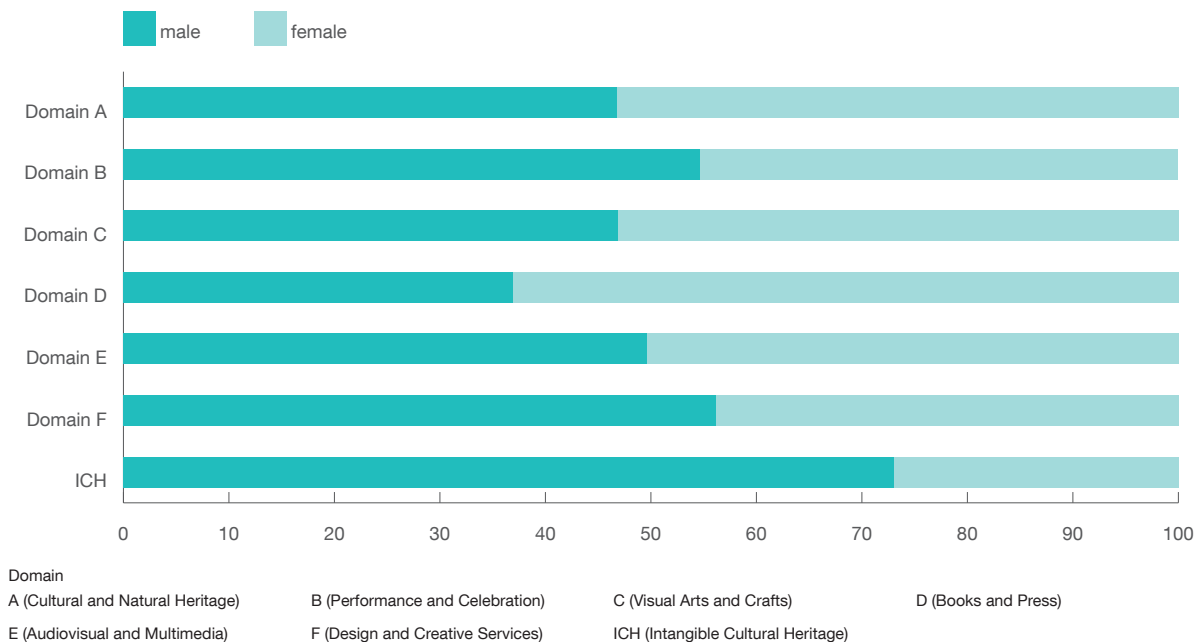
Conclusion

The analysis highlights the importance of using sex-disaggregated data to measure gender equality in the field of culture. These data are critical for measuring the status of gender parity within this field by looking at cultural practices or economics, such as cultural employment. Once the cultural employment survey is completed, UIS will be well positioned to provide accurate statistics by gender, which will contribute to establishing benchmarks and building appropriate policy.

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159   The index ranges from 0 to 1. The index describes the percentage of men or women that need to shift occupations for the two distributions to be equal (NEA, 2008)

Figure 17. Cultural occupation disaggregated by sex and FCS domains in USA (2012)

17a. Sex-disaggregation by cultural domain

Domain
A (Cultural and Natural Heritage)   B (Performance and Celebration)   C (Visual Arts and Crafts)   D (Books and Press)
E (Audiovisual and Multimedia)   F (Design and Creative Services)   ICH (Intangible Cultural Heritage)

17b. Weight of each domain by sex

Overview of core UNESCO culture conventions

Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954) and its two Protocols (1954 and 1999)

The 1954 Hague Convention and its two Protocols were established to protect cultural property from destruction and pillaging in times of armed conflict, when cultural property - including monuments, museums and religious sites - are particularly vulnerable to damage and devastation. The 1954 Convention, the first international multilateral treaty of its kind, focuses on the protection of cultural property. The First Protocol (1954) provides for the protection of movable cultural property in occupied territory and addresses issues related to its return, while the Second Protocol (1999) strengthens certain aspects of the Convention, such as safeguarding and respect for cultural property during hostilities, through the creation of a new category of protection: 'enhanced protection' and appropriate penalties for violations of the Convention. The Second Protocol also establishes a twelve-member Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Second Protocol, managing enhanced protection, and granting international and other categories of assistance. The Second Protocol also establishes a Fund for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, which grants assistance.

As of 1 July 2014, there are 126 States Parties to the 1954 Convention, of which 103 are bound to the First Protocol and 67 to the Second Protocol.

Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970)

The 1970 Convention was established to protect cultural property against theft and looting while emphasizing the restitution of such items. It requires States Parties to first, take preventative measures to impede the illicit import and export of cultural property from their territory. This includes implementing appropriate legislations, training specialized police and customs personnel, preventing the acquisition of cultural heritage of unchecked provenance, preparing inventories, monitoring trade, imposing sanctions, and implementing educational programmes. Second, States Parties should provide restitution provisions, such as taking appropriate steps to recover and return cultural property illicitly stolen from the territory of origin and imported into the territory of another State Party. The requesting State must provide just compensation to innocent purchasers and persons with a valid claim to such cultural property. Finally, the Convention strives to establish an international cooperative framework to strengthen ties between the States Parties to the Convention. This cooperation allows States whose cultural heritage is in jeopardy to request assistance from other affected States. To improve implementation of the Convention, UNESCO works in cooperation with the UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (1995), INTERPOL, World Customs Organization, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), European Union, Africa Union, and other operational partners to fight the illicit trade in cultural objects.

As of 1 July 2014, there are 127 States Parties to the 1970 Convention.

Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)

The 1972 Convention defines the kind of natural or cultural heritage sites that can be considered for inscription on the World Heritage List through a system of international cooperation. The most significant feature of the Convention is that it links together in a single instrument the concepts of nature conservation and the preservation of cultural properties. The Convention recognizes the ways in which people interact with nature, and the fundamental need to preserve the balance between the two. The Convention sets out the duties of States Parties in identifying potential sites and their role in protecting and preserving them. By signing the Convention, a State Party pledges to conserve not only the World Heritage sites situated on its territory, but also to protect its national heritage. The

Convention stipulates the obligation of States Parties to report regularly to the World Heritage Committee on the state of conservation of their World Heritage properties. These reports are crucial to the work of the Committee as they enable it to assess the conditions of the sites, decide on specific programmatic needs and resolve recurrent problems.

As of 1 July 2014, there are 191 States Parties to the 1972 World Heritage Convention.

Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001)

The 2001 Convention was established to allow States to better protect underwater cultural heritage, which provides valuable knowledge to scientific research and education yet faces similar threats to that of cultural property on land. According to the Convention, underwater cultural heritage is defined as 'all traces of human existence having a cultural, historical or archaeological character which have been partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously, for at least 100 years'. The 2001 Convention establishes ethical principles for the protection of underwater cultural heritage and practical rules for States in its research, intervention, management and protection. Protection clauses also ensure areas that have no prior site designation, as well as the recovery of pillaged and illicitly trafficked artefacts. States Parties must prioritize *in situ* preservation of underwater cultural heritage before obtaining authorization for the recovery of cultural property for scientific purposes or sharing the heritage with the public. Furthermore, the Convention provides that underwater cultural heritage should not be commercially exploited for trade or speculation, nor pillaged or irretrievably dispersed. The Convention also calls for training and information sharing in areas such as underwater archaeology, technology transfer and public awareness. The Convention does not regulate the ownership of cultural property between the Parties concerned.

As of 1 July 2014, there are 48 States Parties to the 2001 Convention.

Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)

The 2003 Convention has four primary goals: (i) safeguard intangible cultural heritage; (ii) ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of communities, groups and individuals concerned; (iii) raise awareness and appreciation of its importance at the local, national and international levels; and (iv) provide for international cooperation and assistance. 'Intangible cultural heritage' is defined in the Convention as 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces, associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage'. Intangible heritage takes myriad forms among different communities, including oral expressions and traditions; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship. Central to the Convention is the decisive role of the communities, groups or individuals concerned in determining what constitutes a part of their heritage – and consequently, only they can decide whether to continue to practise and transmit it. As a living entity, intangible cultural heritage can cease to exist if its social function wanes.

The Convention sets out the duties of States Parties to take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in their territories, in close cooperation and with the full involvement of the communities concerned. By signing the Convention, each country pledges to identify the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present on its territory, to adopt a general policy to promote its function in society, and to foster safeguarding measures, in particular when the heritage is in danger. States Parties must report regularly to the Intangible Cultural Heritage Committee on these measures.

As of 1 July 2014, 161 States are Parties to the 2003 Convention.

Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005)

The 2005 Convention aims to ensure that artists, cultural professionals and citizens worldwide can create, produce, distribute and enjoy a broad range of cultural goods, services and activities, including their own. It affirms the right of governments to introduce legal, financial and policy frameworks that nurture creativity, provide access for creators to participate in domestic and international marketplaces where their artistic works/ expressions can be recognized and compensated, and ensure these expressions are accessible to the public at large. The 2005 Convention recognizes the contribution of the creative sector to the economic and social development of a country and promotes the integration of culture in international development assistance policies and programmes. Finally, it underlines that while cultural goods, services and activities have significant economic value, they are not mere commodities or consumer goods that can only be regarded as objects of trade. To this end, it encourages international cooperation to facilitate the mobility of artists and to promote a balanced flow of cultural goods and services, especially from the Global South.

As of 1 July 2014, 134 States Parties have ratified the 2005 Convention.

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